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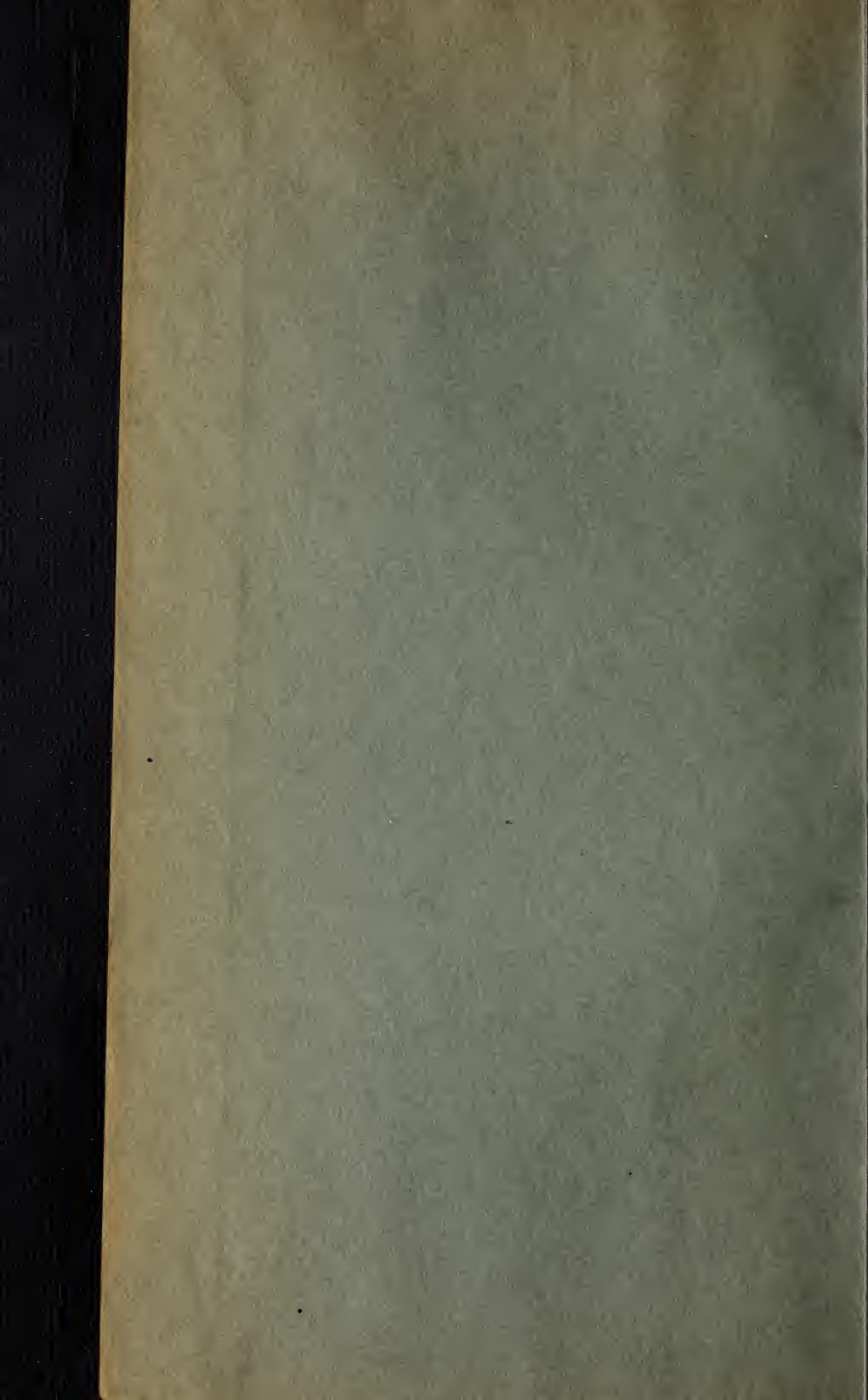
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Rich. Yates

RICHARD YATES**His Record as Civil War Governor of Illinois.**

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PRE-WAR RECORD.

Richard Yates was born January 18, 1818, in a log cabin, on the south bank of the Ohio River, at Warsaw, Gallatin County, Kentucky. He descended from English stock which had immigrated to Virginia. In 1831, the Yates family moved to Illinois and settled at Island Grove in Sangamon County. Richard attended Illinois College at Jacksonville, graduated, and was given the first diploma from that institution. He chose law as a profession, was admitted to the bar, and soon rose to distinction in his profession. After graduation from Illinois College, he had entered the Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, and completed the law course in the "Old Transylvania Law School." His sparkling eloquence soon made him a favorite at political meetings. Henry Clay, the great western Whig leader, became his political ideal and Yates threw in his political fortune with the Whigs. His admiration for Clay began when Richard, in early childhood, walked twelve miles to hear Clay who knew Richard's father. Clay took him into the speakers' stand and to dinner. Richard decided to become great like Clay.¹

In 1840, he supported Harrison in the hard cider campaign and was elected to the General Assembly from Morgan County, one of the strongest Democratic strongholds in Illinois. He was only twenty-four years of age. His anti-slav-

¹Reavis, L. U., *Life and Public Services of Richard Yates*, 10.

ery sentiments began to show themselves in the General Assembly.² At that time, the so-called "black codes" were still on the statute books of Illinois although they were nearly a dead letter. In 1849 we find him declaring the laws of the state applicable to negroes and mulattoes "tyrannical, iniquitous, and oppressive upon the weak, harmless, and unfortunate class and unbecoming the statute of a free, magnanimous, enlightened, and Christian nation." Section 9 of these codes provided thus:

"If a slave or servant shall be found ten miles from the tenement of his or her master without a pass, he may be punished with stripes not exceeding thirty-five. Every colored man who shall be found in this state without a certificate of freedom shall be deemed a run-away slave or servant to be committed to the custody of the sheriff of the county, who shall advertise him at the courthouse door and hire him out for the best price he can get, from month to month, for the space of one year."

"Any law thus placing any man, white or black, in the power of a purchaser, for money, is utterly inconsistent with the humanity of the age and the spirit of our free constitutions," declared Yates. This was a radical statement for a Whig to make in 1849.

He served his district so creditably that in 1850 he was elected to the lower house of the United States Congress where he served four years, 1850-1854. In Congress he opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and took a decidedly radical anti-slavery position in a speech remarkable for its logic which gained for him a national reputation and placed him among those who were solidly opposed to the further extension of slavery in the territories. Stephen A. Douglas championed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in the Senate and W. A. Richardson from Illinois was chairman of the Committee on Territories in the House. So Illinois was well represented in a favorable attitude toward the bill. But another voice was

²Illinois, House Journal, 16th General Assembly, 1849-1850, 480.

heard from Illinois in opposition. That voice was the voice of Richard Yates. No one could misunderstand his attitude: "All that we claim for the Missouri Compromise is, that there were great conflicting interests and that there was a settlement, in which both parties conceded something; and that though in strict law it is repealable, yet, in honor, good faith and morals, it is as much a compact as though drawn on parchment, under the hand and seals of the people of the North and South. * * * The gentleman from Georgia says, 'honor.' Yes, sir, that's the ground we put it upon, as well as justice and right. You have the power to repeal it but you have got the consideration, every dollar in your pockets, and we repeat it, your honor demands that you shall perform your covenant. I would be far from impeaching the honor of the South, but I ask what opinion the South would have of the North if she were to submit in silence to the violation of this solemn compact. * * * They (the North) will, and have yielded much for the sake of union and peace; but once planted on the right, and when to yield would be dishonor, you will sooner upheave the prairies of the West into mountains or level the granite hills of New England into plains than drive her from her position." Then he took a rap at the economic side of slavery: "Again, sir, the citizen of the North has a right to object on the ground that the introduction of slaves will retard the prosperity of the State. Slave labor converts the richest soil into barrenness—free labor causes fertility and vegetation to spring from every rock. It is the energizing power of free labor which has built our railroads, set the wheels of machinery in motion, added new wings of commerce, and laid the solid foundation of our permanent prosperity and renown." This was radical doctrine and dangerous for a political aspirant. But he is aroused by the political advantage reaped by the slave owner: "Am I expected to sanction a principle which would give the owner of a hundred slaves in Nebraska a voice in our national councils equal to sixty votes while the free citizen of Illinois has only

a single vote?"³ Yates referred to the provision in the constitution which allowed three-fifths of the slaves to be counted in determining the number of state representatives in the United States House of Representatives. He declared the slaves counted both as people and property.

These sentiments lost him the election and his seat in the House in 1854. In this formative period of the Republican Party the Whigs of Yates' district were unwilling to join forces with a party having such radical anti-slavery views, and many of them voted with the Democrats. Such was their trust in him, however, that he was defeated in his district by only two hundred votes, while Pierce had received a majority for President of two thousand in the same district two years before. Yates was charged with being an abolitionist and many were fearful of abolitionists. When the Republican Party was organized as a national party in 1856 with an anti-slavery platform, Yates became one of its leaders in Illinois and he took the stump for Fremont, its presidential candidate, against Buchanan the Democratic standard bearer. In this campaign, as in his previous ones, Yates was matched against the best that the Democrats could furnish. His personal appeal and eloquence won him prestige in his own state and spread the doctrines of that party which was to triumph in the next presidential election.

While a member of the National House of Representatives, Yates was the spokesman on issues other than that of slavery. On January 3, 1852, he made a speech which not only won for him the applause of his colleagues, but also revealed that deep patriotism, marked sense of justice, and love of democracy which he believed our nation to be, which he later displayed as Civil War Governor of Illinois. The House was debating the question of extending an official welcome and reception to Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot who had fled from the wrath of Austria and Russia. Yates was aroused by the caution of many members who felt that such a welcome would bring upon the United States the hatred of the two

³Appendix to Congressional Globe, XXIX, 443.

kingdoms. Yates declared, in no uncertain terms, that the United States should "be willing to express unequivocally, sympathy to any nation struggling against power and despotism for true and genuine liberty. * * * If it be intervention to shake the hand of this republican, to proclaim sympathy for people struggling in tyranny, to express condemnation for the tyranny of Austria and the double tyranny of Russia in the progress of the Hungarian war" then he is for it. "We, the freest nation, cannot be indifferent to oppressed liberty. We must do right, come what will. If there is no precedent, that does not matter. In an age of progress we need no precedent. * * * There is more honor if we establish precedent. * * * Let no pale and inglorious fears of offending despots deter us, but let us give him (Kossuth) the moral power of this nation, if not men and money. When the exile of oppression shall find no other refuge—here may he find a foothold." He still furthered the fears of the apprehensive members by offering this amendment to an amendment:

"And that said committee be instructed to inform Louis Kossuth that the government of the United States will not look with indifference upon the intervention of Russia, or any other foreign power against Hungary, in any struggle for liberty she may hereafter have against the despotic power of Austria."⁴

In the same Congress, on April 23, 1852, he arose to defend the West for whom he was advocating the deepening of its rivers, free land for its homesteaders, and large land grants for its railroads, for the education of its people, and for the care of its insane, deaf, blind, dumb, and feeble-minded. He maintained that land should be granted generously for the improvement of the West because railroads and rivers are a part of a great system which benefits all sections and they open up the land for settlement. Western land was not the property of all the states because the older states had originally owned all the land within their borders while the western states owned only such as the federal government

⁴Congressional Globe, XXIV, Part 1, 18.

chose to give them. The new states, before their admission into the union, by the Ordinance of 1787, were required "never to interfere with the primary disposal of the soil." The pioneer should have the land which he had helped to claim. In his enthusiasm for his section, Yates was led to declare that "the settlement of the West is the grandest achievement of the age. The pioneer did it." He answered the challenge of the member from New York who declared that the twelve states of the West were playing a "grab game" in this struggle to see which could get the largest share and denounced them as land stealers and charged that Illinois was "the biggest thief of all." Yates remarked that he was sure "her (New York's) wonderful modesty will keep her in the background although she is always languishing for appropriations." Always the friend of the unfortunate and the down-trodden, he urged that the deaf, blind, dumb, and insane be provided for by land grants to the states. Such provisions would be a proof of our Christian enlightenment.⁵

Although the youngest member of the House, Yates had made an enviable record for himself when he was retired from Congress in 1854. He had been extremely active in his anti-slavery efforts, had shown himself fully aware of the desires, needs, and rights of the West, and had displayed ability and courage in the defense of his convictions which had made him the equal of all and the peer of most of his colleagues.

In 1860, Yates was nominated for Governor of Illinois on the Republican ticket on a platform which had in it a strong plank on the rights of foreigners, declared for a new and liberal homestead act by Congress, insisted on the immediate admission of Kansas as a free state, and contained a resolution that Lincoln was the choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the Presidency. It would seem that Yates himself had written these planks into the platform since they expressed what might be said to be his cherished political beliefs. He was by no means a "dark horse" either nationally or locally. He was the logical choice. He had distinguished himself as an orator;

⁵Appendix to Congressional Globe, XXV, 471.

he had taken an advanced stand against the extension of slavery; he had become the champion of the West; he had shown himself fearless in the face of opposition, sympathetic for the unfortunate, a competent lawyer, a champion of justice, a fiery over-zealous enthusiast for the beliefs which he championed. Such was the man whom the state of Illinois elected as its governor in the exciting and trying autumn of 1860, by a plurality of 12,000 votes.

II. CIVIL WAR RECORD.

SPOKESMAN FOR THE UNION CAUSE.

January 14, 1861, Richard Yates, after having taken the oath of office, proceeded to read his inaugural address in the presence of both houses of the General Assembly. In this address he became the spokesman of the union cause, a position which he continued to hold throughout the Civil War. Yates was addressing the first Illinois General Assembly to have a majority of Republican members.⁶ It is true that Yates had held no executive positions of great importance, and in view of the national crisis there must have been some fears on the part of some men in high positions. The national crisis was acute and many were convinced that Yates' address would reveal the presidential policy of Lincoln.⁷ Besides being political colleagues, Lincoln and Yates were warm personal friends.

South Carolina's brief ordinance of secession, December 20, 1860, three weeks before the inauguration of Yates, was as follows:

"An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other states united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America." We, the people of the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight, whereby the

⁶Lusk, D. W., *Politics and Politicians of Illinois*, 112.

⁷Joliet Signal, Jan. 22, 1861.

Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of this state ratifying amendments of the said constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the "United States of America" is hereby dissolved."

Thus South Carolina had disposed of the Union, and Mississippi had followed on January 9, and Florida and Alabama on January 11. In spite of the fact that Buchanan had advanced one of the best arguments ever advanced against secession, three weeks before the secession of South Carolina took place, in his message to Congress, he had done nothing to halt the movement in the South. The fiery debates in Congress, the secession of the southern states, and the inactivity of President Buchanan stirred Yates to the depths of his patriotic nature.

Knowing that, as governor of Lincoln's home state, his message would have special significance, Yates had taken counsel with the leaders of his party and his address proved him to be the "man for the hour."⁸ After disposing of purely local affairs he turned to national matters and in a treatment of nearly six thousand words, one and one-half times as many as Lincoln used in his inaugural address nearly two months later, uttered sentiments that thrilled "every patriot heart." The Republicans who had elected him and the future war Democrats had no reason to find fault with the address he delivered. Those who were in sympathy with secession or would let the "erring sisters go in peace" if they so desired, could find no comfort in his message. For the hesitant, the compromiser, the Southern sympathizer there was no encouragement; for the lover of the Union and the foe of slavery there was only hope and encouragement. Yates left no doubt, as Lincoln did not later, as to what was his opinion on the critical national situation and what should be done about it. The Union was indestructible and must be maintained at whatever cost by the federal government. Democrats and Republicans

⁸Cole, Arthur C., *The Centennial History of Illinois*, III, 255.

could not but believe that the document produced by Yates under the very nose of Lincoln forecasted the policy to be followed by the president-elect in office. Yates was speaking not only for himself but for his friend, Abraham Lincoln. Their political ideals were in general the same. Lincoln assumed no attitudes and put forward no political ideals on March 4 that Yates had not enunciated and upheld on January 14. Either the two men were very much in accord or they had reached an agreement which was satisfactory to Lincoln. Both suppositions are probably true. Yates' address was printed in whole or in part in all sections of the country and he was heralded as the spokesman for Illinois, for the great Northwest, and for the Union cause—a position which he occupied throughout the war.

Illinois believed in the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States. She would never consent to anything else. She was in favor of a "fair and honest interpretation" of it but it must be obeyed. There could be no peace otherwise. Mr. Lincoln was elected upon the principle of the integrity of the constitution and if he should call the "whole material of government to preserve the constitution," Yates did not hesitate in saying that the "General Assembly without a dissenting voice and the people of Illinois would unanimously pledge the men and means of the state to uphold the Constitution and preserve the Union."⁹ Illinois occupied a unique position in the sisterhood of states. It was closely related in origin, peoples, interests, and sympathies with both North and South. Its people were proud and had always been at one with its neighbors. In the political campaign of 1860, it had entered with great earnestness and the two major political parties had fought the presidential fight to a finish. Two of the candidates for the presidency had come from Illinois and represented the great Northwest.

"But the moment the contest was decided the world was at a loss to know which most to admire, the exuberant joy of the victors or the admirable gallantry, grace, and dignity of

⁹Inaugural Address of Governor Yates.

the unsuccessful party. We have put one of our champions in the Presidency; the other still stands in the Senate, places almost equal in usefulness; which will achieve most honor to himself and good to his country and the world, time will decide. We will believe that neither will prove coward in the fight or traitor to the cause. On the question of the union of these states they and all our people will be a unit. The foot of the traitor has never yet blasted the greensward of the State of Illinois. She will stand as a wall of fire against all the traitors who will blot out the sacred stars from the hallowed flag of the Union.”¹⁰

The people of the Mississippi Valley would never consent to the separation of it into separate parts. The entire valley must be one people.

“Before that day shall come, the banks of the Father of Waters will be a continuous sepulchre of the dead. * * * It is now plainer than ever that the Mississippi River instead of being a boundary line of disunion is a stronger cord—stronger than iron—to bind together in dissoluble union the North and the South. The great Northwest which has become a power among the nations has sworn that no portion of the Mississippi shall ever flow through a foreign jurisdiction.”¹¹

Yates has struck a keynote when he insists that the union is a national problem, not a sectional one, and that the Northwest will insist on its perpetuity.

Yates was a fiery denunciator of nullification, disunion, and secession, and felt that all of them belonged to the same category of despicable doctrines. In order to justify her resistance to the federal government, South Carolina had revived the doctrine long since abandoned that a state may, when it sees fit, nullify the laws passed by Congress, and secede from the Union when it desires. The doctrine of nullification can never be admitted by one who loves the Union. Such an admission would break the political relations which now bind the states, destroy the national government and reduce order to a state of anarchy.

¹⁰Inaugural Address of Governor Yates.

¹¹*Ibid.*

“This is a government entered into by the people of the whole country, in their sovereign capacity, and although it have the sanction also, of a compact between sovereign states it does not receive its chief support from that circumstance, but from the original and higher sanction of the people themselves.

“This union cannot be dissolved by one state nor by the people of one state or by a dozen states. This government was designed to be perpetual and can be dissolved only by revolution.”¹²

Yates believed there was but one way to treat the so-called secession of South Carolina. The people of the United States had elected Lincoln and other executive officers in a lawful way. It was the duty of these officers to administer the government intrusted to their hands. No matter how loudly South Carolina might declare that the union was dissolved and that she and her sister states are free from it, no recognition whatever should be given to such pretensions. It took seven years to establish our independence. This boon was purchased by blood and treasure and was committed to us for enjoyment to be transmitted with the solemn injunction that man has the power to lay on man. “By the grace of God we shall be faithful to the trust. For seven years yet to come, we will struggle to maintain a perfect union—a government of one people in one nation under one constitution. The union can never be dissolved and there can be no secession of states. A government that submits to peaceful secession signs its own death warrant.”¹³ So the answer to South Carolina was an attempt to subdue her and reduce her to a state of submission to law.

Some people may be weary of the threats of the seceding states and think that the best way to end the trouble and bring peace is to let the southern states withdraw. We have no right to let them depart. The union was a thing which we inherited, must maintain and hand on to our posterity. The

¹²Illinois, Senate Journal, 22nd General Assembly, 71.

¹³*Ibid.*

“great hope of downtrodden humanity throughout the world is in its permanence.”¹⁴ We must remember the solemn warning of the Father of our country that “we should accustom ourselves to think and speak of the Union as the palladium of our political safety and prosperity, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned.”¹⁵

“So deeply impressed were Jackson, Webster and Clay with the conviction that the durability and efficacy of our free institutions depended upon a perpetual unbroken union, that they have left upon many a page of the national history most eloquent warnings that the thought even that the union could be dissolved was never to be entertained. The veteran Cass has said that the man ‘who believed this union could be broken up without bloodshed has read history to little purpose.’ As we love our common country in all its parts, and with all the blessings of climate and cultures, its mountains, valleys and streams; as we cherish its history and the memory of the world’s only Washington; as we love the grand old flag, ‘sign of the heart’s only home,’ that is cheered and hailed in every sea and haven of the world, let us swear that its glories shall never be dimmed—that there shall be no secession, no disunion—and that the American people shall be one and united, now and forever.”¹⁶

“In his Springfield letter, President Lincoln said the war could be ended in one of three ways: disunion, compromise or a conquest of the South. The first cannot be. This great union can never be divided. The Mississippi River, the key to the Gulf of Mexico can never be given up. From the source to its mouth it shall run a crimson current of human blood before it will be given up.”¹⁷

There is only one way to treat nullification and attempted secession. If South Carolina should be so unwise as to resist the United States officers in the collection of the revenue and

¹⁴Illinois, Senate Journal, 22nd General Assembly, 72.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 76.

the enforcement of other laws, the federal government can do nothing else but use force. Former presidents had enforced the federal laws in the states—Washington in Pennsylvania, Jackson in South Carolina, Fillmore in Massachusetts, and Buchanan against John Brown—surely Lincoln must do the same should the need arise. If the laws are not enforced the government is a farce. Yates had implicit confidence in what Lincoln intended to do after his inauguration.

“I know not what the exigencies of the future may be, nor what remedies it may be necessary to use, but the administration of the incoming president, I have no doubt, will be characterized by wisdom as well as firmness. He certainly will not forget that the people of the United States, whether loyal or not, are citizens of the same republic, component parts of the same integral union. He never will forget, so long as he remembers his official oath, that the whole material of the government, moral, political, and physical, if need be, must be employed to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”¹⁸

Yates was the unalterable opponent of compromise. The suggestion was made by Virginia that there be a national convention held, with representatives from all the states in an attempt to adjust the difficulties between the North and the South. Lincoln resisted but finally yielded. Yates was in opposition, also, but appointed delegates whom Lincoln desired. The convention met and conciliatory resolutions were adopted by the free states but they were denounced by the border states and treated with contempt by the seceding states. Nothing came of the convention. As the war continued, Yates became more and more insistent that there be no compromise with the “rebels” and “traitors,” and he labored to counteract the influence of those who would come to any terms with the secessionists but “unconditional surrender.”

“To talk about terms or compromise before submission is idle. The government cannot—no government can—com-

¹⁸Illinois, Senate Journal, 22nd General Assembly, 76.

promise with traitors in arms. You might as well expect the sheriff of your city, or police, to compromise with the criminal, who with pistol and bludgeon resists his authority, as for our government to talk of compromise with traitors who defy its authority, and hold the dagger, stained with loyal blood, at the throat of the nation.’¹⁹

He looked into the future and declared, “We might talk of compromise if it affected us alone, but it will affect our children’s children in all the years of the future. The interests to be affected are far-reaching and universal to humanity and lasting as the generations of mankind.”²⁰ His denunciation of those who would favor compromise leads him to call them “traitors” and he hesitates not to apply this word to certain ones in the North.

“Would you settle it by compromise? Compromises are played out. None of the rebellious leaders have yet whispered their willingness to accede to such a proposition. They still denounce the people of the North as ‘mudsills’ and ‘greasy mechanics,’ and say they would be compelled, if they came back, to hold their noses even at the sight of Copperheads. There must be no compromise with traitors until they lay down their arms. The only way to end the war is to fight it out—is to move upon the enemy’s works—to give Southern traitors Greek fire and vote down Northern ones, and not until then shall the Union be restored.”²¹

He sees, too, that to compromise will mean the continuance of slavery which he hates and on the extinction of which he insists.

“As to compromise, if it means that we must outrage the sentiment of the civilized world by conceding that slavery is a blessing—that we must love and praise it—that we may not hope for its ultimate extinction—that it may go into the free territories under the protection of the constitution—if these

¹⁹Illinois State Journal, Apr. 8, 1864, Speech of Richard Yates to Illinois Soldiers at New Orleans, La., as reported by the New Orleans Times.

²⁰Illinois State Journal, Apr. 8, 1864, Speech of Richard Yates to Illinois Soldiers at New Orleans, La., as reported by the New Orleans Times.

²¹Brooklyn (N. Y.) Daily Union, Nov. 18, 1863.

are the grounds upon which the difficulties are to be settled, then they never will be settled.’”²²

On the question of compromise Yates never changed front nor failed to realize and herald its dangers. His faith in the uncompromising attitude of the people of the North and in the ultimate victory, if this policy were followed, never faltered.

“Let it be understood that no compromises of cabinets, no arrangements of generals, no cabals of conspirators, no combinations of the powers of earth and hell, can construct a platform to which this people will ever yield their assent unless it provide for the unconditional submission of the traitors and the perpetual union of the states. * * * Let us resolve that we will preserve that Union and those institutions, and that there shall be no peace till the traitorous and bloodless palmetto shall be hurled from the battlements of Sumter, and the star-spangled banner in its stead wave defiantly in the face of traitors with every star and every stripe flaming from all its ample folds.”²³

On several occasions Yates discussed the cause of the war and what the war would accomplish. He recognizes that, in the last analysis, the institution of slavery is its cause.

“The present treasonable outcries of secession and disunion are directly traceable to an avowed hostility to *any* union of the people of the United States that is not pledged to extend and perpetuate the institution of slavery.”²⁴

We were not fighting to free the slave although a Union complete victory would surely accomplish that. We were fighting for the Constitution of the United States and the preservation of the Union.

“We are fighting for the Constitution of the United States; the South for the constitution of Jefferson Davis. We are willing to stand by the bond; we saw no way to exterminate slavery; we recognized the doctrine that slavery in the

²²Inaugural Address of Governor Yates, Jan. 16, 1861.

²³Proclamation of Gov. Yates as reported in the Illinois State Journal, Sept. 17, 1863.

²⁴Inaugural Address of Gov. Yates, as reported in the Illinois State Journal, Jan. 16, 1861.

states could not be interfered with by Congress, and now if slavery dies it is because it has committed political suicide. * * * Now, then, though this is not a war to free the negro, it is a war which in spite of ourselves will free the negro. They must abide by the consequence of their own acts as criminals, felons, and scoundrels do.’²⁵

“We draw the sword, then, not in the spirit of indignation and revenge, but clearly and unmistakably in self-defense, and in the protection of our own right, our liberty and security for our property. I have thus spoken because an impression may still prevail in the minds of some that the conflict was one of our own seeking and one which might have been avoided without any imminent danger to the yet loyal parts of the country. *This is not so.* Secession has brought about the inevitable results and we must crush it and treason wherever they raise their unsightly heads or perish ourselves.’²⁶

On the basis of the manner in which they responded to the appeals of the federal government for help to crush secession, the states of the United States may be divided into at least three groups: 1) those states in which government and people were in sympathy with secession and therefore would render no aid to the federal government; 2) those states in which the government and the people were not in harmony on the question which resulted in a more or less helpless condition and little aid; 3) the loyal states who gave aid without question. Yates believed that the states should forget all grievances and give whole-hearted support to the federal government. He had no patience with hesitating state governors.

“No misconduct on the part of our government and its agents, real or supposed, should justify neglect or excuse delay in this respect (support of federal government). Opposition to the government and to the war it is waging for its in-

²⁵Brooklyn (N. Y.) Daily Union, Nov. 18, 1863.

²⁶Message of Gov. Yates to Illinois General Assembly, April 23, 1861 and in Senate Journal, 22nd General Assembly, 19.

tegrity and perpetuity should end where the destruction and perils of our soldiers begin.’²⁷

In some of the states it was necessary to use the military draft. In New York City the resistance to the draft resulted in riots in which an army officer was brutally murdered and the city was in the hands of the rioters for several days. Yates takes this fling at the weak attitude of the Governor of New York:

“Had I been governor of New York, instead of telling the rioters that I had sent my Adjutant-General to Washington to ask the President to postpone the draft, I would have told them that every house in the city would be laid in ashes and the streets run with blood before the legally constituted authority should have yielded to the mob.”²⁸

We are convinced that he would have told them that, and we are also sure that he would have carried out his threat if necessary. Ever since the establishment of the constitution, presidential elections had been followed by the acquiescence of the defeated party. Lincoln had been legally elected, therefore the defeated party should give its assistance in the present crisis.

“It certainly is not unreasonable for the party which has been placed in power under all the forms of constitutional usage and requirements to ask at the hands of the opposition during the term of its administration a tolerant support of the measures which it adopts for the restoration of the Union, leaving the question of party supremacy to be determined at the regular recurring elections.”²⁹

Yates was tireless and bitter in his denunciation of “traitors” and well might he be because of the dangers through which Illinois and the whole North were passing because of the activities of the traitors at home and in the field. As a friend of the soldier in the dangers at the front, of that second line of defense in the homes and on the farms, and of

²⁷Message of Gov. Yates to 23d General Assembly, Feb. 3, 1863.

²⁸Brooklyn (N. Y.) Daily Union, Nov. 18, 1863.

²⁹Inaugural Address of Gov. Yates, Jan. 2, 1865.

the Union the very existence of which was threatened, his heart burned against the Copperhead, the Secessionist, the pacifist, the compromiser, and he could write thus with a clear conscience:

“Whenever you raise the flag on your own soil or on the public property of the State or country or at any public celebration, from honest love to the flag and patriotic devotion to the country which it symbolizes, and any traitor dares to lay his unhallowed hand upon it, to tear it down, then, I say, shoot him down as you would a dog and I will pardon you the offense.”³⁰

Rebellion was treason and he called it that in his appeal for volunteers:

“Illinoisans! Traitors are marching upon our National Capitol to tear down the flag which Washington planted upon the dome, and which for eighty-five years has waved to the battle and the breeze—the emblem of National Sovereignty and the proud ensign of our national greatness and renown. * * * Let us send her (Illinois) proudest chivalry into the field and do nothing to mar the glory already achieved. Let us raise the army which in numbers, discipline, and power shall of itself be sufficient to sweep the last vestige of treason from the Mississippi Valley, and to bear the flag in triumph to the ends of the Republic.”³¹

In Chicago he said that the Copperheads and rebel sympathizers favored him none and that he intended to fight them as he would traitors because as he said, “I believe they are worse than traitors and have no rights which a negro should respect.”³²

At Oskaloosa, Illinois, the loyal people called a meeting to enlist a company for the Union army. Southern sympathizers rushed in, chopped down the flagpole, and broke up the meeting. In answer to an inquiry by John W. Bosworth as to what should be done about it, Governor Yates writes to him to

³⁰Illinois State Journal, July 23, 1862.

³¹Proclamation of Governor Yates for Volunteers, Aug. 21, 1861.

³²Illinois State Journal, Mar. 23, 1864.

call another meeting and if opponents attempt to cut down the flagpole, to kill as many of them as possible "and if a jury can be found in Illinois that will convict any one of you for defending the flag of your country, I will pardon him."

The North was far from being in harmony in its opinion on the Emancipation Proclamation of the President. Many felt that he should have freed the slaves earlier in the war. He waited until he felt that necessity demanded the freedom of the southern slaves in the seceding states. He had promised not to interfere with slavery as a state institution and hesitated to alienate many who believed that the sole objective of the war was to preserve the Union, a union part slave and part free. When the southern states, after a preliminary warning, refused to return to their allegiance to the United States, Mr. Lincoln declared free all the slaves of the states and parts of states in rebellion against the United States government, January 1, 1863.

Governor Yates, always the opponent of slavery, immediately became the champion of emancipation. So long as slavery had been an institution legalized and protected by the government of the United States, Yates had insisted that the North keep faith with the South and enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. In his inaugural address we find him scoring the Personal Liberty Laws passed by the legislatures of several northern states.

"Therefore, it is to be hoped that all legislatures of the free states will at once repeal all laws, which upon examination may be found in conflict with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, so that they may stand blameless in the eyes of the world, and have cause to hope for a retaliation of magnanimity. Above all, as a most melancholy apprehension of the sentiments of the North lies at the bottom of most of the mischiefs and dangers which beset us and as the alienation is founded more upon delusions than facts, let all parties cordially unite to remove these apprehensions and assure the South that the North has no design or purpose to interfere

with slavery in the states and entertains no hostility to the people of the slave states.’³³

But when Lincoln had outlawed slavery, Yates became the spokesman of the North and the Northwest against the institution and in favor of the President’s proclamation. The Mississippi River cannot continue to flow through both free and slave territory.

“All the running waters of the Northwest are waters of freedom and union, and come what will, by the Ordinance of 1787, and by the higher ordinance of Almighty God, bear only free men and free goods on their bosom or their channels will be filled with the commingled blood of traitors, cowards, and slaves.’³⁴

Yates was convinced that the system of slavery would die eventually because it was not worth saving. He believed with Lincoln that the nation could not continue to exist half slave and half free. The South had come to believe, through their prosperity no doubt, that slavery was a blessing, that it makes possible a “perfect form of civilization that is to endure forever”; the North believes “that slavery is wrong, and is destructive of the highest progress in religion, morals, industry, and refinement.” This difference in opinion should not affect the union of the States because the National Government cannot intrude upon rights of the institutions peculiar to the states. Slavery must die eventually since there is an irrepressible conflict going on between freedom and slavery, but that conflict is *within* and not *between* states, and slavery must and will die. “Let slavery go down, let the curse of human bondage be forever obliterated from the face of the earth; then only will the aristocracy of free labor be established and peace smile and bless the land. These sentiments may be declared radical but there can be no compromise between truth and justice on the one hand and error and injustice on the other. Slavery stands in the path of the Republic and we can but say, let it die. Slavery has rent asunder the

³³First Inaugural Address of Governor Yates.

³⁴First Inaugural Address of Governor Yates.

Methodist Church in '54, the Baptist and New School Presbyterian Churches at a later date, the Whig Party in '56, and the Democratic Party in '60, and finally when it has raised its arm against the government itself—let it die.’³⁵ Thus did Yates insist after the South had seceded and openly rebelled.

On September 22, 1862, Governor Yates with eleven other governors expressed approbation for the preliminary emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln and pledged their support in enforcing it upon the South. Yates saw clearly that slavery was the cause of the conflict between the North and the South and that now was the great opportunity to not only crush the secession and save the Union but to save the Union with slavery forever eliminated. He threw himself into the argument to convince the hesitant northerners that they must lend their full support to emancipation by the President, as a war measure.

In peace times, Congress nor the President could touch the institution of slavery within the states, but since the states had seceded and broken the law, the President had a right to remove their personal right to slaveholding. The South had laid unholy hands upon our “temple of liberty” and were attempting to destroy the Constitution which had protected them through the years, and no one had any right to claim for them the rights they had formerly enjoyed as states. If in war the government can take the life of the enemy without due process of law, so can it his property.

“Shall we hesitate, in view of the great crime and wickedness of this rebellion, to exterminate from the face of the earth, the evil which is the cause of the wild storm, ruin, and desolation which now confronts us on every hand.

“In view of these facts I demand the removal of slavery. In the name of my country whose peace it has disturbed and plunged into fearful civil war; in the name of heroes it has slain; in the name of justice whose highest tribunals it has corrupted and prostituted to the basest ends and purposes; in the name of Washington and Jefferson and all the other

³⁵Brooklyn (N. Y.) Daily Union, Nov. 18, 1863.

patriots who struggled round the camps of liberty and who looked forward to the early extinction of slavery; in the name of progress, civilization, and liberty, and in the name of God himself; I demand the utter and entire demolition of this heaven-cursed wrong of human bondage—this sole cause of the treason, death, and misery which fill the land. . . . Then henceforth, in the management of this war, let our watchword be emancipation; emblazon it on every banner; shout it at the head of our marching columns and victorious legions; let it be our “pillar of cloud by day” and our “pillar of fire by night”; then our arms shall be successful and we shall solve the problem of the ages—that there is inherent energy enough in the government of the people to vindicate itself and survive all the throes of political and civil revolution. Slavery removed, we shall have peace. . . . I have hope for my country because I think the right policy has been adopted. I want to see no division among the friends of the Union in the loyal states.’³⁶

Slavery was the only ground for bitterness between the North and South so they could live together peacefully after it was gone. Rebellion, inaugurated to perpetuate slavery, was going to destroy it.

Yates defended the Emancipation Proclamation on the highest ground, that of national preservation. To preserve the Union was the first duty of the President. He had sworn to do this and to neglect any means to secure that end would be a violation of that oath.

“That the President has foreborne long, before taking this final step was to have been expected of one who had so often denied the right of intervention in the domestic institutions of the states; but when the seceding states themselves made the issue—slavery against the government—resorted to arms to overthrow the constitution and to carve out of our dismembered territory an oligarchy, the chief cornerstone of which was slavery as a perpetual institution; and, when, also, it cannot be denied that slavery is the principal element in the

³⁶Message of Governor Yates to 33d General Assembly.

support of the rebellion, I maintain under all circumstances that the proclamation was not only justified but inevitable.’³⁷

Governor Yates demanded a vigorous prosecution of the war.

“I can think of no peace worth having short of crushing the rebellion and the complete restoration of the authority of the government. The only way to honorable and permanent peace is through war, devastating, exterminating war . . . I believe the infernal rebellion can be, ought to be and will be subdued. The land may be left a howling waste, desolated by the bloody footsteps of war, from Delaware Bay to the Gulf, but our territory shall remain unmutilated—the country shall be one and it shall be free in all its broad boundaries from Maine to the Gulf and from ocean to ocean . . . The war will soon be over but if it were in my power, I would call out 500,000 more men to finish it quick and finish it thoroughly.’³⁸

Yates was impatient of delays and what he considered too leisurely methods in the conduct of the war. He was for drastic prosecution—large armies and equipment and the use of any legitimate methods in the crushing of the traitorous South. The only way to end the war was to move upon the enemy and fight it out, to give the Southern traitors “Greek fire and to vote down the ones at home.” The North must move forward with tremendous energy with more and greater enginery of war. This would be our shortest road and fraught with the least cost of money in the end. The vital parts of the rebellion must be attacked. All men willing to fight should be summoned. Our loyal men should not be wasted in guarding the property of traitors. The blacks should not be driven back upon the rebels but should be used to fight traitors. “Let our armies forage on the country and not pay. Conciliatory measures have failed to win the South. . . . Persistent, relentless, stupendous, exterminating war.” “If I were Lincoln,” he impatiently stated in February, 1861, “I would lead enough of the army of the Potomac to

³⁷Message of Governor Yates to General Assembly of Illinois, Jan. 5, 1863.

³⁸*Ibid.*

take Richmond—and this, though Washington could not be saved—I would march to victory or death—Washington is nothing, if we remain an unconquered people with our institutions safe . . . Deal out death, destruction, and desolation to the rebels . . . We will fight the war through to the bitter end till the rebel states lay down their arms and beg for peace—our motto being the unconditional submission of the traitors, and the nation one and undivided in all the geographical boundaries from gulf to gulf and from ocean to ocean.”³⁹

He was restless because the United States was so extremely cautious. On July 1, 1862, in a public letter, Yates called upon Lincoln for more rigorous measures:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, *Springfield, Illinois*,
July 1, 1862.

President Lincoln, Washington, D. C.

“The crisis of the war and our national existence is upon us. The time has come for the adoption of more decisive measures. Great vigor and earnestness must be diffused into our military movements. Blows must be struck at the vital points of the rebellion. The government should employ every available means compatible with the rules of warfare to subject the traitors. Summon to the standard of the Republic all men willing to fight for the Union. Let loyalty, and that alone, be the dividing line between the nation and its foes. Generals should not be permitted to fritter away the sinews of our brave men in guarding the property of rebels and in driving back into their hands loyal blacks who offer us their labor and seek shelter beneath the federal flag. Shall we sit supinely by and see the war sweep off the youth and strength of the land and refuse aid from that class of men who are at least worthy foes of traitors and the murderers of our government and of our children.

“Our armies should be directed to forage on the enemy and to cease paying traitors and their abettors exorbitant exactions for food needed by the sick and hungry soldiers. Mild

³⁹Yates to Trumbull, Feb. 14, 1862.

and conciliatory means have been tried in vain to recall the rebels to their allegiance. The conservative policy has utterly failed to reduce traitors to obedience and to restore the supremacy of the laws. They have, by means of sweeping conscription, gathered in countless herds and threatened to beat back and overcome the armies of the Union. With blood and treason in their hearts, they flaunt the black flag of rebellion in the face of the government, and threaten to butcher our brave and loyal armies with foreign bayonets. They arm negroes and merciless savages in their behalf.

"Mr. Lincoln, the crisis demands greater and sterner measures. Proclaim anew the good old motto of the Republic: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," and accept the services of *all loyal men*, and it will be in your power to stamp armies out of the earth—irresistible armies that will bear our banners to certain victory. In any event, Illinois, already alive with beat of arms and resounding with the tramp of new recruits, will respond to your call. Adopt this policy and she will leap like a flaming sword into the fight."⁴⁰

In support of this attitude on the part of Yates, the following and other resolutions were passed:

"Resolved, that we the members of the Republican Club of Chicago, have read with thrilling interest the recent letter of Gov. Yates to the President of the United States and we most heartily endorse every sentiment therein set forth."⁴¹

Five weeks later, at the Sherman House in Chicago, we find him saying, " * * * so to-night my voice is still for war—stern, relentless, exterminating war—until a traitor's foot shall no longer disgrace American soil; until from every Union legion shall go up the glad sound of victory, and until from every fort shall wave the glorious old stars and stripes."⁴²

⁴⁰Reports of General Assembly of Illinois, I, 15.

⁴¹Illinois State Journal, July 23, 1862.

⁴²Chicago Tribune, Aug. 6, 1862.

Governor Yates was justly proud of the part played by the Northwest in general and the state of Illinois in particular. He said as much on many occasions. This was nothing new because while in Congress he had waged many a battle for the Northwest which needed help and sympathy in her development. Beginning with his inaugural address, three months before the war actually started, and closing with his last message to the General Assembly of Illinois, there appeared in his speeches the eternal challenge of the Northwest.

“It is a source of mortification to all western men that the Mississippi should have remained so long obstructed when every man of us in the West has felt and still feels that it can be opened whenever western valor is appealed to and brought to the accomplishment of that object. Indeed, it is not only an immense loss to the whole Northwest but directly touches the pride of her loyal people.”⁴³

Two years after the war had begun, after Illinois had given of the best of her sons, after those who stayed at home had endured the hardships of privation and toil, and after money had been spent freely for the Union cause, Yates declared:

“Our state has nobly stood by the Constitution and the Union. She has not faltered for a moment in her devotion. She has sent her sons in thousands to defend the flag and avenge the insults heaped upon it by the traitor hordes who have dared trail it in the dust. On every battlefield she has poured out her blood, a willing sacrifice. And she still stands ready to do or die in the glorious cause. She has also sent out the angel of mercy side by side with him who carries the flaming sword of war. On the gory battlefield amid the dying and the dead, in the hospital among the sick and wounded soldiers of our state may be seen her sons and daughters ministering consolation and shedding the presence of a benign charity which knows no fear; which dreads not the pestilence that walketh by night or the bullet of the foe by day.”⁴⁴

⁴³Message of Governor Yates to General Assembly of Illinois, Jan. 5, 1863, in *Illinois Reports*, I.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

And after the war, what then? One must admire his optimistic prophetic declarations when the war waxed hottest. He was convinced that the cause of the war was slavery.

"And after slavery, the cause of the quarrel is removed—and the South has become satisfied that one Southern man cannot whip five Northern men—that both North and South are equal in courage—they will live like two good friends who have fought it out and are better friends ever after.

"So Massachusetts and Virginia shall again unite over the grave of treason, and again will the new-born sister of the Confederacy live in the bonds of new brotherhood—and, with fresh allegiance, and an unfailing faith in the strength of our institutions, and in man's capacity for self-government, move on as one people, united forever."⁴⁵

As the other great representative of the great Northwest, Yates was ever the firm friend and supporter of Lincoln. Their close friendship began in 1854 when Lincoln took the stump in Illinois with no other object in view but the reelection of Yates to the Congress of the United States. In 1860, at the National Convention, Yates supported and campaigned for Lincoln and afterward traveled the state in his behalf.⁴⁶ As the governor of Illinois none were more loyal to Lincoln than Yates. On March 4, 1864, he declared that the people would have no other but Abe Lincoln and that he was for him. He believed that Lincoln was honest and that his judgment was without a peer. The union would surely be saved in Lincoln's administration.

Governor Yates was truly the great spokesman of the Union cause throughout the war and his influence in the councils of the North cannot be overestimated. He was an indefatigable worker and a convincing, level-headed orator.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ILLINOIS STATE MILITIA.

In the family of states, Illinois occupied a strategic position, geographically, commercially, and sectionally, in the na-

⁴⁵Illinois State Journal, Feb. 3, 1864: Speech of Governor Yates on the Arrival of the 10th Illinois Cavalry Veteran Volunteers.

⁴⁶Cole, Arthur C., *The Centennial History of Illinois*, III, 199.

tional crisis over secession. It was the keystone of the nation in many ways. It reaches farther south and nearer to the heart of the "cotton kingdom" than any other free state. Cairo is in the same latitude as Richmond, Virginia. Illinois is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River and on the south and the southeast by its tributaries which are the main line of travel and trade into the great South. She has a long frontage on Lake Michigan which is one link in the chain of waterways to the east. Geographically and commercially she is bound to both the North and the South. She was wedged in by the free states of Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa. More than any other state she was drawn to both sections. Furthermore, her settlers came from both sections. Moving westward along lines of latitude, southerners, with strong southern sympathies, had settled in those counties across the Ohio from Kentucky and Tennessee, while in counties farther north, people from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England had brought with them strong northern sympathies. In a small way, Illinois represented the condition of the nation—"a house divided against itself," half slave and half free. When Lincoln and Douglas were holding their joint debates, Douglas declared that Lincoln would not dare make the same speech in southern Illinois that he made in Freeport and Ottawa. Lincoln never denied the accusation. In the last analysis, however, her sentiments were those of freedom and union, principles for which all of her great leaders stood. For many years she furnished many lines of "underground railroad" with increasing business. The fugitives which used these railroads came principally from Missouri. To her credit it may be said that she passed no personal liberty laws and in no other way gave official sanction to the breaking of the national fugitive slave laws. Richard Yates could truthfully say in his first inaugural address that Illinois had enforced the fugitive slave law as well as she enforced other laws. However, the working of the "underground railroad" had divided the sympathies of the state. Illinois, like all other lake states, was in danger of secession activities from Canada

during the war. Only the extreme watch-care of federal authorities prevented a prison delivery of the southern soldiers confined at Camp Douglas, near the present site of the University of Chicago.⁴⁷ Illinois presented a rich field for the working of the Confederate agents. With her large population, great natural resources, and strategic geographical position on the Mississippi, Lake Michigan, and in the midst of loyal and border states, Illinois was in a position to render the federal government immense assistance if she took a firm stand against secession, or to do great harm if she assumed a luke-warm position on the preservation of the Union.

The biggest determining factor in the position of Illinois in the crisis of 1861-1865 was Richard Yates, her governor and an active and prudent commander-in-chief of her militia. He was not only the spokesman of the North, but he set himself to do his utmost to complete the task with which the federal government found itself confronted. He showed marked ability in handling all kinds of opinion in Illinois. He realized very early in the strife the gigantic difficulties of that task. His membership in Congress had furnished him the opportunity of hearing the views of southern leaders and he knew with what steadfastness they would defend those views during a war. He said:

“And such a war! It is said ‘when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war.’ When American shall meet American—when the fiery impetuous valor of the South shall come in contact with the cool determined bravery of the North then blood shall flow to the horses’ bridles. Would that the calamity might be averted.”⁴⁸

In the federal military war organization the governor of the state was commander-in-chief of the state militia and effected its organization—collecting the troops and appointing the officers. Governor Yates’ office became the busiest and one of the most attractive places in the capitol, and, in conjunction with the Adjutant-General’s office, the center of pub-

⁴⁷Chicago Tribune, 8th and 9th, 1864; Apr. 25, 1864.

⁴⁸Message of Governor Yates to the Illinois General Assembly, May 1, 1861, as reported in the Illinois State Journal of that date.

lic interest. Its doors were besieged by anxious crowds of aspiring and patriotic citizens offering their influence, their services, their advice, and sometimes their money, to aid their country. They came singly and in companies. With the patriot there came the speculator whose motive was self-promotion and self-gain. Men of all parties came and the demand for positions far exceeded the supply.

Throughout the war, Governor Yates called for volunteers as the President made demands upon the states. Some of the states tried conscription early in the war, but Yates adopted the other policy and worked it to the limit. The results were very satisfactory. He felt, as many others did, that conscription would be unwise, and a blot upon the name of the great state of Illinois. His calls for volunteers are marvels of appeal to the patriotism of the men of Illinois. As a result, Illinois furnished nearly 260,000 men to the service, only 3,538 of whom were secured by draft—a far greater offering in proportion to her population than she made in the World War. With one-thirteenth of the population of the loyal states, she sent one-tenth of the soldiers, and when the country at last became war-weary she sent one-eighth. Had the United States government not discouraged volunteering in the early stages of the war, the number of drafted men might have been reduced. At first it was the policy of the government to discourage volunteering. Later the draft was necessary. Yates chafed under this policy and Illinois lost thousands of volunteers, who, not being accepted in Illinois, went into bordering states, particularly Missouri, and were accepted into the Union army. For many of these Illinois later received credit, but many were lost beyond recovery. Sometimes whole regiments of Missouri volunteers were composed of Illinois men.⁴⁹

When the first call for troops came, it found Illinois with an obsolete, almost worthless military organization on its hands. Adjutant-General Fuller's report for 1861-2 revealed

⁴⁹Ottawa Free Trader, Aug. 17, 1861; Illinois Adjutant-General, Annual Report, Apr. 1861-Dec. 1862, 20.

the following: 1857-60 certificates showed the election of only 37 company officers. The report of the Ordnance Department for 1862 showed 362 U. S. altered muskets, 105 Harper's Ferry and Deniger rifles, 133 musketoons, and 297 horse-pistols in the arsenals. Scattered about the state were a few hundred unserviceable arms and accouterments principally in the hands of the militia.

Early in 1861, the General Assembly had attempted to prepare the state for the coming civil strife by reorganizing the militia. Theoretically, all of the able-bodied men in Illinois were enrolled in the militia, but there were actually only about 800 uniformed militia all-told. The General Assembly hesitated to offend the men of the southern counties for it still hoped that the South might be pacified without the use of force, and so no effective action was taken as to organization. "As Democrats we claim exemption from this Black Republican war," declared the Joliet Signal, January 15, 1861. "Let the Black Republicans of Illinois do the training and fighting, if necessary, for it was their party that brought the calamity upon the country. We trust that the Democratic leaders of our legislature will vote against arming and drilling our people to prepare for murdering and butchering their southern brethren." William H. Green of Massac County declared that his constituents "like a wall of fire" would oppose the invasion of the North, but "if the North were marched upon the South, her forces would be met upon the prairies and be made to march over the dead bodies of the men who people them."⁵⁰ The Senate therefore held up the bill for the militia's reorganization—Richard J. Oglesby, chairman of the committee in charge, remarking that should it be necessary "the whole country, having the love of the Union at heart, will rise en masse, and disregarding the hindrances of the military law, volunteer their services to the proper authority of the state, speedily and without delay."⁵¹

The Illinois share of the 75,000 men first called by Lincoln was overfilled in five days.

⁵⁰Reports of Illinois General Assembly, 1861, I, 10.

⁵¹Chicago Tribune, Jan. 12, 1861.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 15, 1861.*

His Excellency, Richard Yates,

Call made on you by to-night's mail for six regiments for immediate service.

SIMON CAMERON, *Sec'y of War*.⁵²

Bankers of Springfield placed a million dollars at the disposal of Yates to defray the temporary expenses of the military organization until the extra session of the legislature should make permanent provision for Illinois to do her part in the service of the United States.

As a result of this call by the President, the General Assembly was called in special session and appropriated \$1,000,000 for the organization and equipment of ten regiments of infantry, \$500,000 for purchasing arms and building a powder magazine, and \$20,000,000 for general defense in the form of cavalry and four batteries.⁵³ All were accepted by the war department. Four additional regiments were raised before the battle of Bull Run and sixteen after it. The government could be induced to accept only one-fourth of those volunteering. This indicates the rapid response to the appeal of Yates. Secretary of War Cameron thought that the war would be short and the extra regiments not needed. Illinois made two grave errors in the raising of her troops. Instead of filling the depleted ranks of the regiments already in the field, as Wisconsin did, she continued to raise new regiments to afford commissions to inexperienced officers, to the number of 150 infantry, 17 cavalry, and 33 batteries. Regiments made up of poorly trained men and officers were thrown into the battles and the losses under fire were enormous. Had the veteran regiments been kept full by inexperienced recruits, the veterans would have taught the new recruits to be soldiers and the losses would have been less. Governor Yates felt that volunteering was the best way to indicate the patriotism of the State. Surely this was true, but it had one marked disadvant-

⁵²Illinois, Adjutant-General, Annual Report, April, 1861-Dec., 1862, 7.

⁵³Reports of General Assembly of Illinois, 1861, I, 17.

age. It left the disloyal group at home and the Copperhead Constitutional Convention of 1862 and the General Assembly of 1863 are to be explained by this condition. In December, 1861, she had 60,000 men in the army, in 1862 she had more than doubled that number, and the volunteering was so rapid in 1863 that on January 1, 1864, she was far in excess of her quota. In 1864 she kept ahead of her quota, but in 1865 the draft began in a few counties. Her mothers and daughters went into the fields to raise the crops and keep the families together while the fathers and sons went to preserve the Union. "I knew a father and four sons who agreed that one of them must stay at home; and they pulled straws from a stack to see who must go. The father was left. The next day he came into camp, saying, 'Mother says she can get the crops in and I am going, too.'⁵⁴ I knew large Methodist churches from which every adult male member went to the army." The hearty response of Illinois to the call for volunteers was due largely to the leadership of Governor Yates.

Although Illinois regiments were found in all theaters of the war, her military strength was used mainly along certain well-established lines. At the beginning of the war, a secession movement in southern Illinois was feared, and the possession of Cairo was necessary because of its strategic military importance. The first duty of Illinois was to garrison Cairo lest the Confederates take it. Under the orders of Yates from Secretary Cameron,⁵⁵ 908 men were sent armed, supplied from family stores or from the Chicago stores. It was done none too soon because the disloyal governors of Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee had planned to occupy the city. The next step was to attack secession in Missouri, and win it for the Union. The next step was the driving of the Confederates out of Kentucky and Tennessee, thus removing all danger to southern Illinois from that source. In the winning of these three border states, Illinois stands first with her help. In the opening of the Mississippi River Illinois played a large part, and last, but by no means least, more than seventy regiments

⁵⁴Hyde, J. F., *History of Logan County*, 41.

⁵⁵Illinois, Adjutant-General, *Annual Report*, Apr. 1861-Dec., 1862, 12.

were in Sherman's victorious army on its march to the sea. She produced a large number of statesman-generals and of these we are proud. She claimed John M. Palmer, John A. McClernand, John Pope, Stephen A. Hurlbut, Eton H. Farnsworth, Richard Oglesby, John A. Logan, and Ulysses S. Grant as her sons.

The relation between the state and the national government is such that one cannot function properly without the other. This was particularly true in time of war, especially in this war for the preservation of the Union which has taken its place among the great wars of the world. For numbers of men engaged, cost, issues at stake, duration, it was one of the mightiest of modern wars. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and the navy and of the state militia when it is called into the service of the United States. But the President is dependent upon the state for the enlisting and organizing of the militia. So, from 1861 to the end of the war, President Lincoln called on the loyal governors to raise troops for the army. When the President made his first call for troops, many of the governors either refused to answer the appeal or ignored it.⁵⁶ It soon developed that some of the states could not be depended upon, their willingness, of course, depending upon the loyalty of their governors. Some of the governors were willing to do everything possible to assist the President in prosecuting the war. The governors who loyally supported the federal authorities came to be known as the "war governors," and foremost among these was Richard Yates of Illinois. Other governors who received the distinctive title were Nathaniel S. Berry of New Hampshire, Edward D. Morgan of New York, Andrew J. Curtin of Pennsylvania, David Todd of Ohio, Francis H. Pierpont of Virginia, John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, Augustus W. Bradford of Maryland, Austin Blair of Michigan, William Sprague of Rhode Island, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, and Edward Salomon of Wisconsin.

⁵⁶Illinois, Adjutant-General, Annual Report, April, 1861-Dec., 1862, 14.

In the number of soldiers furnished, Illinois stood fourth, —New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio excelling her. In proportion to her population she stood second, being surpassed by Kansas a new state with an unusually large number of men of military age. This tribute to the Illinois troops who forced Fort Donelson to capitulate came from a New England poet:

Oh, gates that dash the Atlantic swell
 Along our rocky shores,
 Whose thunders diapason swell
 New England's glad huzzahs,
 Bear to the prairies of the West
 The echoes of our joy;
 The prayer that springs in every breast,
 God bless thee, Illinois.

Oh, awful hours when grape and shell
 Tore through her unflinching line;
 Stand firm, remove the men who fell,
 Close up and wait the sign.

It came at last; now, boys, the steel!
 The rushing hosts deploy;
 Charge, boys, the broken traitors reel,
 Huzza! for Illinois!

In vain, thy rampart, Donelson,
 The living torrent bars;
 It leaps the wall, the fort is won,
 Up go the Stripes and Stars.

Thy proudest mother's eyelids fill
 As dares her gallant boy,
 And Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill
 Yearn to thee, Illinois.⁵⁷

The brave sons of Illinois rest along the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, in the mountains of the South, along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and in the line of the

⁵⁷Eddy, T. M., *The Patriotism of Illinois*, I, 203.

marching Northern armies wherever they might go. The Illinois quota under the calls of the President were as follows:

In 1861	47,785
In 1862	32,685
In 1863	64,640
In 1864	52,260

This made a total of nearly 250,000 men. Of this number, 5,857 were killed in battle, 3,051 died of wounds, and 19,934 died of sickness.⁵⁸

Feeling that the war needed to be won quickly and that more men were needed to sustain certain movements of the regulars, five governors initiated the following project:

April 23, 1864.

To the President of the United States:

- I. The governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin offer to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign as follows:

Ohio	30,000
Indiana	20,000
Illinois	20,000
Iowa	10,000
Wisconsin	5,000

- II. The terms of service to be 100 days, reckoned from the date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.
- III. The troops to be mustered into the service of the United States by regiments, when the regiments are filled up according to regulations, to the minimum strength—the regiments to be organized according to the regulations of the War Department. The whole number to be furnished within 20 days from date of notice of the acceptance of the proposition.

⁵⁸Adjutant-General, Report, 1861-1865.

- IV. The troops to be clothed, armed, equipped, transported, and paid as other United States infantry volunteers, and to serve in fortifications, or wherever their services may be required, within or without their respective states.
- V. No bounty to be paid the troops, nor the service charged or credited to any draft.
- VI. The draft for three years service to go on in any state or district where the quota is not filled up; but if any officer or soldier in the special service should be drafted, he shall be credited for the service rendered.

JAMES BROUGH, *Governor of Ohio*,
RICHARD YATES, *Governor of Illinois*,
O. P. MORTON, *Governor of Indiana*,
WILLIAM M. STONE, *Governor of Iowa*,
JAS. T. LEWIS, *Governor of Wisconsin*.⁵⁹

The foregoing proposition was accepted and the Secretary of War was directed to carry it into execution. Lincoln felt the need of these troops and on March 21, he sent the following telegram to each of the governors of the five states:

"The getting forward of 100-day troops to sustain Gen. Sherman's lengthening line promises much good. Please put your best efforts to the work."

On October 1, 1864, he issued the following order of thanks to the 100-day troops:

"The term of 100 days for which volunteers from the states of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, and Wisconsin volunteered under the call of their respective governors in the months of May and June to aid the recent campaign of Gen. Sherman, having expired, the President directs an official acknowledgment to be made of their patriotic service. It was their good fortune to render effective service in the brilliant operations in the Southwest, and to contribute to the victories of the national arms over the rebel forces in Georgia under command of Johnson and Hood. On all occasions, and in every

⁵⁹Chicago Times, Apr. 29, 1864.

service to which they were consigned, their duty as patriotic volunteers was performed with alacrity and courage, for which they are entitled to and are hereby tendered, the national thanks through the governors of their respective states."

The hostile press of Illinois attacked Yates because of his part in the offer of these additional troops, but he was a man with a mighty determination to win the war for the North. The idea of using negro troops was urged by Trumbull and Yates and in the fall of 1863 an Illinois regiment of negro troops was authorized by the War Department. Failure to give them the same pay and bounty as the whites received prevented much enthusiasm and results.⁶⁰

Cairo controlled two rivers and was the terminal of the Illinois Central Railroad. It is not strange that many of the people of Southern Illinois should have had southern sympathies when the South seceded. Their friends and relatives were there; they were brought up on southern ideals. However, when it came to a choice, great numbers threw themselves wholeheartedly into the Union cause. The prompt action of Governor Yates in sending troops there helped many to decide. A farmer near Cairo said, "I tell you what it is, them brass missionaries has converted a heap of folks that was on the anxious seat." Egypt and Southern Illinois furnished more soldiers per voting population than any other section of Illinois. On August 21, 1861, Governor Yates said, "It is with pride and in a spirit of exultation that I refer to the patriotic response of Southern Illinois to the late call made by me for troops. From Southern Illinois alone the requisition could have been filled."⁶¹ This was due in large measure to the courageous loyalty of such Democrats as Douglas and McClernand. William Jayne of Springfield said of Douglas: "I heard that speech in the State House, April 25, 1861. There would have been war in Illinois but for Douglas. Justice has never been done to his memory. He

⁶⁰Adjutant-General of Illinois, Report, 1861-1866, VIII, 777.

⁶¹Proclamation of Governor Yates for Volunteers, Aug. 21, 1861.

was a great man and a true patriot.”⁶² Douglas said there could be only two parties—not Republicans and Democrats, but patriot and traitor. “It is a duty we owe to ourselves and our children and our God,” he said in closing, “to protect this government and our flag from every assailant be he who he may.”⁶³ Then, too, at first, the Democrats were inclined to regard Mr. Lincoln’s policy as a threat of aggressive war, but when the war was a reality and Governor Yates was making his rousing call to the cause of the Union, these Democrats espoused the Union cause. John A. Logan, “the little Egyptian giant,” did much to keep Egypt loyal and his call for a regiment met ready response.

During the first weeks of the war, the Governor’s office was crowded with men who were seeking commands, offering advice, and promising funds. Among these was Ulysses S. Grant, a quiet and unassuming man who had once been a captain in the regular army following his training in West Point. In his “Personal Memoirs” written in 1885, General Grant says concerning his first meeting with Richard Yates and his appointments by Yates: “In time the Galena Company was mustered into the United States service, forming a part of the 11th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. My duties, I thought, had ended at Springfield, and I was prepared to start home by the evening train, leaving at nine o’clock. Up to that time I do not think I had been introduced to Governor Yates, or had ever spoken to him. I knew him by sight, however, because he was living at the same hotel, and I often saw him at the table. The evening I was to quit the Capital I left the supper room before the Governor, and was standing at the front door when he came out. He spoke to me, calling me by my old army title “Captain” and said that he understood that I was about leaving the city. I answered that I was. He said he would be glad if I would remain over night and call at the executive office the next morning. I complied with his request, and was asked to go into the Adjutant General’s office and render such assistance as I could, *the Governor saying that*

⁶²Baldwin, Eugene F., *Story of Illinois during the Civil War*, 100.

⁶³Humphrey, Grace, *Illinois*, 188.

my army experience would be of great service there. I accepted the proposition..”⁶⁴ He was soon assigned to the camps of organization. Camp Yates was at Springfield, Camp Grant at Mattoon, and Camp Anna at Anna. Governor Yates tells of his offering the Colonelcy of the Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers to Grant: “The Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers had become much demoralized under the thirty days experiment, and doubts arose in relation to their acceptance for a longer period. I was much perplexed to find an experienced and efficient officer to take charge of the regiment and take it into three years’ service. I decided to offer the command to Captain Grant, temporarily at Covington, Kentucky, tendering him the Colonelcy. He immediately reported, accepting the commission taking rank as colonel of that regiment from June 15, 1861.”^{64*}

In a few months he was brigadier-general and the victory at Fort Donelson made him a major-general and gave him the name of “Unconditional Surrender” Grant. He led the armies in the West until the Mississippi was open to the gulf. Then Lincoln sent him against Richmond and the surrender of Lee brought safety to the Union. *Credit for the discovery of Grant must be given to Yates.*

The quick action of Governor Yates in sending Illinois troops to occupy Cairo, brought a protest from the South. A Kentucky Congressman wrote President Lincoln, complaining that Cairo was occupied by Union troops and that Kentucky regarded the occupation as a usurpation and offense. President Lincoln wrote back that had he suspected that Cairo was in Kentucky he would not have allowed its occupation by Northern troops.⁶⁵

Too much credit cannot be given Governor Yates for the hearty response which Illinois made to the call to arms. He thus describes the response:

“Our noble state, as of yore, has responded in a voice of thunder. The entire mass is alive to the crisis. * * * The

⁶⁴Grant, U. S., Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, 186.

^{64*}The Chicago Sunday Tribune, Dec. 15, 1918.

⁶⁵Eddy, T. M., Patriotism of Illinois, 96.

attack upon Fort Sumter produced a most startling transformation on the northern mind and awakened a sleeping giant, and served to show as no other event in the history of the past ever did, the deep-seated fervor and affection with which our whole people regarded our glorious union. Party distinctions vanish as a mist, in a single night, as if by magic; the parties and party platforms were swept, as a morning dream, from the minds of men, and now men of all parties, by thousands are begging for places in the ranks. The blood of twenty million of freemen boils with caldron heat, to replace the national flag upon the very walls whence it was insulted and by traitor hands pulled down. Every village and hamlet resounds with beat of drum and clangor of arms. Three hundred thousand men wait the click of the wires for marching orders, and all the giant energies of the Northwest are at the command of the government.⁶⁶

So martial was the spirit aroused in the hearts of peace-loving Illinoisans by stirring appeals to rally to the flag. War meetings were held to encourage enlistments and subscriptions were taken to help equip the soldiers and take care of their families. There was many an old man and many a young man under twenty-one who perjured himself in swearing to his age on enlistment. Our foreign population was very patriotic. There were German regiments, Israelite regiments, Portuguese regiments, and Scotch regiments. There was a regiment of school teachers mustered by President Hovey of the Illinois State Normal School, and even an infantry company of ministers.⁶⁷ The great spur to enlistment was the desire to avoid the draft. This was held as a whip over the able-bodied men of the State and arrangements were made repeatedly to put the draft law into operation. In the summer of 1862 the draft seemed so sure that there was a rush for Canada which was checked when it was required that traveling must be done under passes issued by deputy marshals.⁶⁸ Recruits held back to see how high bounties would go. In

⁶⁶Eddy, T. M., *Patriotism of Illinois*, 91.

⁶⁷Pease, Theodore Calvin, *The Story of Illinois*, 259.

⁶⁸Adjutant-General of Illinois, Report. 1861-1866, 1, 137.

1864, in Rockford, each volunteer was receiving \$400 from the city and county governments. Bounties became a burden before the war was closed.⁶⁹ Although the volunteer system had its advantages, it also had its marked short-comings. Many popular but inexperienced leaders raised companies for themselves. The most loyal were taken from their homes to fight the enemy while the less loyal and the disloyal were left at home to run the government. This was very unfortunate in the crisis. Then, too, the draft system would have furnished a more efficient army. The Democrats attacked the provision by which a man was permitted to buy his exemption from service. The Chicago Tribune, which had at first defended conscription on the basis of its democratic principle, came to admit that "if the \$300 clause is the poor man's friend we don't think they see it."

Illinois was back of its governor whole-heartedly. Says the Missouri Democrat:

"Everyone will peruse the thrilling appeal of Governor Yates to the people of Illinois. Profoundly will it stir the breast of every patriot in the land. To him has been given to utter the winged words that shall rally and inspire legions of freemen to scatter the hordes of treason in dismay. He has struck the key-note of the holy war cry that was just to burst from the impatient millions in the loyal states. With rare simplicity and power has he presented the momentousness of interests imperiled, the grandness and sacredness of his country's cause, and the unutterable glory of its success. From all the prairies and hillsides gallant Illinois will answer him with such an outpouring of heroes as shall astonish the world."⁷⁰

When such appeals went forth to the young men of Illinois, and a new one did go forth each time the President issued a call for more troops, volunteers rushed to enlist.

"Illinoisans! we are soon to make a record for our state. Each state will be justly emulous to inscribe her name in the

⁶⁹Aurora Beacon, Aug. 7, 1862.

⁷⁰Illinois State Journal, Aug. 28, 1862, from Missouri Democrat.

scroll of fame which the historians of this war have already commenced to write. Shall not the star which answers to Illinois be brightest in the galaxy of the thirty-four? On many a field of glory she has written an imperishable record of her prowess, and while the names of her Hardin, her Bissell, her Shields, and her Baker, and the gallant men around them remain, her fame is secure.”⁷¹

And again:

“I now appeal to the young men of Illinois to join our veteran heroes, who on weary march and battle plain, call you to their side. You have the renown of your Forefathers to sustain, and the consecrated memories of the noble dead to write upon the annals of the Republic to be saved by its citizens in arms. Between you and them there is a covenant, and you are pledged by every sentiment of loyalty and honor to God and country to sustain them in the hour of conflict. ’Tis ours to accomplish the mission of the century, to inspire new faith in the capacity of man for self-government, to preserve the dignity of labor, and to transmit to posterity the free government of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. If you desire your names associated with the glories of this war, enlist now for the signs are that the end is near at hand.”⁷²

Not only were the people at home loyal to Governor Yates but the soldiers in the field were his staunch supporters. In the failure of the General Assembly of 1863 to support the war, and in the investigations which the Constitutional Convention of 1862 carried on in an attempt to involve Governor Yates’ administration in difficulties, the Illinois regiments in the field rose in protest against any criticism of their governor and his administration. The disloyal publications of some of the Illinois papers brought sharp reproofs from the volunteers.

Richard Yates proved to be a great commander-in-chief of the military organization of a great state. In response

⁷¹Proclamation of Governor Yates for Volunteers, Aug. 21, 1861.

⁷²Proclamation of Governor Yates for Volunteers, Feb. 5, 1864, in *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 16, 1864.

to his rousing appeals, and under his inspiring leadership, Illinois gained for herself an enviable military record in the Civil War.

THE SOLDIERS' FRIEND.

The first battle of the war found the state and federal governments but little prepared to care for the sick and the wounded. It devolved upon the states to exert themselves to the utmost, since their tasks in other ways were smaller, and because their interest in their own boys were perhaps more personal. Governor Yates was especially active in the work of caring for our boys in the field. When news came that Fort Donelson had been captured, Governor Yates and his staff hastened to the battlefield to help in caring for the sick and wounded. After the battle of Shiloh, the Governor on being offered a steamboat, the "Blackhawk," by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, gathered provisions, nurses, doctors, helpers, stretchers, and medical and surgical supplies and hurried to the battleground where many of the wounded had been lying on the ground for days with their wounds uncared-for. The improvised hospitals were altogether inadequate for their needs. Yates was a keen observer of the effects of the battle, the merits of the commanding officers, and the morale of the soldiers. He inspected the hastily constructed hospitals and saw that the Illinois regiments were well provided with surgeons and surgical dressings, better provided, perhaps, than the troops from any other state. Those who were so severely wounded that they would be out of the service for some time and could be moved were brought north to Illinois and were given passes over the railroads to their homes where they were cared for by friends and relatives, or were sent to hospitals at Quincy, Peoria, or Springfield. The "Blackhawk" made three trips, bringing about one thousand in all. In his answer to the needs of our boys in the field, Yates did not wait for appropriations, but assumed the responsibility himself and secured the aid of his friends. Very early he came to be called the "soldiers' friend."

Some of the most severely wounded were greatly disappointed because they could not be moved North. One soldier said that he would be entirely satisfied if he might die at home. When he was told that Yates was coming back, he was pleased and declared that "Dick" Yates never broke his word to a soldier.⁷³ During the attempt to take Vicksburg, Yates and others responsible for the expense, chartered the "City of Alton" and brought back the sick and wounded. His forethought provided for the wounded after the battle of Corinth. Many Illinois' sons were "snatched from the jaws of death" by his remarkable efforts.

All through the war Richard Yates carried on his heart the responsibility for the well-being of the Illinois "boys." The "telegram" nights were full of anguish for him. Such nights brought such messages as these: "Big Battles to-day; ten thousand killed, wounded, and missing; over half the regiments engaged hail from Illinois." Yates knew that among those Illinois boys, wounded and killed, were many who had answered his personal appeal, for he had spoken in nearly every county of the state. In memory he could see those faces of his boys, white in the glare of flaming torches, as he promised them, that should they enlist, Illinois would not forget them but would follow them to the battle field. And so he walked the floor when the telegrams came.

He has recounted an experience on one of his many trips to the battle fields. In substance it was this: "I arrived on my Illinois Hospital boat. Desiring to be the first man on shore, I started down the gangplank, the very moment it touched the land. But, before I could take more than one step, two soldier boys rushed up the plank, and said, "Here, take this boy"; and they threw into my arms, a boy, wounded and dying. He was all covered with blood, streaming from a horrible gash and gap in his breast. His breast was all torn and lacerated by a fragment of a shell, and his right arm hung shattered at his side, and he was just one mass of blood and gore. I received the precious burden in my arms, and

⁷³Smith, Geo. W., *Student's History of Illinois*, 462.

turned and staggered up the plank with it. And, just as I reached the deck of the steamboat, proper, that boy opened his eyes, and looked at me. And there was, in that look, both agony and ecstasy; the agony of the approaching dissolution, and the ecstasy coming with the knowledge that he was going to Heaven, after having died for his country. He struggled and struggled, in an effort to speak, and finally, with much awful convulsive coughing, he managed to whisper. And with his last failing breath he said, 'Who are you?' And I said, 'Oh, my boy, I am the Governor of Illinois.' And that boy said two things; 'My Governor' and 'Tell Mother'; and then he died, right there in my arms. And that was what I was doing for four long agonized years; telling mothers.'^{73*}

"Wherever he is, in camp or field, in other states, or at sea or in foreign lands, he proudly points to his home and fervently calls God's blessing on his state and the Governor who has the will and the power to carry out the sacred purposes toward her suffering sons."⁷⁴

Yates knew the Illinois soldiers through mingling with them in camp and on the field, and he had watched them in battle.

When he visited the Army of the Mississippi, he was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. At Milliken's Bend, Perkin's plantation, Port Gibson, Memphis, and other places he reviewed the Illinois troops and aroused enthusiasm with his speeches. He addressed the officers on the transport before the bombardment of Grand Gulf. At Port Gibson he accompanied General Grant into action and saw the Illinois soldiers conduct themselves gallantly in battle. The boys hailed him enthusiastically on the battlefield. In health and morale the army was in good condition. Because of ill-health, Yates returned to Illinois but he hoped to be able to go South later and see the opening of the Mississippi, a thing which he looked forward to even at the beginning of the war.

^{73*}Yates, Richard, Congressman-at-Large, Illinois, Richard Yates, Governor of Illinois—An address on the dedication of the Statute of Richard Yates on the Illinois State Capitol Ground, Springfield, Oct. 16, 1923, 7.

⁷⁴Illinois State Journal, May 21, 1862.

When Lincoln issued his first call for volunteers, no provision was made for equipping them at national expense. Public-spirited citizens of Illinois offered the Governor \$1,000,000 to meet the emergency and when the General Assembly met it appropriated generously. Yates felt that it was not economy to buy cheap equipment so when he let the first contracts for uniforms he ordered better material than was found in the uniforms bought by the United States government. He was severely criticised by some people for his so-called extravagance, and by others who charged that the better material was a mere pretense on his part and that an investigation would show our troops no better equipped than the troops of any other state. The criticisms of the former were silenced when the United States credited Illinois with all that it had spent on uniforms, and the latter criticisms fell to the ground when the Constitutional Convention, which was anti-war and anti-Yates unheld Governor Yates in his expenditures and complimented him on the care of our soldiers. Officers and men gave witness to the fact that the overcoats, coats, pants, boots, shoes, drawers, undershirts, etc., furnished by Illinois were better than those furnished by the United States government,⁷⁵ and that the prudence, good judgment, timely expenditures, and wise forethought of the Governor and his military advisors have done more to save the lives, secure the gratitude, and promote the comfort of the Illinois troops than has been done by the executive of any other state—that in every respect our troops are better cared for, that the mortality was less, that the sickness was less, and that their general condition, whether one thought of their usefulness in the field or just their personal comfort, was much better than that of the soldiers of any other state.

Conditions in Camp Yates became deplorable and when Governor Yates was informed of the conditions he appointed an investigating committee. During the thorough investigation they discovered rank abuses. In their lengthy report

⁷⁵Illinois State Journal, Jan. 29, 1862.

to the Governor they described the abuses, made recommendations as to their remedy and had this to say concerning the Governor:

"Governor Yates has shown the same anxiety to secure the welfare and comfort of the soldiers and the same regard for the public service that have characterized his efficient actions."⁷⁶

The State Sanitary Bureau was founded by Governor Yates, August 20, 1862, and the position of Commissary General was assigned to Colonel John Williams on September 12, 1863. It became the Illinois State Sanitary Commission under the control of five directors with auxiliary commissioners in every locality where there were public-spirited men and women. It accomplished what the Red Cross did in the World War.

During the first year and one half of the war, the United States found itself rather helpless when it came to caring for the sick and the wounded of such a vast army so quickly collected. The assistance which the people of Illinois under the leadership of Yates had been trying to give, needed concerted action. Therefore the Governor initiated the organization which rendered such efficient service for the sick and the wounded, and concentrated the efforts of the whole great state.

"We must not let our brave boys think they are forgotten, but follow them in their marches with such things as they need for their comfort, which the government cannot supply, * * * wherever they go and at whatever cost."⁷⁷

The Illinois State Sanitary Commission directed by Yates followed the soldier.

It was recommended that the counties be organized into units so as to make the work systematic in the supplying of articles and funds. Through proclamations of the Governor, reports of the Commissary General and the State Agents in the field, the county and smaller local units were kept in-

⁷⁶Illinois State Journal, Feb. 17, 1864.

⁷⁷Moses, John, Illinois Historical and Statistical, II, 756.

formed as to the needs of the hospitals of Illinois and the armies in the field. During the war the public subscribed more than \$1,000,000 for the Commission. In his first proclamation to the people of Illinois in behalf of the Bureau, Yates asked for "vegetables especially"⁷⁸ in the form of potatoes and onions, also canned fruits, chickens, eggs, butter, and a continual, and liberal contribution from the people of Illinois for the soldiers. Packages were to be sent to Cairo and Springfield. At about the same time, Colonel Williams appealed for "every article of food, clothing, or bedding useful in the sickroom and in large quantities."⁷⁹

On March 18, 1863, the Commission made an appeal for the following articles as most needed:

"Shirts, drawers, socks, comforts, sheets, towels, body wrappers of flannel, ring pads covered with oil silk, dried fruits of all kinds and in large quantities, canned fruits, domestic wines, vinegar and sweet pickles, butter, eggs, dried beef, codfish, potatoes, onions, beets, parsnips, lemons, arrow-root, pearled barley, tapioca, corn starch, books, magazines, and papers.

"To check the ravages of scurvy, large quantities of potatoes, onions, and vinegar pickles are needed. Beets and carrots, etc., prepared in the usual way of pickling these vegetables are very valuable for the purpose. They should be put in tight casks and sent immediately. The following are always useful: dressing gowns, slippers, napkins, handkerchiefs, eye-shades, crutches, sponges, soaps, combs, needles and thread, bronchial troches, mustard, and cayenne pepper."⁸⁰

The Commission was supported by contributions of citizens, auxiliaries, and from the proceeds of three great fairs—a great Northwestern fair held October 27, 1863, in Chicago, the receipts being about \$60,000; a State Sanitary Fair in 1864 at Decatur; and another Northwestern Fair at Chi-

⁷⁸Illinois State Journal, Aug. 27, 1862.

⁷⁹Illinois State Journal, Sept. 20, 1863.

⁸⁰Ibid., March 18, 1863.

cago in 1865.⁸¹ The funds raised during the war—about a million dollars—were used in such ways as the buying of raw material to be made into clothing for the soldiers, the building and equipping of field and base hospitals, the distribution of supplies, and the payment of doctors and nurses. The auxiliaries not only kept the Commission supplied with things for the comfort of the soldiers in the field, but they were engaged in helping the families of volunteers and in raising money for soldiers' and orphans' homes.

The supplies were sent to the bases of the Commission at Cairo or Springfield and then distributed to the places in need. In one week, April 12-18, from Cairo, the Commission shipped five hundred packages—about two hundred of them vegetables and a considerable number of dried and canned fruit—and a large quantity of hospital clothing.⁸² These came from central Illinois. The local auxiliaries of the Illinois State Sanitary Commission became the initiators and sponsors of a great many types of movements if one may judge from the record of the Soldiers Aid Society of Bloomington, although their major activity was answering the appeals of Governor Yates and the Commission for supplies. During the war, the Society furnished the following to the Commission:

Money raised.....	\$18,237.50.
50 bbl. of kraut and pickles	
478 sheets	
582 pillow cases	
199 pillows	
75 pillow ticks	
121 comforts	
150 quilts	
21 mittens	
313 towels	
70 blankets	
203 shirts	
150 glasses of jelly	

⁸¹United States Sanitary Commission, Financial Report, June, 1861, to Oct. 1, 1865.

⁸²Illinois State Journal, Apr. 29, 1863.

595 rolls of bandages often torn from sheets
10,000 lbs. of paper and books
513 lbs. linen rags
50 prs. slippers
10 bbl. onions
10 bu. blackberries
120 flannel shirts
37 dressing gowns
269 drawers
134 socks
135 handkerchiefs
112 napkins
245 cans of fruit
25 needle books
40 bbl. of potatoes
100 lbs. pieplant
2 bu. dried apples
2 doz. fine combs
30 gal. wine
12 bu. peaches⁸³

The above was valued at \$4760. Funds for the use of the society were raised by means of musical concerts, lectures, private donations, festivals, union meetings in churches, Old Folks concerts, donation festivals, lotteries, continental suppers, children's concerts, exhibition sociables, National Fast days, booths at the State Fair, fairs, donations solicited by boys and girls, and on July 4, 1864, the money generally used for fireworks was given to the Aid Society.⁸⁴

Home base hospitals were established at Quincy, Peoria, and Springfield, and to these the sick and wounded were brought from the battlefields of the South. The Secretary of the Springfield Soldiers' Aid Society made the following semi-annual report to the Illinois State Sanitary Commission of which it was an auxiliary:

132 bedsacks
89 pillow ticks

⁸³Transactions of McLean County Historical Society, I, 237.

⁸⁴Transactions of McLean County Historical Society, I, 235.

- 54 feather pillows
- 3 moss pillows
- 208 pillow cases
- 61 curtains
- 185 handkerchiefs
- 819 sheets
- 61 comforts
- 256 towels
- 16 cushions
- 444 pairs of drawers
- (1040 of the above articles were made from material furnished by the Illinois State Sanitary Commission.)
- 8 canton flannel shirts
- 23 pairs canton flannel drawers
- 97 flannel shirts
- 203 pairs of woolen socks
- 29 pairs of slippers
- 8 pairs of mittens
- 1 pair of pants
- 45 combs
- 2 canes
- 395 bandages
- 1 air bed
- Old cotton, linen, and flannel
- 4 chairs
- 1 mop
- 22 earthen plates
- 2 bowls
- 215 quarts canned fruit, jelly, and tomatoes
- 47 pairs flannel drawers
- 3 pairs of shoes
- 18 collars
- 6 eye-shades
- 1 coat
- 1 pair crutches
- 1 strap for wounded limb
- 12 abdominal bandages

- Pins, and lint made by scraping old linen table cloths
with case knives
- 1 washing machine
 - 12 cups
 - 27 saucers
 - 5 pitchers
 - 272 gal. kraut and pickles
 - 49 gal. apple butter and sauce
 - 28 bottles domestic wine and cordial
 - 154 lbs. butter
 - 90 lbs. corn starch, farina, tapioca, and pearl barley
 - 50 lbs. dried beef
 - 15 bbl. fresh apples and vegetables
 - 1 bbl. cranberries
 - 17 bottles catsup
 - 1 gal. maple sugar
 - 2 cheeses
 - 255 lbs. codfish
 - 3½ bbl. crackers
- Pepper, Irish moss, honey, sugar, sage, dried and
parched corn, corn meal, lemons, ginger snaps,
chickens, and milk. In addition to the above, we
have furnished 104 articles of clothing for fe-
male nurses in the Memphis Hospital

MRS. L. TILTON, Sec'y.⁸⁵

(The above was from the towns around Springfield, also.)

The supplies were sent from Cairo to storehouses or
"Sanitary Rooms" in centers where they were issued to the
hospitals or to the soldiers direct. This was no small job if
one may judge from what was issued in one day, December 1,
1863, from the "Sanitary Rooms" at Chattanooga, Tennessee,
as reported by John R. Woods, Recording Secretary, Illinois
State Sanitary Commission:

"326 shirts, 81 sheets, 150 pillows, 169 pillow cases, 112
blankets, 116 towels, 250 pincushions, 4 prs. slippers, 12 vests,

⁸⁵Illinois State Journal, March 16, 1864.

235 prs. drawers, 305 pads and cushions, 32 dressing gowns, 6 hair brushes, 30 coarse and fine combs, 48 handkerchiefs, 2 coats, 15 arm slings, 12 eye-shades, 69 bushels potatoes, 23 bushel onions, 113 cans fruit, 12 bushel green apples, 2½ bu. turnips, 267 gal. pickles, 10 doz. lemons, 35 bottles wine, 377 lbs. concentrated milk, 53 lbs. codfish, 37 lbs. corn starch, 36 lbs. tea, 874 lbs. dried fruit, 14 lbs. cocoa, 165 lbs. extract of beef, 13 lbs. farina, 1077 lbs. soda crackers, 5 lbs. arrow root, 30 lbs. cheese, 10 lbs. rusk, 1200 books and newspapers.”⁸⁶

The Sanitary Commission accomplished much for the soldiers in the field and the hospitals and much for the folks at home. It supplied nurses and surgeons. Vegetables saved the men from scurvy, clothing added to their comfort, and the hospital supplies and the nurses and surgeons saved thousands from death.⁸⁷ It helped the ones at home by linking the homes with the battlefields, thus keeping up the spirits of both. It concentrated the efforts and interests of the communities in a worthy cause—a cause dear to all.

“The noble benefactors of the sick, at home, too, have done more by their generous gifts and great liberality than ever can be written, toward keeping the army of the Tennessee in its present healthy condition. (Siege of Vicksburg.)”⁸⁸

The Commission was efficiently organized. At the head was Governor Yates. Five directors determined the policies and methods. A Commissioner-General directed the activities of the organization. Responsible to the Commissioner-General were several State Agents who directed the work in different parts of Illinois and with the armies. The county and town units with their local organizations gathered funds and materials for use in the hospitals, on the battlefields, and in Southern prisons. To Governor Yates goes much credit for the work accomplished, not only because he was the originator of the plan, but because of his personal interest and work in the project. His stirring appeals won the support of the whole state.

⁸⁶Illinois State Journal, Jan. 16, 1864.

⁸⁷Ibid., Nov. 26, 1862.

⁸⁸Ibid., July 15, 1863—Official Report of State Agent, T. P. Robb, to Governor Yates.

DIFFICULTIES OF HIS POSITION.

39th General Assembly

On June 10, 1863, Governor Yates prorogued the General Assembly, the first time in the history of the State. The constitution gave him this privilege in case of a disagreement between the two houses concerning the time of adjournment. Believing that "the interests of the people of the State will be best subserved by a speedy adjournment, the past history of the General Assembly holding out no reasonable hope of beneficial results to the citizens of the State, or the army in the field, from its future continuance,"⁸⁹ he adjourned the Assembly until January, 1865. The House remained in session two weeks. The Supreme Court did not render a decision in the matter, but declared that as the General Assembly had adjourned, that closed the question. The action of Governor Yates was not only justified but it reveals the moral courage and loyalty of the man.⁹⁰

The State elections of 1862 had been a landslide for the Democrats—that element which was opposed to the war and the administration. The result of the election was due to the volunteer system maintained by the state administration. This took the loyal men into the army and left the disloyal group at home. It was this disloyal, stay-at-home element which elected the new members to the 39th General Assembly. The political status of this Assembly was as follows: Senate—Democrats 13, Republicans 12; House—Democrats 54, Republicans 32.

On the first day of the session, arrangements were made for a night meeting by a large number of well-known politicians and several members of the General Assembly, in the Hall of Representatives. This meeting was radically Copperhead. Speakers denounced the President as a usurper, charged him with gross mismanagement of the war, and characterized the methods which he used as disgraceful and bar-

⁸⁹Senate Journal, Illinois, 23d General Assembly, 381.

⁹⁰Illinois State Journal, June 11, 1863.

barous. A committee reported the following resolutions which were loudly applauded and unanimously adopted:

“Resolved: That the emancipation proclamation of the President of the United States is as unwarrantable in military as in civil law; a gigantic usurpation, at once converting the war, professedly commenced by the administration for the vindication of the authority of the constitution, into the crusade for the sudden unconditional and violent liberation of 3,000,000 of negro slaves; a result which would not only be a total subversion of the Federal Union but a revolution in the social organization of the Southern States, the immediate and remote, the present and far-reaching consequences of which to both races cannot be contemplated without the most dismal forebodings of horror and dismay. The proclamation invites servile insurrection as an element in this emancipation crusade—a means of warfare, the inhumanity and diabolism of which are without example in civilized warfare, and which we denounce, and which the civilized world will denounce, as an uneffaceable disgrace to the American people.”⁹¹

But this was not enough. The committee was instructed to report further on January 8. They did so and condemned Lincoln for suspending the writ of habeas corpus and for dismembering Virginia. They recommended the cessation of hostilities and a National Convention of the North and South to settle the cause of disagreement. Some of the speeches made in support of the resolutions were anti-war and fiercely pro-southern. It was demanded that not another dollar or another soldier be given to carry on such a monstrous contest. All of the trouble was laid at the door of New England, and it was recommended that a reconstruction be brought about leaving New England to itself. The South received no condemnation.⁹²

The leaders of the 23d General Assembly were not slow to follow the course urged by these radical elements. The newly-

⁹¹Illinois State Journal, Jan. 7 and 16, 1863.

⁹²Illinois House Journal, 23d General Assembly, 74.

elected speaker of the House in his address to that body, used these words:

"I trust that you will find it your duty to enter the solemn protest of the people of the State of Illinois against the impolicy, imbecility, which, after such heroic and long-continued sacrifices, still leaves that unholy rebellion not only not subdued but without any immediate prospect of termination, and I trust that your actions may have a potent influence in restoring to our distracted country the peace and union of by-gone days."⁹³

Such sentiments were clearly disloyal.

The adopted report of the Committee on Federal Relations set forth two fundamental opinions: First, that the war forces had been diverted from the original purpose of preserving the union and suppressing rebellion to that of freeing slaves and oppressing people directly under the jurisdiction of the military forces; second, that the further prosecution of the war cannot result in the preservation of the Union and therefore peace should be sought through a national convention of all sections.

They refused for some time to print the usual number of copies of the Governor's patriotic and able address. In the Senate, Mr. Vandever of Christian County introduced a resolution to the effect that the people of the loyal states had not given their consent to the coercive policy of the federal government but had merely acquiesced; that the land was filled with desolation with no hope of union; and that Congress should be memorialized to obtain an armistice and cessation of hostilities, and a convention to bring about a peaceful understanding.

In the House, M. W. Fuller of Cook County, on January 8, introduced a resolution, quoting from President Jackson's farewell address:

"The constitution cannot be maintained nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers of the government."⁹⁴

⁹³Illinois House Journal, 23d General Assembly, 67.

⁹⁴Ibid., 76.

On February 4, Mr. Wike of Pike County, introduced the notorious armistice resolutions.⁹⁵ The preamble insisted, among other things, on the supremacy of the constitution in time of war, as well as in peace, and its suspension by either side would be disunion; that union could be maintained, not by force, but by an appeal to the peoples' representatives; that the citizen was to give his allegiance to the constitution and not to any man, officer, or administration. The government was charged with suspending illegally the writ of habeas corpus and therefore the illegal arrest and detention and deportation of political prisoners; it had abridged freedom of speech and the press, installed a system of spies, declared martial law over states not in rebellion, emancipated slaves, transported slaves to Illinois, dismembered Virginia, suppressed legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

Therefore: "Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, That the army was organized, confiding in the declaration of the President in his inaugural address, to wit: that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it existed, and that he believed he had no lawful right to do so; and upon the declaration of the Federal Congress, to wit: that this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression or subjugation or any purpose of overthrowing any of the institutions of any of the states; and that inasmuch as the whole policy of the administration, since the organization of the army, has been at war with the declaration aforesaid, culminating in the emancipation, leaving the facts patent that the war has been diverted from its first avowed object, to that of subjugation and the abolition of slavery, a fraud both legal and moral, has been perpetrated upon the brave sons of Illinois who have so nobly gone forth to battle for the constitution and the laws, and while we protest against the continuance of this gross fraud upon our citizen soldiery, we thank them for their heroic conduct on the battlefield that sheds imperishable glory on the state of Illinois.

⁹⁵Illinois House Journal, 23d General Assembly, 372.

“Resolved, That we believe the further prosecution of the present war cannot result in the restoration of the Union and the preservation of the constitution as our fathers made it, unless the President’s proclamation is withdrawn.

“Resolved, That while we condemn and denounce the flagrant and monstrous usurpation of the administration and encroachments of abolition, we equally condemn and denounce the ruinous heresy of secession, as unwarrantable by the constitution and destructive alike to the security and perpetuity of our government and the peace and liberty of the people, and fearing, as we do, that it is the intention of the present congress and administration at no distant date to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy and thereby sever the Union, we hereby solemnly declare that we are unalterably opposed to any such severance of the Union, and that we never can consent that the Great Northwest shall be separated from the Southern States comprising the Mississippi Valley. That river shall never water the soil of two nations but from its source to its confluence with the Gulf it shall belong to one great and united people.

“The fourth resolution recommended the assembling of a national convention at Louisville, Kentucky, to adjust our difficulties, restore peace, fraternity, and political fellowship among the states.

“Resolved, further, therefore, that to obtain the object of the foregoing resolution, we hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States, the administration at Washington, and the executives and legislatures of the several states to take such immediate action as shall secure an armistice in which the rights and safety of the government shall be fully protected for such length of time as may be necessary for the people to meet in convention as aforesaid. And we therefore earnestly recommend to our fellow citizens everywhere, to observe to keep all their lawful and constitutional obligations, to abstain from violence, and to keep together and reason with

each other upon the best mode to obtain the great blessings of peace, unity, and liberty.”⁹⁶

The last article provided for a committee to arrange for the convention.

In the Senate this disgraceful resolution was defeated by the vote of Lieutenant-Governor Hoffman, and the loyal name of Illinois was saved, but the session was wasted.

A minority report was made, but, of course, rejected. It endorsed the administration of Lincoln and Yates and a vigorous prosecution of the war. The last resolution of this report was a stinging rebuke to those who sought to weaken our forces in the field:

“Resolved, That the gallant sons of Illinois, who have gone forth to fight our battles, have achieved for themselves and their State imperishable renown; that the page which shall record their deeds will be among the brightest of our country’s history, and having sealed their hatred of treason by the baptism of the battle-field, they will, upon their return, pronounce, at the ballot-box, their condemnation of all men who have dared to express a covert sympathy with traitors or to denounce the sacred cause for which they have shed their blood.”⁹⁷

Deep party spirit and fiery personal feelings were aroused by such disloyal attitudes and wasteful methods. Hatreds flared up. John T. Lindsay of Peoria declared that “if hell were boiled down to a consistence of a pint of liquid fire and the whole contents poured down the throat of Abraham Lincoln, the whole dose would be altogether too good for him.”⁹⁸ There was a plan on foot to overthrow the state government and force the abdication of Governor Yates. He was aware of this and expected he might have to leave Springfield for a time and was prepared to do so. Nearly every member of the General Assembly was armed. Senator Funk, therefore had some-

⁹⁶Preamble and Resolutions reported by the Committee of Federal Relations, Feb. 4, 1863, and found in Session Reports, I, of the 23d Illinois General Assembly, 1863-4.

⁹⁷Report of the Minority of the Committee on Federal Relations, Jan. 5, 1863, Session Reports, Illinois General Assembly, 23d Session, 1863-4.

⁹⁸Baldwin, Eugene F., Story of Illinois during the Civil War.

thing to fear when he made his denunciations. In the Senate was Isaac Funk of McLean County. The general appropriation bill, which would have provided for the safety and comfort of the boys in the field and which would have strengthened our troops there, was up for passage, and the disloyal were attempting to delay the vote by the introduction of unimportant resolutions. Mr. Funk, who was naturally reticent, but who was now aroused to action, delivered the following arraignment of the enemies of the Union:

Mr. President,—

“I cannot sit in my seat longer and see so much by-play going on. These men are trifling with the best interests of the country. They should have asses’ ears to set on their heads, or they are traitors or secessionists at heart. I say there are traitors or secessionists in this Senate. Their actions prove it. The gibes and laughter and cheers here mightily when their speakers got up to denounce the war and the administration prove it. I can sit here no longer and not tell these traitors what I think of them. I am responsible myself for what I say. I stand upon my own bottom. I am ready to meet any man on this floor in any manner, from a pin’s point to the mouth of a cannon upon this charge against these traitors. I am an old man of sixty-five. I came to Illinois a poor boy. I have a little something for myself and family. I pay \$3,000 a year in taxes. I am willing to pay \$6,000 a year; aye, \$12,000. Aye! I am willing to pay my whole fortune and then give my life to save my country from these traitors that are seeking to destroy it. Mr. President, you must excuse me, I could not sit longer in my seat and calmly listen to these traitors. My heart that feels for my poor country would not let me. My heart that cries out for the lives of our brave volunteers would not let me. My heart that bleeds for the widows and orphans at home would not let me. Yes, these traitors and villians in the Senate are killing my neighbors’ sons now fighting in the field. I dare to say this to these traitors right here and I am responsible for what I say, and to any and all of them. Let them come on now right

here. I am sixty-five years old and I have made up my mind to risk my life right here, on this floor, for my country. (This was received with great cheering. Here the crowd gathered around him—his seat being near the railing—to protect him from violence, while many sympathetic eyes flashed defiance.) These men sneered at Colonel Mack a few days since. He is a small man but I am a large man. I am ready to meet any of them in the place of Col. Mack. I am large enough for any of them, and I hold myself ready for them now and at any time. (Cheering from the galleries.)

“Mr. President, these traitors on this floor should be provided with hempen collars. They deserve them. They deserve hanging, I say. The country would be better by swinging them up. I go for hanging them, and dare to tell them so right here to their traitorous faces. Traitors should be hung. It would be the salvation of the country to hang them. For that reason I must rejoice at it.

“Mr. President, I must beg the pardon of the gentlemen in the Senate who are not traitors, but true loyal men, for what I have said. I only intend it and mean it for secessionists at heart. They are here in the Senate. I see them gibe and smile and smirk and grin at a true union man. Must I defy them? I stand here ready for them and dare them to come on. What man with the heart of a patriot could stand this treason any longer? I have stood it long enough. I will stand it no longer. I denounce these men and their aiders and abettors as rank traitors and secessionists. Hell itself could not spew out a more traitorous crew than some of the men that disgrace this legislature, this State, and this country. For myself, I protest against and denounce their traitorous acts. I have voted against their measures; I will do so to the end. I will denounce them as long as God gives me breath; and I am ready to meet the traitors themselves here or anywhere to fight them to the death. I said I paid \$3,000 a year taxes. I did not say it to brag of it. It is my duty, yes, Mr. President, my privilege to do it. But some of these traitors here who are working night and day to put some of their mis-

erable bills and claims through the legislature to take money out of the pockets of the people are talking about high taxes. They are hypocrites as well as traitors. I heard some of them talking about high taxes in this way who did not pay \$5 to the support of the government. I denounce them as hypocrites as well as traitors.

“The reason they pretend to be afraid of high taxes is that they do not want to vote money for the relief of the soldiers. They want to embarrass the government and stop the war. They want to aid the secessionists to conquer our boys in the field. They care about high taxes! They are picayune men anyhow, and pay no taxes at all, and never did, and never hope or expect to. This is the excuse of traitors.

“Mr. President, excuse me. I feel for my country in this her hour of danger, from the tips of my toes to the ends of my hair. This is the reason I speak as I do. I cannot help it. I am bound to tell these men to their teeth what they are and what the people—the true loyal people—think of them. Mr. President, I have said my say. I am no speaker. This is the only speech I ever made and I don’t know that it deserves to be called a speech. But I will not sit still any longer and see these scoundrels and traitors work out their hellish schemes to destroy the Union. They have my sentiments; let them, one and all, make the most of them. I am ready to back up all I say, and, I repeat it, to meet these traitors in any manner they may choose from a pin’s point to the mouth of a cannon.”⁹⁹

Mr. Funk’s speech was reproduced in all the leading journals of the North; it was read to the Union soldiers in the South by order of their commanders, and Mr. Funk received Mr. Lincoln’s personal letter thanking him for the bold stand he had taken in favor of the prosecution of the war.¹⁰⁰ The following is a sample of what occurred in the army camps:

⁹⁹Reed, Capt. H. B., *The Backbone of Illinois in Front and Rear*, 14.

¹⁰⁰Lusk, D. W., *Politics and Politicians of Illinois*, 159.

“Lake Providence, La.
March 12, 1863.

It made our hearts leap with joy, when, one day, a copy of the Journal found its way into camp, with the patriotic speech of Senator Funk. The boys would crowd around to hear it read and cheer after cheer rent the air for the old patriot.

Member of Company C
124th Regiment, Ill. Volunteers.”¹⁰¹

The legislature took a recess from February 14 to June 2. At that time the peace committee had no report to make. There was already much reaction against the action of the legislature. Public meetings, endorsing the policy of Lincoln, were held all over the State. As a specimen of the resolutions adopted the following by the Douglas Club at Vienna, Illinois, may be noted:

“Resolved, that, as citizens of Illinois and as Democrats, we are in favor of the continued and vigorous prosecution of the war until the supremacy of the Constitution is acknowledged in every state of the Union. That we are in favor of the administration using every constitutional means for the purpose of crushing the rebellion and restoring the union. That the errors of the administration, while they should not be adopted by the people, form no excuse for any disloyal citizen to withhold his support from the government. We are inflexibly opposed to the secession heresy of a Northwestern Confederacy and will resist it with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”¹⁰²

At a union meeting at Alton, February 13, resolutions of a more radical tendency were adopted:

“That we approve the President’s proclamation and will maintain it against its northern defamers who predict failure because the wish is father to the thought. That the efforts made by the hitherto disguised, but now open, enemies of the

¹⁰¹Illinois State Journal, Apr. 1, 1863.

¹⁰²Davidson, A. and Stuve, B., *A History of Illinois*, 889.

country, to call a convention at Louisville, Ky., for rebels north to treat with rebels south, be spurned by all honest men, as those of the vilest and most treasonable enemy."

Here is one from the battlefield:

"Resolved: That the 62nd Illinois Infantry will follow the flag that waved over the battles of our fathers wherever it may go, whether it be in the fields of the South or against the miscreants, vile and perjured abettors of the North; and for the honor of that banner we pledge our lives, our property, and our sacred honor.

"Resolved: That we view with abhorrence the conduct of those holding office in our county and district, who, by their speeches, writings, votes, and influence are endeavoring to force a degrading peace upon the government and that we see nothing in the present situation to indicate the necessity of an armistice, and that we regard the proposition to enter into such an arrangement, as in the highest degree treacherous, dishonorable, and cowardly."

On February 12, 1863, General Logan, at Memphis, Tennessee, because of the extraordinary position assumed by the General Assembly, delivered a stirring address, of which the following is a part, to the soldiers under his command:

"I am aware that influences of the most discouraging character well calculated and designed to render you dissatisfied, have recently been brought to bear upon you by professed friends. Newspapers containing treasonable articles, artfully falsifying the public sentiment at your homes, have been circulated in your camps. Intriguing political tricksters, demagogues, and timeservers whose corrupt deeds are but a faint reflex of their more corrupt hearts, seem determined to drive our people on to anarchy and destruction. They have hoped, by magnifying the reverses of our arms, basely misrepresenting the conduct and slandered the character of our soldiers in the field and boldly denouncing the acts of the constituted authorities of the government as unconstitutional usurpations, to produce general demoralization of the army and

thereby reap their political reward, weaken the cause we have espoused and aid those arch-traitors of the South to dismember our mighty Republic and trail in the dust the emblem of our national unity, greatness and glory.'"¹⁰³

Logan and others were read out of the peace wing of the Democratic Party, the members of which were called Copperheads, Snakes, Butternuts, Secesh, etc.

A meeting of Chicago citizens was held in the Metropolitan Hall, June 11, and the following resolutions were passed:

"Resolved: That we regard the action of Governor Yates in proroguing the legislature of Illinois, in strict accordance with the Constitution, and most imperatively called for by the honor and the interests of the State and for which we tender him our grateful thanks.

"Resolved: That the action of the Executive was most timely in preventing the fair name of our noble State from being disgraced by legislation which would have forever tarnished her records and put in question her loyalty to freedom and the General Government.

"Resolved: That we hereby pledge to Governor Yates our earnest support. Whatever is necessary, growing out of the failure of this Legislature to make the proper appropriations for the necessary support of the Government, and to relieve and supply our brave and gallant soldiers, we pledge ourselves. * * *"

Resolutions and protests against the actions of the General Assembly came from nearly all the Illinois regiments at the front, condemning the legislative majority party because of its unpatriotic stand. The Chicago Post (Democratic), of June 17, says that the Legislature had wasted its time, done nothing, had contributed nothing on national affairs, had made no appropriations, and was made up of mediocre men, all of whom wished to be leaders.

¹⁰³Lusk, D. W., *Politics and Politicians of Illinois*, 176.

The leadership of Yates eliminated this General Assembly which did not represent the sentiments of the North or of Illinois, and thus removed another obstacle in the path of the Union cause in Illinois.

Knights of the Golden Circle

The Knights of the Golden Circle presented another danger in Illinois. Very early in the war, it was reported that there were ten Knights in the seat of the State government at Springfield. Before the close of the war there were probably 100,000 members in Illinois.

There were individuals and organizations in the North who earnestly desired the success of the Confederacy. Sometimes a loyal man, not knowing the exact purposes of the Circle, would join. They had a ritual, a system of grips and signs. They met secretly in schoolhouses and churches and stationed sentries who kept non-members away from the buildings. One line of work consisted in inducing soldiers on furlough to desert, and soldiers whose term of enlistment had expired not to re-enlist. They would resist arrest and sometimes scour the neighborhood at night threatening the loyal people with violence. In Scott and Greene Counties, defiance of the law became so flagrant that Governor Yates asked that a regiment be sent there to quiet disturbances and break up the disloyal organization. A large number were captured and sent to Springfield for safe-keeping. In Macoupin County, Knights and returned soldiers gathered to the number of two or three hundred with provisions, firearms, and ammunition and were dispersed by loyal soldiers.¹⁰⁴ In Coles County, near Charleston, there were clashes between the authorities and rebel sympathizers in which several lives were lost.¹⁰⁵

The Copperheads terrorized not only individuals but whole communities. Fear was felt by the people in some sections as to where and how they would strike next. In Fulton County where there was an enrollment for the coming

¹⁰⁴Smith, G. W., *A Student History of Illinois*, 32.

¹⁰⁵Cole, Chas. A., *The Era of the Civil War in the Centennial History of Illinois*, 307.

draft, the Copperheads drove away the officers and terrorized the county. A military force did not succeed in quieting it. Fatal shootings took place and the city of Olney was besieged for three days by a mob which threatened to burn the town unless the draft list were given up. What one paper in the East thought of the Copperhead is indicated in the following poem:

THE COPPERHEADS.

There is a reptile in the land,
Fiend spawned in darkness and hell-bred;
For want of fouler names, men brand
The cursed thing a "Copperhead."

It crawleth in the Council Hall,
And twineth round the chair of state,
And when the words of Freedom fall
Its eyes grow lurid in its hate.

When o'er us rolleth sorrow's sea,
When mourning sore the patriot dead,
Not Pandemonium hath such glee
As hath each hateful "Copperhead."

And while secession's trumpets clang,
With words of guile and specious art,
With tongue of gall and venomous fang
They tear their country's bleeding heart.

When young wives mourn their husbands slain,
And orphaned children cry for bread,
With bloodier hands than those of Cain,
Loud laughs the fiendish "Copperhead."

Coiled in the editorial chair,
Fecundity herself ne'er bred
One-half the lies that crowd the air
From poisoned pen of "Copperhead."

When Northern blood soaks with the sod,
And through foul treachery rebels gain
A victory o'er the cause of God,
Which circles the broad earth with pain.

When Wrong and Crime gloat in their power
And treason o'er our banner treads,
Fast gathering at the midnight hour,
Shout, laugh, and dance, the "Copperheads."

With eyes of fire; both day and night,
Patriots! watch well this new infernal,
Remember! all you hold of Right
Comes of a "Vigilance Eternal."

And while the flashing Northern steel
Turns the far Southern greensward red,
Up! Northmen! 'neath your iron heel
Crush out the hell-born Copperhead.

—George W. Putnam.

The closing stanza of a poem entitled "Copperheads" expresses the same sentiments:

To the call of Uncle Abraham we cheerfully all flew,
Severed the ties which bound our hearts, bade cherished
ones adieu;

And we will not brook the insults which are heaped upon
our heads,

By the traitorous northern cowards, the shinny "Copper-
heads."¹⁰⁶

The Knights encouraged desertions from the army both by those in active service and by those home on furlough. Desertions became very serious as the war progressed. From June 1 to October 10, 1863, 200 arrests for desertion were made in Illinois and during the war Illinois had 13,046 deser-

¹⁰⁶Bureau County Patriot, Apr. 21, 1863.

tions.¹⁰⁷ The 109th Illinois regiment was arrested, disarmed, and interned at Holly Springs, Missouri, for disloyalty, and the 129th regiment at Cairo suffered so from desertion that it had only 35 men in the ranks.¹⁰⁸ In attempting arrests of deserters, officers often found themselves thwarted by other disloyalists and bloodshed often resulted. Guerilla bands often destroyed property and whipped, tarred, and feathered, and drove from their homes, and even shot down loyalists. Bushwhackers from Missouri operated in the river counties. Martial law was declared in Charleston, Illinois.¹⁰⁹

The Knights of the Golden Circle became an important factor in the life of every section of Illinois. A Grand Castle was held in Chicago, August 4, 1863, with over seventy counties represented. In order to combat the Circle, a loyal organization known as the Union League was founded.¹¹⁰ Springfield was its headquarters and it aimed to have a League in every township. Reports of Copperhead activities were sent to headquarters. Charges were made that Governor Yates was arming them but he denied it publicly as did the Adjutant-General. The Knights changed their name to Ancient Order of American Knights or Sons of Liberty. They were charged with a conspiracy to stir up a revolt and set up a Northwestern Confederacy which would be matched by the Southern Confederacy and the Eastern Union. The most efficient work which disloyal organizations did was the discouraging of prospective volunteers. But for the marvelous leadership of Richard Yates, Illinois would have suffered far more than it did from the disloyal activities in discouraging volunteers. Canada became the base of operations for a Southern Commission whose hope it was to arouse the anti-war and secession sympathizers to concerted revolt in the North. The Commission hoped to bring the revolt to a head during the summer of 1864, but the "Sons of Liberty" set August 29th as the date, that being the time of the meeting

¹⁰⁷Cole, Arthur C., *The Centennial History of Illinois*, III, 306.

¹⁰⁸Illinois State Journal, Jan. 12, 13, 15, 28, and 29, Feb. 3, 1863.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., Feb. 8, 1864.

¹¹⁰Cole, Arthur C., *The Centennial History of Illinois*, III, 309.

of the National Democratic Convention in Chicago. It would be easy to introduce a large number of men into the city without suspicion since the city would be crowded with strangers. Arms had been gathered and the prisoners in Camp Douglas had been notified to be ready. But the rank and file of the discontented were not yet ready for such radical measures even though their leaders were, and the hopes of the Commissioners came to naught. The government had become suspicious and had stationed additional troops in Chicago. The plan had been to release the southern prisoners at Camp Douglas,¹¹¹ capture and burn Chicago, march south through the length of Illinois, and join the Confederate armies. The next plan was to begin the revolt on election day, November 8. Colonel Sweet, who was in command in Chicago, discovered the plot, arrested the leaders, and thus frustrated the conspiracy.¹¹²

It is very difficult to tell how much of the disloyalty in Illinois was due to the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Much can be credited to them. Their fundamental doctrines as stated in their constitution were as follows:

“(1) that human slavery should be maintained; (2) that the union is a mere compact and that the federal government has no right to attempt to coerce a sovereign state; (3) that any attempt on the part of the United States to exercise powers not delegated is a usurpation and should be resisted as such; (4) that a refusal or failure of the national executive to administer the government in accordance with the letter of the constitution renders it the solemn duty of the people to exercise their right of an appeal to arms.”¹¹³

At Reading, Pennsylvania, a Deputy Provost Marshal (William Y. Lyon) swore that he lay hidden in hay and heard men initiated into membership, and they were required to answer the three following questions in the affirmative:

- (1) Are you in favor of the abdication of Abraham Lincoln, by force, if necessary?

¹¹¹Illinois State Journal, Nov. 2, 4, 8, 1864.

¹¹²Chicago Tribune, Nov. 8 and 9, 1864, and Apr. 25, 1864.

¹¹³Moses, John, Illinois—Historical and Statistical, II, 690.

- (2) Are you in favor of the Northwest Confederacy?
- (3) Are you in favor of resisting the draft or conscription act?¹¹⁴

The methods which they used may be grouped as follows:

- (1) discouraged enlistments and encouraged resistance to proposed drafts.
- (2) connived at desertions and protected deserters.
- (3) circulated disloyal and treasonable publications.
- (4) communicated with and acted in harmony with the enemy in the destruction of government property.
- (5) cooperated with the enemy in raids and invasions and freed rebel prisoners of war.¹¹⁵

Clement L. Vallandigham, who had been banished to the South by the federal government, was the head of the Knights.

Following is a description of the Union League as given by a member:

"From that date (Sept. 24, 1863) (20 days leave of absence after Vicksburg) till Oct. 9, I was very busy seeing my friends and learning all that I could as to the condition of the country and the state of public opinion. I found the Knights of the Golden Circle very bold and very disloyal. They felt strong enough to be defiant. I met several of them on East Main Street in this city, and they cursed me openly, calling me, among other uncomplimentary things, a "Lincoln Hireling," because I wore the uniform of my country and was in its service. I found that the loyal men still left in the country were also organized in the secret society of the Union League. I was inducted into this society the same evening that I reached Decatur, Jerome Goren being the officer in charge. It was from him that I received the grips and signs and passwords. I was glad to find that these men were armed and watchful. Military companies were organized in many neighborhoods, the officers being commissioned by the Governor of the State. * * * These organizations were not uniformed, nor were they spoken of openly. There was no desire to pro-

¹¹⁴Illinois State Journal, Apr. 22, 1863.

¹¹⁵Moses, John, Illinois—Historical and Statistical, II, 691.

voke a conflict, they were simply a provision against a possible insurrection precipitated by the other side. The Knights of the Golden Circle were also organized into military companies. They were known to be drilling in secret halls and by night in the open fields. I could give the name of the captain of one of these companies and I know where a Vallandigham flag was still stored a short time ago, as a memento, by the son of the man who used it, for what certainly looked like disloyal purposes.

"I found that practically every man who whole-heartedly supported the Union cause in Long Creek Township where my home was, was a member of the Union League (women were not admitted). They often met in my father's barn."¹¹⁶

So we see that the Knights were a real menace, and that the Union League had the approval of the Governor.

The Constitutional Convention.

The Constitutional Convention, the call for which and the delegates to which had been legalized by the people, assembled in Springfield, January 7, 1862. There were 45 Democrats, 21 Republicans, 9 Secessionists, and 2 Doubtfuls. The Convention was therefore Democratic and it immediately proceeded to do things to embarrass the state administration which was Republican. Yates said of it:

"Secession is deeper and stronger here than you have any idea. Its advocates are numerous and powerful and respectable."¹¹⁷

The Convention refused to take the oath which the law calling the Convention prescribed, the claim being made that they as makers of a new constitution could not take an oath to support the old one. The Convention appointed committees to investigate the doings of the executive department in the conduct of the war, particularly the equipment of the Illinois troops in the field. When Quincy McNeil, Major of the Second Illinois Cavalry received the following letter with the resolution inclosed:

¹¹⁶Baker, N. M., *The Pioneers of Macon County and the Civil War*, 124

¹¹⁷Yates to Trumbull, Feb. 14, 1862.

“Dear Sir—I am instructed by the Committee on Affairs to inclose you a copy of the subjoined resolution adopted by the Constitutional Convention now in session in this city and to require your immediate answer in order that the committee may report to the Convention at an early day. In responding to the communication I am instructed to request you to make such suggestions as your observation and experience may dictate with reference to the present and future comfort of your command.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully

Your obedient servant

JAMES W. SINGLETON,

Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs.”¹¹⁸

THE RESOLUTION.

“Resolved: That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire whether the soldiers sent into the field from this State have been and continue to be provided for in all respects as the troops sent into the field from other states have been provided for, and if the Committee find the Illinois troops have not been thus provided for, that they be instructed to inquire further whether the neglect is justly chargeable to any person or persons holding office under this state and to report the facts to this Convention.”¹¹⁹

he returned the following characteristic reply:

“Paducah, Ky.,

Feb. 16, 1862.

Jas. W. Singleton, Esq.,

Chairman, Committee on Military Affairs,

Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir,—

Your circular dated Jan. 23, 1862, inclosing a resolution of the Illinois State Constitutional Convention, came to hand to-day. Should I give you the information the resolution calls for, I should make as great an ass of myself as the Con-

¹¹⁸Illinois State Journal. Feb. 26, 1862.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

vention has of you, by asking you to attend to that which is none of your business, and which is also not the business of the Convention. If I am rightly informed, you were elected to make a Constitution, for the State of Illinois. Why in h-ll don't you do it? Comparing the equipment of the soldiers of the several states is about as much your business as it would be my business to inquire into the sanity of the members of the Convention. Suppose the facts are as your resolutions seem to imply—that we are not as well equipped and armed as soldiers from other states—can *you*, as a member of that Convention, be of any service to us? But I know, and you know, that the resolution was offered for a different purpose—a purpose for which every member of the Convention should blush with shame—to make political capital. If the Committee on Military Affairs are so anxious to exhibit their ability in inquiring into war matters, I would suggest—as the resolutions permit me to make suggestions—that it inquire into the history of the Mormon War in which its venerable chairman played so conspicuous a part.

“I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

QUINCY MCNEIL,

Major, Second Illinois Cavalry.”¹²⁰

During this investigation the state was not dead in its praise of Governor Yates:

“If he has exceeded his authority, pressed on by a great national necessity, by reason of any delay at Washington which was calculated to impair the efficiency, endanger the health, or tarnish the honor of the brave men who have gone out from among us to peril their lives for the safety of the country, and if he has, as we doubt not he can show, done his utmost to insure a wise and honest outlay of the millions that have been needed, we maintain that the Convention should, and that if it is truly, honestly and zealously loyal, it will approve his acts by a solemn vote of thanks! And this is all the reply which loyal men ought to make to the unjust,

¹²⁰Moses, John, Illinois—Historical and Statistical, II, 656.

unfair, and malignant criticism—the outcropping of illy-concealed treason—with which certain journals of doubtful fidelity to the cause of the Union choose to assail him.’¹²¹

After the investigation, the committee reported favorably and even went so far as to add:

“And your committee in that sense of justice and fairness by which they have wished to be guided, would be recreant to duty if they pass in silence such portions of the communications they have received as bestow upon his Excellency, the Governor of Illinois, and Quartermaster Wood, the highest praise for their efficiency, energy, and devotion to the best interests of the Illinois soldiers.”^{121*}

In many ways, the spirit of the Convention was shown to be destructive, not constructive. By March, the Convention had completed its work. The State officials, from Governor Yates down, set to work to defeat the proposed constitution. All sorts of opposing forces were brought into play. Speakers of both parties were put into the field, from Owen Lovejoy, who represented the strongest anti-slavery sentiment, to John Reynolds, the champion of Democratic conservatism. They appeal to “Egypt” with the “bug bear” of higher taxes, and near the end of the contest charged the champions of the proposed constitution with being traitors to the nation. Every band of traitors in the State, they said, was working for this humbug constitution, this Vallandigham document. “Down with this Secession Constitution” was the caption of the editorial in which the Chicago Tribune gave a final warning on election day.¹²² A Commissioner was appointed to take the vote of the soldiers in the field and he began his work early in April. This was a huge task since there were regiments in the far-separated regions of Virginia and Arkansas, besides regiments in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. Early reports indicated that the army was going strong for the new constitution. Later reports, however, gave a very heavy vote against it. The people at home

¹²¹ Illinois State Journal, Feb. 3, 1862, from Chicago Tribune.

^{121*} Illinois State Journal, Mar. 19, 1862.

¹²² Chicago Tribune, June 17, 1862.

became more and more hostile. A large vote turned out in every part of the state except "Egypt" where the voters stayed away from the polls through fear of increased taxes on the one hand and the charges of disloyalty on the other.¹²³ By a majority of over 16,000 votes, the proposed constitution was rejected. In August, Governor Yates issued a proclamation announcing its rejection. Thus did the work of the Convention come to naught. Undoubtedly the largest factors which contributed to its defeat were the attacks of Governor Yates and his administration, and the anti-war attitude of the Convention which made it.

Said the Chicago Tribune:

"It (the Governor's report on military expenditures) is a triumphant and complete vindication of the charges the enemies of the State administration, both in and out of the Convention now in session, have striven to fasten upon our state officers."¹²⁴

The Illinois State Journal said:

"Governor Yates and the State Officials have borne this treatment (from the Constitutional Convention) calmly and uncomplainingly. They have promptly answered every resolution of inquiry."¹²⁵

The inquiry, which set out to discredit Yates and his administration, resulted in the complete vindication of his course, and added to his popularity as the great leader of Illinois in the Union cause.

AN ESTIMATE OF YATES AND HIS SERVICES.

It is doubtful if any man, even Lincoln himself, ever achieved a popularity in Illinois which surpassed that of Richard Yates. He was preeminently fitted to be called not only "the soldiers' friend," but also "the country's friend." Great credit is due him because of his ability, efficiency, and nerve with which he administered the government of Illinois.

¹²³Jonesboro Gazette, June 28, 1862.

¹²⁴Illinois State Journal, Feb. 19, 1862.

¹²⁵Ibid, Aug. 5 and 16, 1862.

In speech he was surprisingly eloquent and convincing. As an orator, he surely ranks with Emery Storrs, Owen Lovejoy, and Robert Ingersoll.

The people of Illinois placed their confidence in him and his administration was endorsed throughout the State from north to south, from east to west. The people of Springfield in a union meeting in the House of Representatives, after a secession meeting there a week before, thus expressed themselves, January 21, 1863:

“Resolved: That in the present condition of our national affairs and in the existence of the troubles which surround the country, it is the duty of the good citizens cordially to support the national and state administrations, and that we hereby offer to the administration of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, and to Richard Yates, the Governor of Illinois, our earnest and cordial support in the efforts of their respective administrations to put down the present most infamous rebellion.”¹²⁶

He stood for the utmost effort in the prosecution of the war, loyally supported Lincoln throughout, organized the Illinois State Sanitary Commission, and emerged victorious in the struggle with the disloyal forces in the forms of the General Assembly of 1863, the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862, and the Copperheads and Knights of the Golden Circle. He was the right man in the right place. The Illinois State Journal thus eulogizes him:

“From the hour he entered public life, to this time, he has always exhibited the same devotion to right, the same regard for the interests of the people, the same inflexible integrity, and boldness for which he is to-day characterized.

“Governor Yates is truly a statesman. His views with regard to the theory of government are enlarged and liberal, and his inaugural address was the noblest, most chaste, and eloquent effort that ever emanated from an executive. Bold, fearless, yet just, having a high appreciation of the right, and a sincere regard for the interests of those over whom he

¹²⁶Illinois State Journal, Jan. 21, 1863.

has been called to preside, it is not to be wondered at that all classes and parties look forward to his administration with a certainty that will redound to his honor and to the glory of the State.

“In point of executive ability he has few equals and few superiors. A man of grasping mind and brilliant intellect, of superior statesmanship and unquestionable firmness and integrity, it is not surprising that he has so strong a hold upon the affections of the people.”¹²⁷

The Carbondale Times, a political opponent, has to say:

“He has contributed more to carry on the present war than any other governor of the Union. We don’t like his political proclivities, but we have abundant respect for his patriotism. We do not like his letter to the President, but we like his letter to a man authorizing him to shoot down any man who attempted to lay vile hands on the American flag. We like the enemy spirit and vigor manifested by our Governor in making Illinois the banner volunteer state. A thousand thanks, we say, to him who by his unswerving fidelity, deep devotion, and state pride, has saved his state from a forced conscription.”¹²⁸

Another political opponent, the Chicago Post (Democratic) adds:

“We opposed Governor Yates’ election, we did all that lay in our power to defeat him, and in all probability will oppose him again, should he be a candidate, but as party men, as men knowing somewhat the feelings of the people, we shall never venture to arraign him as false to his official obligations, because he necessarily incurred liabilities to feed and clothe the troops of Illinois when there was no one else to do so; we should never assail him as being false to official trusts because he chose to incur liabilities to keep Illinois troops from disbanding for want of food and clothing.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷Illinois State Journal, Feb. 27, 1862.

¹²⁸Copy in Illinois State Journal, Dec. 10, 1862.

¹²⁹Illinois State Journal, Feb. 12, 1862.

At another time the Illinois State Journal said:

"In Governor Yates, the people of Illinois have a ruler who is ever watchful of their interests and who will ever carefully guard them. No bribe can swerve him from the path of duty, and he will leave the Gubernatorial chair with a character for honesty and official purity as spotless as that with which he entered his present office. "Dick" is emphatically a man of the people and no interest of theirs will ever suffer in his hands."¹³⁰

He was a man of rare ability, earnestness of purpose, and extraordinary personal magnetism, as well as a lofty order of patriotism. His faults were those of a nature generous, impulsive, and warm-hearted. Mrs. John A. Logan says of him:

"Among the most illustrious (in the United States Senate) was the invincible war-governor of Illinois, Hon. Richard Yates, whose keen intentions, unwavering republicanism, sagacity, genial disposition, kind heart, and native eloquence made him the statesman and peer of any man in the United States Senate. Charles Sumner once told me that Senator Yates, in his opinion, was one of the greatest men who had ever been in the American Senate."¹³¹

His six years in the United States Senate was a reward for four years of patriotic service as war-governor of Illinois, since constitutionally he was ineligible for reelection to the governorship.

He was handsome, erect, and symmetrical in person. In the Presidential election of 1860, he was in the prime of manhood and among the most eloquent of speakers. The Cincinnati Commercial (quoted from the Illinois State Journal, October 14, 1863) in commenting upon his speech in Dayton, says:

"—and for two hours he held the large audience in rapt attention, not a person leaving the house * * * at times he was

¹³⁰Illinois State Journal, Feb. 20, 1862.

¹³¹Logan, Mrs. John A., Illinois in the Council of the Nation, 236.





STATUE OF GOVERNOR YATES
War Governor of Illinois

surpassingly eloquent. * * * He possesses all the traits which draw the people to him."¹³²

The following excerpt from the resolutions from the 56th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers is a fair sample of what the soldier thought of Governor Yates:

"Headquarters 56th Regiment,
Illinois Volunteers, 2nd Brigade,
17th Army Corps, near Helena, Ark.,
March 15, 1863.

"Resolved: That we have implicit confidence in Gov. Richard Yates of Illinois, his honesty, patriotism, and executive ability, and that we feel under lasting obligations to him for his zeal and untiring efforts to promote the comfort and welfare of the Illinois volunteers in the field. No man could have done more."¹³³

The administration of Governor Yates was a fruitful theme of heartfelt commendation among Union-loving citizens. He had been a firm friend and consistent and unfaltering supporter of the Union in its struggle for existence, from the beginning of the rebellion. He had shown himself the unfaltering friend of the volunteer, following him to the field with State assistance wherever practicable and had lauded his heroic deeds on every occasion; and by the devotion of his voice, his pen, and his best energies to the cause of freedom and its defenders, he had earned that title which he so worthily wore, of the "War Governor of Illinois."

Richard Yates revealed some of his most intimate ideals in the message which he wrote in a large blank book and which was found by his son, Richard Yates, in the Governor's mansion in 1903, at least thirty years after it was written. He may have written it as early as 1863 when he was carrying the responsibility for the Illinois boys, or it may have been written at some other time. Whenever it was written, it reveals Richard Yates.

¹³²Illinois State Journal, Oct. 14, 1863—copied from the Cincinnati Journal.

¹³³Lusk, D. W., *Politics and Politicians of Illinois*, 106.

TO MY SON.

To urge you to close attention to business,
to economy and sobriety, to be good and do
good in Christian faith, to work hard and
always to keep up a good heart and hope for
the world that is before you.^{133*}

For nearly forty years the most helpful influence in the life of Richard Yates was his wife, Catherine Geers Yates. Through those four years of bloody strife, her faith comforted him on the way and helped to keep him from faltering in his course. Of this little woman "many compliments and praises from both soldiers and civilians have poured in upon the family through the years".^{133**} Too much cannot be said in praise of her.

Richard Yates was a man who made friends and gained enthusiastic followers easily. He was light-hearted and eminently social. He had the fiery, genial temperament of the Southerner, tempered by the large common sense of his English ancestry. He was earnest and alert. In his campaign for governor, he went into communities where there were plans to kidnap him, and at Shawneetown he faced an audience which was determined he should not be heard. Only the declaration of Daniel Jacobs, a life-long Democrat, that Yates should be heard, or he (Daniel Jacobs) would be a corpse, gave Yates the opportunity he desired. No one could say that Yates lacked courage. After speaking at Shawneetown, he took a steamer for Evansville, Indiana. On the boat, Col. C——, of Kentucky, walked up in front of him and in a haughty insulting manner said:

"I heard your speech to-day, sir, and you insulted our people, sir. Now, by Jupiter, I'll let you know I am a Kentuckian, sir. And, by Jupiter, I will teach you—"

Yates sprang up without waiting for the Colonel to complete his sentence and replied:

^{133*} Yates, Richard, in an account of the finding of the writing.

^{133**} Yates, Richard, Congressman-at-large, Illinois, Richard Yates, Governor of Illinois—An address on the dedication of the Statue of Richard Yates on the Illinois State Capitol Ground, Oct. 16, 1923, 7.



Silhouette of the Statue of Richard Yates, Civil War Governor of Illinois.
(By courtesy of the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.)

“And I’ll let you know I am a Kentuckian, too, by Jupiter, and if you propose to teach me anything, open your school right now, sir, and we will see who is master in that school.” (The Colonel was so surprised at this fiery retort that he left abruptly.)¹³⁴

The following resolutions seem particularly appropriate at this juncture because they are both appreciative and accurately prophetic:

“Resolved: That we cordially endorse and sustain the official course of our noble Governor, Richard Yates during this most trying period in the history of our country; that we honor him for his undivided devotion to the Union, his prompt support of the efforts of the administration for the suppression of the rebellion, and commend him for his care and attention to the wants of the Illinois soldiers. Future generations will point to his administration as a glorious epoch in the history of our State.”¹³⁵

¹³⁴Lusk, D. W., *Eighty Years of Illinois*, 109.

¹³⁵Resolutions adopted in a Mass Meeting of Unconditional Union Men in Springfield and reported in the *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 9, 1863.

MOUNT JOLIET: ITS PLACE IN ILLINOIS HISTORY AND ITS LOCATION.*

By ROBERT KNIGHT, M.W.S.E. AND LUCIUS ZEUCH, M.D.

The early navigators of the Seventeenth Century who used the Illinois waterways, invariably noticed at the head of the enlargement of the Des Plaines river known later as Lake Joliet, an elevation on the level plain to the west, that appeared in the vista as a mountain. This elevation became known as Mount Joliet. To *voyageurs* as late as the middle of the Nineteenth Century it served as a landmark from which distances were recorded. After this period, travel by the winding trail and the meandering river became too time-consuming to those associated with the more exacting demands of commerce, so that improvement of the waterway by building a canal was promoted by those variously interested. In the concomitant activity of eliminating the curves of Indian trails, conventionalizing them into white men's roads, many of the physical landmarks that meant much to previous travelers were relegated to the realm of forgotten things.

Travel and transportation in the Illinois and DesPlaines valleys during the period preceding the year 1848, followed the course of the Chicago Portage Route, which was an alternating water and land passage by way of the DesPlaines and the Illinois Rivers and the Long Portage Road to LaSalle, Illinois.¹ During this period Mount Joliet was an outstanding feature of the landscape and was frequently mentioned in the logs and noted on the maps of those who kept journals while traversing that route.² The building of the Illinois and

*The main points of this paper were given at the Special Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Joliet, Illinois, October 30 and 31, 1929.

¹The Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century, Robert Knight, M. W. S. E., and Lucius H. Zeuch, M. D., Chicago Historical Society publication, 1928, p. 2.

²There were several valley train elevations in the Des Plaines valley but this one only was given a name by the early *voyageurs*.



Head of Lake Joliet at Brandon's Bridge, Looking Northwest from the South Approach of the Bridge.

Michigan canal which furnished a direct route, obviated the need of descriptive data concerning landmarks, rapids, shoals, curves and the distances between them.³

Although the canal shortened the traveled distance considerably, it did not keep pace with the increasing demands of more modern business for speed in transportation. To meet these requirements the nation went on wheels, propelled by the service of steam. The type of rolling stock used by these new carriers, demanded a stabilized road bed in which ties were imbedded in ballast material. To supply this ballast, many elevations were levelled to obtain material. This was in fact the process by which razing of Mount Joliet, a remnant of glacial till, came about.⁴

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE CONCERNING MOUNT JOLIET:

From such written evidence that is at hand, one tries to envision that which to the early traveler was common knowledge concerning a given landmark, uniformly useful in the everyday life of their time. Careful perusal of such data usually reveals only somewhat relative information, for those who traveled the wilderness recorded their illusions of direction as well as a variance in nomenclature. This leads the historian into a labyrinth of speculation concerning their proper interpretation. The following excerpts regarding Mount Joliet are typical examples.

Father Marquette in 1675 while in his camp on the Chicago River, writes as follows: "They (the French trader 'LaToupine' and 'the surgeon') are only eighteen leagues from here in a beautiful hunting ground for buffalo and deer and turkeys which are plentiful there."⁵ This location was probably in the vicinity of what was later known as Mount Joliet, which is shown on Joliet's map of 1674.⁶

³The Illinois and Michigan Canal, J. W. Putnam, Chicago Historical Society publication.

⁴Ballast material for the building of the road beds of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific R. R., the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern R. R., and the Chicago, Ottawa and Peoria Electric Ry. were taken from this source.

The original survey of the C. R. I. and P. R. R. was destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871. A resurvey made in 1879, a blue print copy of which is in the author's possession through the courtesy of W. H. Petersen, chief engineer, shows switch tracks curving around parts of the original mound to industrial plants in the vicinity.

⁵The Jesuit Relations; Father Marquette's Journal—Jan. 16, 1675, transcript Jesuit Relations, E. Kenton, p. 372.

⁶Photostatic copy in the Chicago Historical Society collection.

In Heward's Journal, 1790, this statement appears:

"After Les Arbes (Mt. Forest Island) and a pass (The Sag) that goes in a small lake to the South-East and by the pass it's said to be three leagues to Little Kenomuk (Calumet) and the lake (Lake Michigan). Pass the petite and Grand Tosil and afterward the long Rapid and came to the village of Mount Juliette, the Course South-West, a high hill (Mt. Joliet) at West resembling Fort Lernoult pass afterward the Lake (Lake Joliet) following and camped."

Major S. A. Long, who made a map of the region about 1816, mentions "Mt. Joliet" in his accompanying report as being near the confluence of the Kankakee and DesPlaines.⁸ In the Brief of Testimony, case of U. S. of America vs. the Economy Light and Power Co., is the following taken from the so-called "Forsyth Papers",

From forks of Illinois to Mount Joliet.....15 miles
to dry trees.....15 miles
to the Portage.....15 miles
across the Portage..... 9 miles
to Chicago..... 6 miles

The testimony of Lyman E. Cooley recorded in the same volume, includes the following:

" '_____' Cargo would require a transfer over the *eleven miles* from Isle la cache to Mount Joliet." "My authority for the point at the farther end of the profile which is marked 'Mount Joliet' is that Mount Joliet or Juliet or Jolie, which it has been variously spelled, is opposite the head of Lake Joliet; below Brandon's Bridge and near the Canal, and was originally an oblong isolated mound, what geologists call a 'drumlin' similar to the sea mound of Fitzpatrick, above the controlling works of the Sanitary District and has always been known as Mount Joliet. I have seen it myself in earlier days, but it has been largely removed for the gravel and clay

⁷Original in the Clarence M. Burton collection, Detroit Public Library, transcript in Early Chicagoland, Harley Bradfort Mitchell, p. 118-124.

⁸Map made in 1816 that accompanied his report of March 4, 1817 to George Graham, Acting Secretary of War; reproduced in *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century*, Knight and Zeuch, p. 103. *History of Chicago* Vol. I. A. T. Andreas, p. 166, 167, contains Major S. H. Long's report.



East End of the Remains of Mount Joliet in Section 19, Looking Southeast Toward the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

which it contains. It was a singular and prominent feature on the landscape from the vicinity of the head of Lake Joliet."

From the Deposition of James R. Flanders in the same case, the following is taken:

"Referring to this profile map, Joliet Mound was located about three-quarters of a mile north of Brandon's Bridge ('in Sections 18 and 19'). The Canal changes its direction when it approaches Brandon's road, so that people could hardly tell their direction unless they were posted."

Goldthwait, in his "Geology of the DesPlaines Valley," states:

"Flat Head," between Joliet and Channahon, is the largest remnant of the valley train; rises about eighty feet above the water. Joliet Mound near Rockdale, was also an isolated patch of the valley train, but it has been artificially destroyed."¹⁰

MOUNT JOLIET AS SHOWN ON CARTOGRAPHERS' MAPS.

The earliest notation of the elevation is shown on the map of "Joliet's Explorations of 1674," the words "Mount Joliet" with no index of its location, is shown at about the latitude of 41 degrees North.

Thomas Hutchins made a map in about 1778 upon which he notes "Mt. Juliet" with no point to indicate location. The latitude where he puts the words is 42 degrees North.

"An accurate Map of the U. S. of America According to the Treaty of 1783" Blanchard calls it "Mount Joliet" and indicates it to be near the DesPlaines River.

Morse's map of 1796 designates by the words "Mount Juliet" showing its general location the same as various other maps made in the Eighteenth Century.

Mount Joliet is shown on the Chickagou River (DesPlaines) on "Map of the U. S. of America with British Terri-

⁹United States of America vs. the Economy Light & Power Co. "Abstract of Proofs" 1912, p. 95, 585, 616, 2237.

¹⁰Illinois State Geological Survey Bulletin No. 11, James Walter Goldthwait, 1909, p. 43, 51.

tory and Those of Spain according to the Treaty of 1784" engraved by Wm. Fader, 1796.

Mt. Joliet appears on "A New Map of Part of the U. S. of North America, John Carey, Engraver, 1807."¹¹

General William Hull's map of 1812, refers to Joliet pool as "Lake Mount Jolliette." In a marginal note he gives the following data: "Distance by water from one river to another as performed by French navigators of the waters:

	Miles
From Chicago to the Portage.....	6
The portage	1
From the portage to the River Aux Plaines.....	9
From the R. to De Cross R.....	6
To Lake Mounjolliette	38
To R. Du Page.....	11
To the Fork on the Kankakee.....	4
To the Au Sable	3
To the Big Messane	6
To the Little Do	3
To the rapids of Ma-nee-nou-ba.....	18
To the Fox or R. des Renards.....	6
To the Vermillion	12
To the Peoria Lake	69
The Lake	21

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In 1829, Tanner made a map of "Illinois and Missouri based on government surveys" which is the best work of any of the cartographers of his time. On this he shows the road from Lake Michigan through the Mud Lake region extending down the valley, crossing the Illinois river at a point midway between Au Sable creek and the confluence of the DesPlaines and Kankakee rivers with the Illinois river. This map shows

¹¹Copies of these cartographers' maps are in the Chicago Historical Society's collection.

¹²Map of the Country from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River from the papers of Gen. Wm. Hull Governor of Michigan from 1805 to 1812. Copy in History of Chicago Vol. 1. A. T. Andreas, 1884, p. 53.



This House on a Truncated Portion of Mount Joliet, Southeast of Mound Road, is located a little West of the Geographical Center of the Mound Site.



Part of Map No. 5 of a proposed route of the Michigan & Illinois Canal made by Belin and Barnard, U. S. Corps of Engineers, showing the mouth of Hickory Creek, the DesPlaines river with an arrow indicating the direction of its flow, and to the west of it Mount Joliet. With reference to this map, present Brandon's bridge is where the rivulet flows into the DesPlaines from the northwest.

"Mt. Juliet" to the west of both the DesPlaines and the "Long Portage Road" at latitude 41 degrees 30 minutes, North.¹³

SURVEYORS' MAPS THE BEST EVIDENCE

In the work of relocating the "Chicago Portage" it was learned the most reliable information concerning landmarks of the past could be found in surveyors' maps and field notes. These maps are generally drawn to scale and can be transposed by photography to the scale of accurate modern plats, preferably those made by the U. S. Geological Survey, or by photographing both maps at a common scale we can then superimpose the older map upon the modern map and obtain much definite information. From this information a check by linear measurements is possible, and field trips can be made to verify the findings with unobliterated physical landmarks.

In the search for surveyors' maps that could throw light upon the actual site, and other information concerning Mt. Joliet, several were found. The best is that of Belin and Barnard, U. S. Engineers, who surveyed a proposed route for the Michigan and Illinois canal. This is known as map No. 5, 1831 from Guion's B. M. No. 10 to B. M. No. 22. It is drawn to scale and shows among other things the mouth of Hickory Creek, "Mt. Joliet," and the location of the proposed canal. Joliet Mount was surmounted on a series of terraces, three in number, each about twenty feet in height. Then as compared to Flathead, which is known to be eighty feet in elevation from the river bed, it towered above it more than sixty feet, giving it a mountain-like appearance. Its size as notated on Belin's map, from the eastern extremity of its base to its western extremity, was a little more than three-fourths of a mile, its greatest breadth being about one-third of a mile.¹⁴ Its position as shown by superimposing Bel-

¹³Map of Illinois and Missouri, H. S. Tanner Philadelphia, 1829. Copy in the British Museum, partly reproduced in *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century*, Knight and Zeuch, pp. 113.

¹⁴Map No. 5, Proposed Route for the Michigan and Illinois Canal from Guion's B. M. 10 to B. M. 22, 1831. Surveyed by H. Belin and C. Barnard Junior. Drawn by H. Belin Asst. Civil Engineer, Bureau of Topographical Engineers U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

in's map on a map of the area made in 1916 by the U. S. Geologic Survey (Joliet and Wilmington quadrangles¹⁵ shows it was in the following described area: the greater part of the mound was situated in the north one-half of the south-east quarter of section 19, township 35 north, range 10 east of the 3rd principal meridian, extending a short distance west into the north-east quarter of the south-west quarter of section 19-35-10, extending a short distance north into the south-east quarter of the north-east quarter of section 19-35-10, extreme north-west corner of; and extending into the north-west quarter of the south-west quarter of section 20-35-10; and extending into the extreme south-west corner of the south-west quarter of the north-west quarter of section 20-35-10.

Parallel 41 degrees 30 minutes North, crosses the mound about at the middle of its long dimension. It lay immediately north of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in section 19 and 20 south of Rockdale. The C. O. & P. Electric Railway runs along its south-eastern base and the abandoned tile factory occupies a part of its former site.

A map made for the Canal Commissioners to exhibit land grants along the Illinois and Michigan canal, shows Mount Joliet in section 19, north of the canal, but does not designate it by name.¹⁶

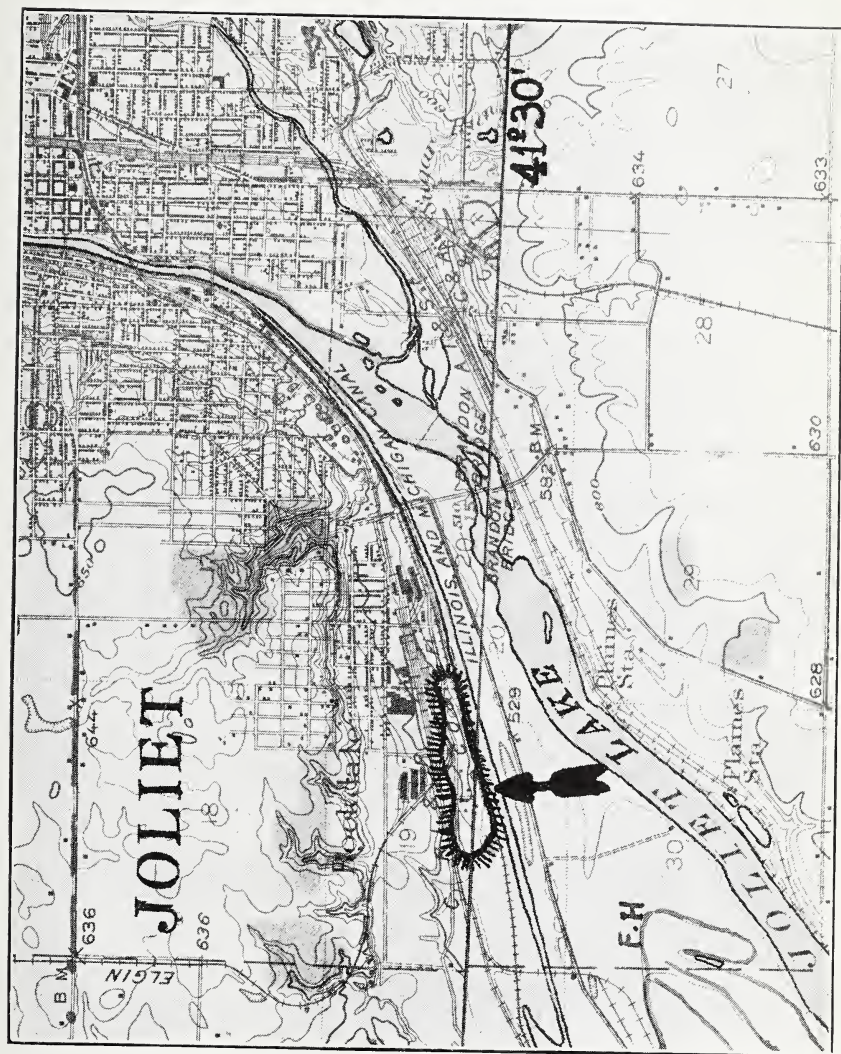
A surveyed map made by U. S. Corps of Engineers, gives contour lines and mentions the elevation as Joliet Mound, giving its location between an enlargement of the Illinois and Michigan canal on the south and the C. R. I. & P. R. R. right of way to the north, in section 19 extending about 800 feet into section 20.¹⁷

Captain John C. Sullivan's map, defining the "Indian Boundary Lines of the Treaty of 1816" places "Mt. Juliet"

¹⁵Topography, State of Illinois, Department of Interior, Joliet and Wilmington Quadrangles, 1916.

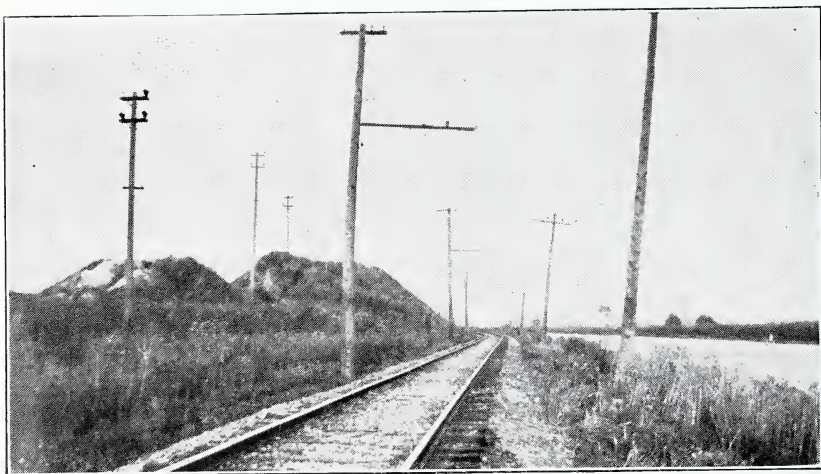
¹⁶Map No. 2, Illinois and Michigan Canal, to show lands granted by an Act of Congress 1827. A true copy with affidavit by W. H. Newton, Secretary of Canal Commissioners, is in possession of the Sanitary District of Chicago.

¹⁷Map of the DesPlaines and Illinois Rivers from Joliet to LaSalle, surveyed under the direction of Major W. H. H. Benyaurd, Corps of Engineers U. S. A., George Wisner, Asst. Engineer, September and October, 1883. Scale 1 inch to 100 ft. Blue print copy in the map department of the Sanitary District of Chicago.



Part of a Topographical Map of the State of Illinois, Joliet and Wilmington Quadrangles, U. S. Geological Survey.





A Remnant of Mount Joliet in Section 19, Looking Northeastward Towards Brandon's Bridge from the C. O. & P. Electric Ry.



Remnant of the Extreme Western End of Mount Joliet, in Section 19.

on the west bank of the DesPlaines River near the head of Lake Joliet, but as it had no reference to any of his lines it perhaps was placed there casually rather than as a surveyor's land mark.¹⁸

PRESENT REMAINS OF JOLIET MOUND.

Several old settlers can recall the time when a considerable part of it still remained, notably Colonel Fred Bennit, of Joliet. The late Frank Hibner before his death, had told historians seeking knowledge concerning it that he as a contractor, had hauled fill from it.

Two fairly large sized remnants of Joliet Mound may be seen adjoining the C. O. & P. Electric Railway tracks close to the canal enlargement north of the abandoned tile factory. Several small heaps of stone and clay, rejected by those taking out the fill, remain in the deep excavation that is the location of its former western extremity.

LANDMARKS DISAPPEARING RAPIDLY.

The march of public improvements is rapidly changing the topography of the country, which until in comparatively recent times had not changed much from the time the DesPlaines valley re-echoed the sound of the Canadian boatman's song, and ere long the few remaining landmarks that historians love to visit will have disappeared and reconstructing the topography of the past will become increasingly difficult for researchers. The old mouth of Hickory Creek has but a short time to stay for the retaining walls of the new Brandon Dam have already closed this outlet. And when water is allowed to fill this gigantic turning basin of the canal, the verdured islands that marked its junction with the DesPlaines will disappear for all time.

If we would link the past with the present a shaft should be erected on the small part of Mount Joliet which remains, with possibly a beacon light at its apex to bid the voyagers of the new commerce welcome, as "Mount Joliet" did their predecessors, whether they come by air, land or water.

¹⁸Capt. John C. Sullivan's map made for U. S. Commissioners Graham and Phillips, sent to define the Indian Boundary Lines of the Treaty of St. Louis 1816. Original in the U. S. Department of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C. Reproduced in the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century, Knight and Zeuch, p. 105.

JAMES HALL IN VANDALIA.*

By ESTHER SHULTZ.

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James Hall came to Vandalia after a political battle which had been fought, in great part, on the field of state finance. While campaigning for the governorship, Ninian Edwards had baited voters by haranguing them about the deplorable mismanagement of public funds. He was elected by a majority small enough to denote his declining power in Illinois politics, and the legislature, whom he had thus blamed, repaid him by its hostility.

"You must be aware now that the freedom with which you commented on the management of the finances, State Bank, etc., however just was nevertheless very impolitick. It arrayed almost every man that had been in the Legislature since 1821 and all the Bank and Circuit Court interest against you."

So wrote John Marshall, president of the Shawneetown bank, to Edwards after the election. When the Governor took possession of his office, then, there was behind him a doubtful public, and before him an angry legislature.

Yet neither did the legislature distinguish itself by its unity of purpose nor its righteousness of policy. A letter written from Vandalia on December 23, 1826, from General Nicholas Hansen to Governor Coles, indicates the general temper of the legislative body. It states:

"I have delayed a little while in writing to you, waiting for something new and interesting, but, alas! I am where I begun, and can only say that Illinois is *Illinois*. Our legislature is yet harmonious, and though beautifully supplied with

*Continuation of Article on "James Hall in Shawneetown," in Vol. XXII, No. 3, (October, 1929).
¹*The Edwards Papers*. Ed. by E. B. Washburne, Chicago, 1884, p. 255.



Yours Truly
James Hall

the gift of *gab*, has not yet brought forth anything sufficiently indicative of its character upon the future interests of our State.'"²

The members of the legislature, in fact, resembled most politicians of the day by participating in public service in order to obtain what individual rewards they might.

Into this situation came Hall, taking a position at the focal point in affairs at the capitol, for, as treasurer of Illinois, he stood where the controversy promised to be thickest. He chose, however, to retain what impartiality he could in a capitol where profitable alliances and bargainings were the means by which political factions progressed, and he seems to have accepted the principles of no one of the several politicians whose greed supplied the motivating energy to state affairs during the years before national politics absorbed local group interests.³ However, Hall made an attachment with William C. Kinney, a preacher-store-keeper-politician who gave him friendly support. Kinney had once supported Edwards, but had later abandoned that leader to become his opponent, adhering gradually more closely to Jacksonianism. In such a way did the personnel of each faction constantly shift, the followers of one group becoming the leaders of another, the members of opposing factions combining their powers against a common enemy, for a period, only to return to their rivalry. Independent of factional leaders, except for this personal friendship with Kinney, Hall settled himself in Vandalia.

Hall had not been long in Vandalia before the man of public affairs began to make way for the man of letters. Evidence of his sincere interest in history and literature lies in the fact that this interest remained in spite of associations anything but genteel, in spite of a separation by a thousand

²Alvord, Clarence W., *Governor Edward Coles*. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. xv. Biographical Series, v. i.) Springfield, 1920, pp. 81-82.

³When Hall edited *The Illinois Gazette* at Shawneetown, he had criticized Edwards for his attack in the United States Senate upon William Crawford, who had displeased Edwards by his management of the sale of Illinois lands. Hall believed that Crawford's system was beneficial to the state of finance in Illinois. Hall also had attacked Cook, Edward's son-in-law. This, and his election by an anti-Edwards legislature, suggests, though it does not prove, that Hall did not belong to the Edwards group. Yet, since he voted for Adams in 1828, neither did he belong to the Jackson group. Party alliances, during this period, were neither steady nor consistent.

miles from any literary stimulation, and in spite of men and manners which, we have the word of eastern travelers, were irritating to aesthetic tastes. This same interest caused him, together with other energetic men of the neighborhood, including Professor John Russell, Reverend John Mason Peck, and Sidney Breese, to form at Vandalia, in 1827, the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois.⁴ When the meetings were held, with Hall, the president, presiding, members read papers and delivered addresses which, it is said,⁵ were of great historical value. At the second annual meeting, in December, 1828, Hall delivered an address which was published the following year.⁶ After several sessions, however, the organization was abandoned and, subsequently, the archives were lost. Hall's knowledge of the history of the prairie country was soon to serve as the basis for the books which made him famous as the interpreter of the West to the East.

Somewhere on one of Hall's bookshelves might have been found, presumably, some old numbers of *The Portfolio*, a Philadelphia magazine in which, about seven years before, had been published some of Hall's own articles.⁷ Or, perhaps, he had hesitated to destroy the original journal in which he had gathered the miscellaneous collection of notes concerning his impressions of the alluring and resourceful West. Those jottings had served him as the material for the series of letters advising easterners of the character of the frontier and the advantages it would offer settlers. It was long since the letters had appeared in *The Portfolio*, yet their author now found a new use for them.

Hall collected these articles into a book under the title, *Letters from the West*. When this book, written in such rude surroundings, was ready to be presented to the publisher,

⁴Snyder, J. F., *Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History, 1817-1842*. Virginia, Illinois, 1906, p. 89.

⁵*The Western Monthly Review*, Cincinnati, v. i. p. 563. Flagg, Edmund, *The Far West*, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*. Cleveland, 1906. v. xxvi. p. 243.

⁶Rusk, Ralph L., *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. New York, 1925. v. i. p. 237.

⁷*The Portfolio*. Philadelphia, 1821. v. 12, p. 66, Letter I. p. 72, Letter II. p. 440, Letter III. 1822. v. 13, p. 118. Letter IV. p. 178, Letter V. p. 383, Letter VI. 1823, v. 14, p. 94, Letter VI. (sic).

Hall was so timid of the opinion of critics that he feared to let his authorship be known. He wished first to be assured that *Letters from the West* would be accepted, whereupon it would be time enough to make his authorship known to an approving public. In order to avoid the possible reproof of easterners who, perhaps, felt only a desultory interest in the frontier, Hall devised a scheme whereby he might protect himself. He sent his manuscript to London in the hands of a friend, where it was to be published anonymously. Then he waited, with what anticipation we can only guess, for its appearance in America. When the book did appear, Hall was, in all probability, more astonished than any of his readers, for the title page read: *Letters from the West, containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners and Customs, and Anecdotes, connected with the first Settlements of the western sections of the United States. By the Hon. Judge Hall, 1 vol. 8 vo. pp. 386. London, Henry Colburn, 1828.* Self-conscious and fearful, Hall awaited the reviews.

London proved an unhappy choice of place for publication, for Englishmen, as well as easterners who had traveled through the West, were less impressed by the romance of western life than by its inconveniences. *Letters from the West*, thought English reviewers, to whom all things American were barbarous, was proof of American crudity. Here, they claimed, the typical American boasted that because his manners were honest, he was therefore the equal of kings; that because his country was uncultivated, therefore was it a paradise; that, in short, nature was a substitute for good taste. The resentment towards America, due, in part, to the reports of dissatisfied English travelers in the United States, was aggravated by Hall's own disdain for England. The publication of *Letters from the West*, it seems, gave both Hall and his English reviewers an opportunity to vent their patriotism. The British journals were particularly surprised by the personality of the author, for he seemed to lack the severity suitable to his office. In the levity of his conduct, in the facetiousness of his wit, and in his inept humor, critics discovered

faults of which no judge should have been guilty. Among other criticisms of the author was that concerning his style. "He is forever upon stilts," complained *The Monthly Review*,⁸ and *The Eclectic Review* thought the book "sad trash."⁹ Hall refused, after considering these criticisms, to republish *Letters from the West*.¹⁰

This first book, so casually written, contained most of the fallacies of which the period was guilty. Literature, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, was dominated by a theory, sponsored particularly by *The North American Review*, that American books should be made of American materials. By means of a subject matter characteristically American, chiefly settlements, local events, or the Indian, literature was to become nationalized. The influence of this theory upon Hall was strong. The matter of his first book, which, Hall stated in his "Preface," had been collected "with little choice of subjects, and still less attention to the order in which they are arranged," nevertheless, was wholly composed of descriptions of places, narrations of occurrences associated with those places, incidents concerning travelers to those places. The book, in fact, belongs to that group of essay-sketches which Vernon L. Parrington describes thus:

"The older type (the essay-sketch) had been a blend of nature description, social observation, character sketches, with somewhat injudicious portions of sentiment and moralizing, and with frequent resort to the old letter-form of fiction that lingered out a surprising old age."¹¹

At first glance the book seems to possess little continuity, for Hall could talk at once on scenery, sciences, and fiddling, or hard names, antiquaries, and anecdotes. Yet the chronological relation of the Ohio river journey enforced a loose coherence, and the book was held together by its concentration on one subject, the American scene. Life on the river, on the prairie,

⁸*The Monthly Review*. n. s. ix. p. 502.

⁹*The Eclectic Review*. 3rd. ser. II. p. 391.

¹⁰Cairns, William B., *British Criticisms and American Writings, 1815-1833*. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. No. 14). Madison, 1922. p. 255. From this have been gathered the comments upon the British reputation of *Letters from the West*.

¹¹Parrington, Vernon L., *Main Currents in American Literature*. New York, 1927. v. ii. p. 41.

in the forest, whether a consideration of the manufacturing products of Pittsburg or the romantic tale of the Missouri trapper captured by the Indians, constituted the material for *Letters from the West*.

Those who, in 1828, chanced upon this book, found it according to the contemporary manner.¹² In a day when polite informality was esteemed, Hall was politely informal, and, further, that informality was less rustic than sentimental. Hall had, to be sure, composed his book of materials found in the semi-civilized frontier, yet he wrote after the fashion of one whose life had been spent among well-bred men and manners. Hall, however, was young, and was, therefore, frequently carried away by his enthusiasms. He was enjoying himself; stories of river desperados excited him; the girls he met pleased him. He, also, wished to please every one, so he attempted a joke, he ventured a witticism. Yet, in spite of his geniality, his wit, in *Letters from the West*, is insipid, and his humor is a disappointment, for gay spirits alone do not compose a book. Excited by the romantic appeal of the West, Hall failed to note that frontier life was, perhaps, tawdry, and that it seemed, especially to those who were active in the actual subjugation of the untamed wilderness and the prairie, less romantic than mean and unlovely. Hall avowed to the end of his days his adherence to realism, yet his youthful optimism blinded him to half the life of this country. In fact, Hall perceived the potentialities of the West rather than its reality. Out of poverty and dirt and viciousness, as well as heroism did the West develop. Therefore, when we criticize Hall for his lack of cleverness, for the humor derived from the heart rather than from the head, we criticize, as well, the limitations of his youthfulness and the day in which he lived. *Letters from the West* might better please critics had Hall been less conscious of his readers, and had attended to the business of writing a good book.

¹²Hall has been compared to Irving, yet, while Irving found romance only in the past, Hall perceived it in the present and the future.

Hall's experience with *Letters from the West* was an embarrassment which caused him ever after to present his volumes in a spirit of modesty. Yet he was not sufficiently abashed to abandon his writing, for, after the discussion concerning his first book, adverse as it was, Hall had acquired a considerable reputation as author of literature descriptive of the West.

He immediately set to work upon his next volume, *The Western Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Gift for 1829*, warding off criticism by a stanza in the introductory poem:

"It stays not for critic, and stops not for puff,
It dreads that reviewers may call it "poor stuff"!
For ere the dull proser can rail, or can rate,
The ladies have smiled, and the critic comes late,
And the poets who laugh, and the authors who sneer,
Would be glad of a place in our new Souvenir."¹³

This book was a novelty which, taking advantage of the contemporary fashion in favor of annuals, contained only poems and sketches by western authors on subjects pertaining to the frontier. What its particular intention was Hall made clear in his "Preface":

"It will be seen that this volume aspires to something beyond the ordinary compilations of the day, and that we have endeavored to give it an original character by devoting its pages exclusively to our domestic literature. It is written and published in the Western Country, by Western men, and is chiefly connected with the history and character of the country which gives it birth. Most of the tales are founded upon fact, and though given as fiction, some of them are entitled to the credit of historical accuracy."

The little book, bound in heavy bright red silk, was the first such anthology to be published in the West. "It comes," Hall claimed, "unprecedented, it comes all alone."¹⁴ And *The Western Souvenir* was not unsuccessful in holding its own

¹³*The Western Souvenir, a Christmas and New Year's Gift for 1829.* Ed. by James Hall. Cincinnati, 1829. Introductory poem.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

among the frivolous volumes which might have been found on the parlor tables of the ladies of 1829.

Of the fifty-eight selections in *The Western Souvenir*, fourteen were by Hall himself. One notices numerous pseudonyms among the authors of these sketches and poems. Six of them are signed Orlando, one Velasco, and one Hassan. Most of the names appear only once, such as N. Wright, E. R. B., Timothy Flint, Moses Brooks, Dr. (John M.) Harvey, L. R. Noble, Caleb Stark, Ephraim Robins, John P. Foote, John B. Dillon, M. P. Flint, and Benjamin Drake. Harvey D. Little, S. S. Boyd, N(athan) Guilford, and Otway Curry presented two each, and three selections appear over the signature N— (Morgan Neville). Three are anonymous, and there is no indication of the authorship of six. No historian has searched for a familiar acquaintance with the men whom most of these names represent. The most familiar are Timothy Flint, Otway Curry, and Morgan Neville. That so many men, all of them westerners, should be desirous of perpetuating the life of the frontier through the medium of literary expression, is not the least remarkable fact which *The Western Souvenir* demonstrates.

In their depictions of local history these authors gave way to romantic excess. Popular taste demanded sentiment. Yet such polite mawkishness as distinguished *The Western Souvenir* was at cross-purposes with the reality of western life, which needed an author whose temperament and genius impelled him toward the picaresque. One critic has observed,¹⁵ for instance, that among the best of the narratives in *The Western Souvenir* was Morgan Neville's "The Last of the Boatmen," a sketch relating the tale of Mike Fink, boatman and rascal, who for many years had terrorized the neighborhood of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. The majority of the authors, however, preferred sentiment. Harvey D. Little was one of the worst offenders, for his two selections, "The Infant's Grave," and "The Dying Maiden," were intended to please delicate sensibilities.

¹⁵Rusk, Ralph L., *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. v. i. p. 275.

Hall's poetry inclined to a sort of genial effusion of emotion. Love in the wilderness was a theme which particularly delighted him. "La Belle Riviere," "Love in the Dew," "The Parting," "Wedded Love's First Home" all promised idyllic bliss to those who dared to live on the frontier. Such is this final graceful stanza in "La Belle Riviere":

"As the chrystal drops blend to be severed no more,
'Till they fall in the far distant sea,
In some vine covered cot by this sweet blooming shore,
Should my Fanny be wedded to me.
Then would love be no longer the poet's day dream,
But the warmth giving sun of our sphere,
And life's tide gliding smoothly a beautiful stream,
Would reflect its gay beams like La Belle Riviere."

Hall fell far, however, when he wrote "The Parting." The slightest sense of humor should have saved him from the following:

"No fond adieu escaped her tongue—
No tender prayer for me;
She only sobbed and madly wrung
Her hands in agony.
She laughed. Then terror shook her frame—
Then hid her face as if in shame,
Though none was there but me;
And then she wept, and would have spoke,
But, ah! too late—her heart was broke."

The Western Souvenir also contains Hall's first tales of the frontier. "The French Village" relates quite simply the story of the coming of the pioneers to the town in which Monsieur Baptiste Menon and Mademoiselle Jeanette Duval lived so happily. The charm of the French settlement vanishes as the backwoodsmen push their way westward, forever destroying its peacefulness as a prelude to the destruction of the village itself. "The Bachelor's Elysium" contains a discussion by a group of maids and bachelors upon the joys of celibacy. A young man dreams that he is visiting the land of unmarried people, where he finds everyone dancing happily. Queen

Elizabeth, their leader, holds court in order to choose couples, so that these may further enjoy their single state by engaging in additional casuistry. Upon awakening, however, the young man decided to marry. "The Billiard Table" is a moral tale of a man who neglected his wife in order to play billiards with rough companions in a dingy back room. On returning home at two o'clock one morning, he found that his wife was gone. Her departure, and the discovery that the friend with whom he most frequently played was a thief, drove him to such deep remorse that when his wife returned home from caring for a sick friend, she found him reformed. "The Indian Hater" is set in the backwoods, in the village store, and on the prairies of northern Illinois. It is the story of Samuel Monson, a farmer, who, because of the murder of his family, held so intense a hatred toward the Indians that he spent the remainder of his life trying to exterminate them. Melodramatic situations and extravagancies of style mar this story. The very civil conversations of the savages and the hunter are particularly distasteful. One of Hall's best-known tales, "Pete Feather-ton," is also contained in this volume. When Hall had written *Letters from the West*, he had been interested in backwoods superstitions. He has built this story around such strange beliefs as a charmed gun, an ice-covered pond that hisses as if touched by fire when the lost hunter approaches it. A stranger in the forest imposes charms and a medicine man removes them. These are simple narratives, marked by stilted language, wooden characters, feeble construction, yet they are picturesque, at intervals, and vigorous in spirit. James Hall, and the little group of enthusiasts who contributed to *The Western Souvenir*, did much to further the cause of letters in an unpromising environment.

This history has led us a long way. Let us turn again to political affairs at the Illinois capitol, in order to discover in what direction national currents were sweeping the business of the State, and in what measure Hall was participating in them. On January 17, 1829,¹⁶ Hall bought a half-interest in

¹⁶Scott, Frank W., *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. vi. Bibliographical Series, v. i.) Springfield, 1910. p. 340.

a Vandalia newspaper, *The Illinois Intelligencer*, heretofore wholly owned by Robert Blackwell. Since Blackwell's purchase on June 24, 1825, the paper had favored pro-slavery. Upon the co-editorship of Hall, *The Illinois Intelligencer* favored Adams. Hall, however, not unconscious of the powerful sweep of Jacksonianism,¹⁷ stated:

"(The newspaper) felt no animosity to Jackson and stood ready to do the same justice to him as to Adams."¹⁸ Hall's political technique is again evident by his approval of a sufficient number of important factions that, drawing partial assistance from each of them, he supplied himself with a combined support.

Hall's most firm political connection during 1829 was with his friend, William Kinney, who, in 1830, ran for the governorship against John Reynolds and John Tillson, Jr. In later years Reynolds admitted:

"Judge Hall, whose paper, the *Intelligencer*, had almost as much circulation as all the other journals, was acknowledged to be one of the most scientific and polished writers in the State, or in the West; and he poured out continual streams of red-hot lava from his press that I felt on many occasions."¹⁹

The older local political factions were by this time well on the way to disintegration under the pressure of Jackson enthusiasm. After 1828 the only means to office was by adherence to Jackson. Kinney was the straight Jackson candidate for the governorship. Although Reynolds also professed attachment to Jackson, yet he quietly negotiated for Adams votes, and with the assistance of Ninian Edwards, who

¹⁷In 1823, Hall's friend, Patchett, had written to him from Pittsburg: "Jimmy my son, you have been an officer in the late war, your sword was then drawn in defense of your Country—and now let your pen in time of peace be wielded in vindicating the just claims of your old General, as old *Hickory* is the best hope for national safety Thus Jimmy my son, you must be prepared to ward off the blows, for all these obstructions and a great many more will be cast in the way of the worthy Chieftain to the Presidential chair; but let us go to work like true Pioneers and clear off the rubbish—we will have a host on our side, we will have all the true Soldiers and all who are true and faithful freemen to rally round the standard of Jackson and Liberty, as none but trembling cowards and office hunters will vote against him." Pease, Theodore C., *The Story of Illinois*. Chicago, 1925, pp. 151-153.

¹⁸Scott, Frank W., *Newspapers and Periodicals in Illinois, 1814-1879*. (Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. v. Bibliographical Series, v. i.) p. 340.

¹⁹Reynolds, John, *My Own Times*. Chicago, 1879. p. 186.

dallied between Adams and Jackson, prepared the way to office. Hall, who in 1828 had voted for Adams, nevertheless, supported Kinney faithfully. A letter from Hooper Warren, written October 6, 1829, shows the irritation Hall caused his opponents:

"We received no Vandalia papers last week, of course could not finish your letter to Berry. I think you have "used them up." It seems that Hall could afford to print but a few paragraphs of your letter at a time, while he would devote six or eight columns to a "simpleton story" from his own brain."²⁰

So long as political storms were brewing, the newspapers printed in frontier towns were filled with little else except discussions upon candidates and policies.²¹ The influence of Hall's newspaper, according to contemporaries, was felt more keenly than that of any other, and, further, its affectation of a literary disposition helped to establish *The Illinois Intelligencer*, so long as Hall remained in Vandalia, as the most eminent paper in Illinois. The intrigues of Reynolds, in spite of Hall's newspaper and Kinney's straightforwardness, brought him the governorship by a majority of 12,837 votes to Kinney's 8,938 votes. This event was more momentous than, perhaps, Hall realized, for by it was his grip loosened from Illinois politics.

Yet, during the year 1830, he seemed but little disquieted by any sense of impending adversity, and employed himself in even more numerous occupations than before. Just as, when in Shawneetown, Hall's interest had shifted from the law to politics, so now, in Vandalia, his gradual withdrawal from politics was equalled inversely by a further participation in literary production. *The Illinois Intelligencer* was

²⁰*The Edward Papers*, Ed. by E. B. Washburne. p. 440. William Berry was the former owner of *The Illinois Intelligencer*.

²¹*Ibid.* p. 484. The activities of rival newspapers were watched and speculated upon, as the following letter indicates: "The paper here has spoken in tones of defiance to Kinney's paper, and I think has made Hall and others lower their tone, and encouraged the cowardly supporters of Reynolds, but if I understand his letters to the printer here, he dreads its manly tones in his favor, and prefers that it should assume an "armed neutrality" and sneak through the showers of slander poured upon his party by the opposition. I am therefore done until I know whether it is intended to censure the paper or not." This letter was written by George Forquer to Edwards.

useful only to the immediate locality, for although it contained an occasional sketch from Hall's pen or a belated news item concerning those events at Washington likely to influence the frontier, yet Hall desired, as well, to inform the East of the presence, the character, and the opportunities of the West, and intended, moreover, to create a western literature. These ambitions were not new ones, for, so long as Hall had lived in Illinois, he had encouraged the establishment of a literature which utilized the western scene and which requested a recognition of the West as an active and important part of the United States.

The present result of this intention was *The Illinois Monthly Magazine*, the first periodical to be published in Illinois. When the first number appeared in October, 1830, the "Preface" stated what purpose the magazine intended to fulfill. Hall explained thus:

"We wish to exclude nothing which properly belongs to any branch of science or classics, but to open a door to writers in various departments. The leading features of our humble attempt will be to disseminate knowledge, to cultivate a taste for letters, and to give correct delineations of this country to our distant friends. We shall endeavor to collect authentic information with regard to the condition and prospects of Illinois, and present it to the country without exaggeration . . . Every topic connected with the arts, the industry, or the resources of this flourishing state, or of the western country, will come within the scope of this work, and will receive from us such attention as our abilities will admit, or our opportunities for collecting information allow."

The Illinois Monthly Magazine was, indeed, a more hopeful venture than most western readers should have been expected to appreciate. Few backwoodsmen cared whether or not Hall succeeded in accomplishing the aim set down in this following passage:

"We wish to collect the scattered rays of intelligence which are dispersed over our country, and by concentrating

those beams which are now glimmering singly and feebly, to produce a steady brilliance which may illuminate the land."²² Two purposes, it seems, provided the motive for the establishment of *The Illinois Monthly Magazine*: the desire to encourage the creation of a literature employing western life and background, and the desire to acquaint other sections of the country with the character of the frontier.

The magazine was almost wholly the product of Hall's own labor. He wrote a large amount of the articles in it; he edited, published, and owned the magazine. The first volume was printed by Hall's partner in *The Illinois Intelligencer*, Robert Blackwell, but, during the second year of its publication, it was printed and issued from Cincinnati, Ohio. One number was published by Charles Keemle at St. Louis.²³

Difficulties which would have seemed insurmountable to one less confident failed to discourage Hall. When obstacles hindered the success of the magazine, the editor managed its publication as skillfully as the situation permitted. His resourcefulness was tried from the first by the lack of materials with which to fill the periodical, for, although such authors as Governor Edward Coles, Morris Birkbeck, John Mason Peck, Dr. Asa Fitch, Salmon P. Chase, and George Russell assisted its success by numerous contributions, yet these were not enough, and about half of the total content of the journal was the product of Hall's own pen. He had several aids, chief of which was matter borrowed from other periodicals. Also he reprinted sketches already published in *Letters from the West* and *The Western Souvenir*, government reports, and long articles from newspapers. Drawing upon all the resources of the state, Hall soon exhausted them, so that he, almost alone, carried on in this magazine the struggle for literary achievement.

Hall did not, it may be supposed, expect to make a large financial profit from the publication of this magazine, yet, on the other hand, the expenditures, paid, in a great part,

²²*The Illinois Monthly Magazine*. "Preface." v. i. pp. 3-4.

²³Rusk, Ralph L., *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. v. i. p. 172. The last two numbers were prepared under the supervision of a group of Hall's friends. *Ibid.* p. 175.

from his own pocket²⁴ amounted to such considerable²⁵ financial loss that one is astonished at his enormous enthusiasm and at his devotion to so costly a purpose.

Both the want of material and the want of financial remuneration indicated a third difficulty, which, more than anything else, might have been expected to dampen Hall's zeal. A magazine is dependent upon the interest of its subscribers, yet this interest *The Illinois Monthly Magazine* was without. It continued so long as it did, not because contributors were eager to publish in it their ideas, and not because subscribers awaited it with any great eagerness, but because Hall's devotion was sufficient to maintain it. Hall seemed blind to the cultural limitations of horse-thieves, Indians, and coon-skin frontiersmen. The thirst for aesthetic expression which his magazine intended to satisfy simply did not exist. Opposed by these conditions, Hall continued the publication of *The Illinois Monthly Magazine*.

One predominating quality, that is, the great variety of subjects discussed between the covers of this journal, is noticeable upon a consideration of the table of contents. The following articles, contained in the number issued in December, 1830, illustrate the heterogeneous character of the magazine:

"A Legend of Coronadelet or, Fifty Years Ago."

"The First Bell."

"A Few Thoughts on Education."

"The Ant and the Cricket or, The Bankrupt and the Banker." From *The Liverpool Album*.

"Notes on Illinois. Soil and Productions."

"Hedges."

"Female Courage and Fortitude." Selected.

"City of Brussels Described."

"Philosophy of Sight." From *The London Magazine*.
Literary Intelligence.

"The Shoshonee Valley."

Timothy Flint. *Frances Berriam. Arthur Clenning*.

²⁴Duyckinck, E. A. and G. L., *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*. New York, 1856. v. ii. p. 146.

²⁵Rusk, Ralph L., *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. v. i. p. 172.

Wilkins Tannehill, Esq., Nashville, Tenn. *History of Literature.*

The conditions of its publication made necessary such breadth of interest. Yet, by theory, also, Hall justified the inclusion of many topics. It was the function of a magazine, he thought, to publish what would please the taste of any reader. "Our editors have become too formal, too stately, and fastidious," he stated in an article, "Periodicals," contained in the April, 1831 number. "Instead of the infinite variety of topics, which once gave interest to works of this description, nothing is now admitted but reviews, tales, and poetry." Further on, he remarked, "I am much better pleased with the good old-fashioned magazines . . . within whose well-furnished pages the reader, whatever might be his taste, was sure to find something agreeable." For these reasons, Hall included poetry, scientific papers, biography, statistics of Illinois, book reviews, articles on agricultural conditions, tales, and history of Indian tribes. This miscellaneous character of *The Illinois Monthly Magazine* does credit, indeed, to Hall's versatility.

The majority of these articles, however, would be interesting to no sort of society other than that of the backwoods. The long dull "Notes on Illinois," the papers on "People, Manners, and Customs of the West," on Mississippi floods, and on the geography of the western country were intended to advertise Illinois to possible settlers. Such discussions, possessing no lasting value *per se*, nevertheless, justified their presence by acquainting the East with the fact that the West existed and that this country was important to the progress of the nation.

Hall's own writings claim our chief interest. No great praise may be given for the literary skill shown in this magazine. The tales by Hall are similar in quality and subject to those already published in *The Western Souvenir*. In fact, some of those printed here had already been published in former books. Particularly the section, "Literary Intelligence," was enfeebled, because new books were so seldom

available in Vandalia, and Hall admitted that he was unable to develop this department of his magazine so fully as he had intended. Book reviews became fewer, and *The Illinois Monthly Magazine* gradually abandoned criticism. Hall had not, perhaps, awakened a very enthusiastic taste for letters in Illinois, yet he had made the West conscious of a need which, when more immediate necessities had been satisfied, would be fulfilled, and he had won fame for himself.

Meanwhile, during the next years, Hall was drawn from these literary pursuits into the current of politics. The state legislature, in session during 1830 and 1831, was again to elect a treasurer for the State of Illinois. The conflict was waged between the Kinney group and the Reynolds group, representing respectively the Jackson and anti-Jackson factions. An unusual situation developed during this election. State Treasurer James Hall, a Whig, who had voted for Adams in 1828, was supported by his friend, Kinney, and by other adherents to the Jackson party, while Governor Reynolds and the anti-Jackson group set up as candidate John Dement, a member of the legislature, and, in other matters, a pro-Jackson ally. Each party anxiously supported a candidate belonging to the opposition.²⁶

The battle was a lively one, fought in part, at least, in the local newspapers. Hall's paper, *The Illinois Intelligencer*, again became prominent, for through its pages did he disseminate what propaganda he wished in order to carry on his campaign. The importance of this newspaper to his followers was noticed by George Forquer of Springfield, Illinois, who, on May 27, 1830, wrote that Kinney men in that town, as well as in other parts of the State, were dependent upon *The Illinois Intelligencer* for their ideas.

As the contest continued, it became more intense. Enmities grew, rivals began to denounce one another, and no means for gaining the victory was left untried. Some of the methods for achieving the office are outlined in the following letter, also from Forquer, dated June 17, 1830:

²⁶Reynolds, John, *My Own Times*. p. 186. Ford, Thomas, *A History of Illinois*, Chicago, 1854. p. 108.

"Embroider every man in the contest. Reynolds will call upon some twenty men to come on. Ford is here. We are going to Vandalia tomorrow or next day to attend the court to get evidence to prove Hall a *liar*, and to call him such in a hand bill I intend to publish to the people. Be not afraid of my heat. I will write a good one for effect, but I shall publish Hall a base liar and a *hired* puppy to the world. He will be driven to the wall."

Throughout the remainder of his administration Hall fought for re-election. Yet his enemies were both powerful and bold, while his own supporting ally was a defeated candidate for the governorship. Kinney's influence, however, was not without weight among those Illinoisians who were attracted by the rough policies of Andrew Jackson, and, furthermore, the majority of the senate aligned themselves with Hall in order to oppose the wishes of Governor Reynolds. Encouraged by this support, Hall fought to retain his office as treasurer, yet he was not sufficiently powerful to hold his position against the political tactics of Reynolds. Dement was elected the new treasurer of Illinois, and was inaugurated on February 5, 1831.

For the first time since 1821, Hall was without political position. There remained to him the newspaper, *The Illinois Intelligencer* and the periodical, *The Illinois Monthly Magazine*. Hall made no immediate move toward finding for himself a situation, but, instead, set to work on a new book. *Legends of the West* was Hall's most notable production during the year 1832.

Hall continued, in *Legends of the West*, to utilize his environment in order to attract attention to it, stating in the "Preface":

"The sole intention of the tales comprised in the following pages is to convey accurate descriptions of the scenery and population of the country in which the author resides. The only merit he claims for them is fidelity."

Although Hall thought he was actually presenting, in these tales, the frontier as he had seen and experienced it, in reality,

the sketches seem to be tempered by romantic ideas which, through the works of Scott, Byron, and Cooper, had permeated minds even so far West as Illinois.

Besides depicting a camp meeting in the depths of the forest attended by simple and fervid borderers, Hall built the uncomplicated plot of "The Backwoodsman," the first tale in *Legends of the West*, upon the abduction and rescue of the heroine by a solitary hunter. Another sketch in which the realistic and romantic, often theatrical, elements follow one another is to be found in "The Divining Rod," in which the somewhat dull action, a search for buried money, is improved by the character of Mr. Zedakiah Bangs. "He was a preacher, but one who would have deemed it an insult to be called a clergyman; for he belonged to a sect who condemn all human learning as vanity, and who consider a trained minister as little better than an imposter, 'head religion vs. heart religion.'" Father Bangs was a genuine picture of such preachers as Peter Cartwright, whose energetic enforcement of righteousness was the most popular religion among the backwoodsmen. In "The Seventh Son," Hall most nearly approaches the fidelity toward which he aimed. It is the narrative of a young doctor, Jeremy Geode, who came West to practice, but who neglected his business in order to study the natural life of the wilderness. Soon all the people of the neighborhood began to avoid him as if he were "a free mason in the enlightened state of New York," yet, on one occasion, he cured an old woman whom he found by accident. That he might revive his practice, the doctor decided to adapt his profession to the people, and he hung out his sign: "Doctor Jeremy Geode, the seventh son of a celebrated Indian doctor, would cure all diseases, by means of the wonderful Hygeian Tablet, or Kickapoo Panacea, of which he is the sole proprietor." By such quackery the doctor became so successful that he moved to the city. On a later occasion he returned to the country where he had become famous, that he might aid the daughter of a former patient in keeping her fortune, and, incidental to the tale, to marry her. While in the frontier country,

the doctor himself became ill. To him was brought an old woman, the same whom he had once cured, who, failing to recognize him, practiced on him his own original hocus pocus with which he had long ago treated her. This tale approaches very nearly the modern concept of the short story, for each part of the plot seems attached to and dependent upon the other parts. It has form, in fact, as well as content. Here, too, are presented charletanism and ignorance mixed with heartiness and kindness, which, in all probability, was a fair reconstruction of the character of the new West.

Added to these tales are two sketches concerning the French settlements on the Mississippi, "The Legend of Corondelet," and "Michel de Coucy," valuable because they draw interest to a community about which little is known. Other tales concern the hardships of easterners or English settlers in the new country, and numerous young adventurers, sagacious hunters, and soldiers fight to protect their women and their lands from the possession of savages. Hall also included in this volume two poems, "The Indian Wife's Lament" and "The Isle of Yellow Sands," both based upon Indian legends. On the whole, the tales contained in *Legends of the West* are not unreadable, although their chief merits depend upon their suggestiveness of the matter-of-fact, yet heroic experience of conquering the mid-continent, tempered by the briskness of a progressing people and the pretentiousness of a country barren of real civilities.

Hall's activities in Illinois were now completed, and he made ready to leave. In March, 1832,²⁷ he sold *The Illinois Intelligencer* to S. C. Sherman and Greiner. *The Illinois Monthly Magazine* continued until September, 1832, although not until January, 1833²⁸ did Hall leave Vandalia to take up a new residence in Cincinnati, Ohio.

During these years in Vandalia, Hall had shown adaptability rather than nobility of character, for most of his activities were motivated by self-interest. He was, as his writings

²⁷Scott, Frank W., *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. vi. Bibliographical Series, v. i.) p. 340.

²⁸Ibid. p. 340.

and businesses showed him to be, observant of conditions which would afford profit to himself or to his interests. Yet his alertness was superficial only. Neither from his life in Illinois or from his writings can be noted anything which would suggest that Hall ever thought deeply or felt deeply about anything. He did not devote himself to greatness in the field of law or literature, but, instead, involved himself in meaningless political complications or in following the literary fads of the day. When he might have aimed at the highest, he aimed at the nearest. Neither a great man nor a great writer, Hall was, nevertheless, one of the liveliest actors in the affairs of the Illinois frontier.

ASIATIC CHOLERA IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS, 1834-1873.

BY MILO CUSTER.

I am fully aware that this effort is not thoroughly exhaustive nor entirely complete, yet I am also convinced that from the very nature of the matter, its full history can never be written. Melancholy and unpleasant above all else, occurring mostly more than three-quarters of a century ago, in a period when no official record of deaths was required by law to be kept, when newspaper obituaries were exceptional and generally confined to a few brief lines, and worst of all, when strenuous exertions were made by local business men of that time to censor and even suppress all news of deaths from such a dangerous disease, through fear that the spread of such information would ruin their interests, in numerous instances all present knowledge of many early local cholera cases is confined almost exclusively to fading memories in the minds of a few of the oldest persons now living. This supplemented by a few published facts, some clear and good and some almost illegible inscriptions on old weatherworn marble gravestones, a few items in broken files of early local newspapers, and last of all, some early estate papers on file in the Probate Clerk's Office in our county, and in the offices of county clerks in adjoining counties, also a few early local marriage records, etc. are the sources from which this paper was compiled.

The relentless mist of obscurity time often casts over personal recollections, and the very finiteness of human life itself, is rapidly obliterating this first source. The elements are gradually destroying the third, and I regret to say that in my opinion, the future security of all the rest is very much in doubt—most unfortunately, if the convenience of future local historians and research workers is to be considered—and, if indeed, the future shall produce any more local historical writers.

Altogether, thanks to the kind assistance of a few friends whom I wish to name here in the beginning of my paper and not at the end, viz. Edward Summers, Dr. J. E. Marvel, William Felton, Mrs. Sarah Bishop, D. E. Denman, Miss Agnes McCracken, Mrs. Esther Davison, Stephen A. McWhorter, Robert M. Andrew, O. J. Hougham, James Reeder, I. H. Yoder, M. P. Lantz, Mrs. Alice Hazle, Miss Lura Lindley. The County Clerks at Clinton, Pekin, Pontiac, and Eureka, and several other persons who did not wish their names made public, and by doing several weeks' research work of the most intensive kind, I have secured quite a lot of reliable data on this subject, some of which was a revelation even to me, long familiar with many local historical facts.

Asiatic Cholera was one of the swiftest in action of all known contagious diseases, completing its work of destruction on the human body in from one to three days after the first appearance of its symptoms, almost invariably with a fatal termination, and seldom a recovery. So far as available data could be had, the number of recoveries among local cases was only about seven per cent of the entire number. I have learned of a total of about 140 deaths from cholera in McLean and adjoining counties during the period 1834-1873, and of only eleven recoveries.

Prevailing in a time when medical science had not yet learned how to combat its ravages, it is little wonder that its visitations created panic and terror in the various communities it attacked.

It is said this disease first assumed epidemic form in the Province of Bengal, India, in the year 1817, and that it first came to America in 1824, then again in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1854, 1855, and last of all, as late as 1873, when it made its final appearance on this continent, and since which time it has been definitely conquered by medical research.

The first instance of a death from Asiatic cholera anywhere in this state, of which I have thus far found a record,

was that of Governor Ninian Edwards, third Governor of Illinois, who died at his home near Belleville, Ill., July 20, 1833; though there was an outbreak at Naples, Ill. in 1832. The first local case of which I have knowledge, was that of William Orendorff, Sr. one of our prominent pioneers, at Blooming Grove, in this county, in 1834. Mr. Orendorff's case, though said to have been very severe, was numbered among the few recoveries. It was probably contracted from the Pekin, Ill. outbreak of that year, as it is known that Mr. Orendorff frequently had business transactions in that town.

The first local death from this cause, so far as I can learn, was that of Lucian A. Sampson, a young merchant, who died here in Bloomington, July 17, 1849.

The third great general outbreak of cholera in the United States seems to have begun at New Orleans, La. about December, 1848, raging there through that and the following month with great severity. It soon came up the Mississippi, following the general course of travel, and also broke out in nearly all the other large cities in this country about the same time, with many thousands of fatal cases. In the city of St. Louis, Mo. alone, it was officially stated that the deaths from cholera January 2, 1849, to July 9, 1849 numbered 3,262.¹ Boston, Mass., New York, Philadelphia, Pa., Pittsburg, Pa., Washington, D. C., Newark, N. J., Petersburg and Richmond, Va., Cincinnati, Dayton and Sandusky, Ohio, Louisville, Ky., Chicago, Ill., Madison, Wis., Peru, Ill. and Aurora, Iowa, are specifically mentioned in the early newspaper accounts as suffering more or less severely from this epidemic, and many thousands of deaths are reported to have occurred. The latest deaths from cholera in Central Illinois of which I know, were the four members of the Wells family who died near Mason City, Ill. in July and August, 1873.

This disease seems to have prevailed mostly in the northern parts of this country in the late summer months, and especially in very hot weather, sometimes occurring in the late spring and extending into the early fall, particularly if the

¹Bloomington, Ill., "Western Whig," July 21, 1849.

weather was very warm. It generally followed the course of rivers and lakes and usually attacked coast or river towns first, probably not because of any particular affinity of its germs for water, as many have thought, but more likely because our rivers and lakes were the principal routes of travel in the pioneer period, and the disease was more easily spread abroad in this way. Nor was it confined exclusively to the cities. The trails of the early California gold seekers—the “ ’49ers,” were marked by many “cholera graves” and many fatal cases occurred in widespread rural districts.

It may be of interest to many persons who never saw a case of genuine Asiatic cholera—and who in all probability, never will—to have a brief description of it. Early medical works and other accounts unite in stating that its characteristic symptoms were first, extreme and greatly offensive purging, soon followed by vomiting and severe muscular cramping, rapidly terminating in a complete physical collapse, which very few of its victims ever survived. It was said if the patient could survive the collapse stage, his chances for recovery were very good, but only an extremely small number withstood this terrible physical strain. The pioneer physicians applied the name “rice-water evacuations” to the first stage.

Sometimes certain other similar disease such as “cholera morbus”² “dysentery” and “bloody flux”, etc. were confused with Asiatic cholera, and while all of them were more or less dangerous if not properly treated, yet much needless alarm was occasioned by their prevalence.

My neighbor, Mr. William Felton, has the unique distinction of being one of the few persons now living who has had personal experience with a case of real Asiatic cholera.

In the summer of 1873, in which year the cholera was raging at Mt. Vernon, Indiana, and at East St. Louis, Ill., and came as near to this locality as Logan County, Ill., Mr. Felton was staying on a farm located about four miles north of Sandoval, Ill. An elderly man named Mart Coffman, employed

²Now called “Gastro-Enteritis.”

on the same farm, was suddenly attacked with this disease. His case had all the characteristic symptoms of purging, vomiting, and violent cramping.

Mr. Felton applied vigorous manual massaging to relieve the patient's cramps, and eventually nursed him to a complete recovery. This was another exceptional case.

It is a noteworthy fact that Asiatic cholera seemed to have a great preference for children and young people, and that but very few old people were ever attacked with it. The majority of local cases seem to have averaged about 25 or 30 years of age, and only nine or ten out of the total of 140 were above the age of 60 years. The many premature deaths it caused also occasioned the untimely breaking of many family ties. Re-marriages of surviving consorts, however, show the formation of new families from the wrecks of older ones, thus demonstrating the dauntless pioneer determination to "carry on."

Between the years 1834 and 1873, inclusive, there were at least seven distinct outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in McLean and adjoining counties. From the best data now available, I find these were as follows; First at Pekin, Ill. in 1834, with at least six deaths, then in Bloomington, with one death and two recoveries, at Tremont, with one death, at Lilly, with four deaths and two recoveries, and at Stout's Grove, with one death, all in the month of July, 1849, quickly followed with 13 deaths at and near Pontiac, in August and September, 1849, and one death at White Oak Grove, in April, 1850. Then came four deaths and two recoveries in Bloomington, in July, 1852, six deaths at Stout's Grove and one at Mosquito Grove, in August, 1852, five deaths in Bloomington in April and May, 1854, three deaths at Stout's Grove, sometime during the same year, four deaths on the Houghton farm near this city, four deaths and one recovery at Long Point, DeWitt county, all in September 1854, also eight deaths and no recoveries at and near Selma, in October, 1854.

Then came next the worst and most extensive of all the local cholera outbreaks, that of July and August, 1855. The total number of deaths of this period will never be known, and can only be approximated. So far, I have the names of seventy-two persons who died of cholera here in Bloomington, at Waynesville, at Clarksville, at Stout's Grove, at Congerville, at Twin Grove, at Diamond Grove, and in the vicinity of Shirley, all during this outbreak. Then last of all came the attack in Logan county, at a point about seven miles south of Mason City, with four deaths in one family, in 1873, the cholera's last appearance in Central Illinois,—thirty-nine years after its first.

At least six doctors perished, martyrs to their profession, in these local epidemics, viz. Dr. Perry, at Pekin, in 1834, Drs. Parker and Broomenjam at Lilly, in 1849, Dr. Holland at Pontiac, 1849, Dr. Caster of Bloomington, and Dr. Harrison at Waynesville, in 1855.

According to two official statements published in the weekly *Pantagraph*, August 8, 1855, signed by Franklin Price, Mayor of the city at that time, a total of seventeen deaths from cholera had occurred here in Bloomington during the week preceding the date of the report, a comparatively large number considering the short period of time covered and the relatively small population of our city. Many other cholera deaths soon followed, but I was unable to find any further "official reports" though they were promised in the first.

Following in my next instalment, I will present a list of all local cholera deaths, nearly in chronological order, so far as could be obtained by many hours patient research. A few of these may be erroneous, but the majority are believed to be strictly correct. I have had several conflicting and widely varying accounts of some of these cases.

While in some instances, nothing seems to be known of some of these victims, yet in many other cases, they were well-known, and have many descendants now living here in

Central Illinois and elsewhere. Hence it is hoped this may be of personal interest to a number of local citizens.

The burial places of a number of these could not be located, many are interred in unmarked graves, and their ages could not be learned. In many cases, however, the ages are shown by gravestone inscriptions, in years, months and days.

THE ROLL OF THE DEAD.

A LIST OF DEATHS FROM ASIATIC CHOLERA IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS, 1834-1873.

(Compiled by Milo Custer, 1929.)

1834

Mrs. J. C. Morgan, at Pekin, July, 1834.

Dr. ——— Perry, at Pekin, July, 1834.

Mrs. Dr. Perry, at Pekin, July, 1834.

Thomas Snell, at Pekin, July 23, 1834.

Mrs. Cauldron, at Pekin, July, 1834.

Mrs. Smith, at Pekin, July, 1834.

1849

Lucian A. Sampson, in Bloomington, July 17, 1849, aged 25-9-12.

Matthew L. Harbord, at Tremont, July 23, 1849, aged 36-6-0.

Joseph Seeley, at Lilly, July 24, 1849.

Mrs. Mary Lilly, wf. of Joseph Lilly, Sr. at Lilly, July 25, 1849, aged 53-6-5.

Joseph Lilly, Jr., at Lilly, July 25, 1849, aged 19-9-2.

Dr. Wanton H. Parker, at Stout's Grove, July 28, 1849, aged 47-5-15.

Dr. William Bromenjam, at Lilly, July 29, 1849.

Garrett M. Blue, Sr., near Pontiac, Aug. 23, 1849.

Mrs. Jane Blue, (nee Somers) wf. of Garrett M. Blue, Sr., near Pontiac, about Aug. 25, 1849.

Rebecca, dau. of Garrett M. Blue, Sr. near Pontiac, about Aug. 25, 1849 (a child).

Dr. Josiah D. Holland, near Pontiac, Aug. 23, 1849.

Augustus Fellows, at Pontiac, Aug. 24, 1849.

John Blue, near Pontiac, Aug. 28, 1849.

Mrs. Susanna Blue, (nee Nichols) wf. of John Blue, near Pontiac, about Aug. 28, 1849.

A child of John Blue, near Pontiac, about Aug. 28, 1849.

Two children of Augustus Fellows, at Pontiac, about Aug. 25, 1849.

Garrett M. Blue, Jr. near Pontiac, about Sept. 1, 1849, aged 23 years.

Daniel Blue, son of Garrett M. Blue, Sr. near Pontiac, Sept. 3, 1849, aged about 35 years.

Miss Ann Oliver, (sister of Franklin Oliver) at Pontiac, about Sept. 1, 1849.

Mr. ——— Holmes, at Stout's Grove, about July or Aug., 1849. (?)

William Garner, near Pontiac, about Aug. —, 1849, aged about 50 years.

1850

Isaac Allen, at White Oak Grove, April 12, 1850.

1852

Ben Major, at Eureka, May 29, 1852, aged 44-5-2.

Clara, dau. of Alex C. Finley, in Bloomington, July 18, 1852, aged 3-1-5.

Amanda E., dau. of Isaac Handley, in Bloomington, July 18, 1852, aged 11-10-7.

William H., son of Alex C. Finley, in Bloomington, July 21, 1852, aged 1-11-9.

Alexander C. Finley, in Bloomington, July 21, 1852, aged 28-7-0.

Benjamin Ayers, at Stout's Grove, Aug. 8, 1852.

Leannah, dau. of Zeno Hinshaw, at Stout's Grove, Aug. 10, 1852, aged 14-11-13.

George Y. Hobson, at Stout's Grove, Aug. 10, 1852, aged 35-2-23.

Joel B. C., son of Benjamin Ayers, at Stout's Grove, Aug. 11, 1852, aged 7-6-10.

David K. Haybarger, son of Abraham Haybarger, at Stout's Grove, Aug. 12, 1852, aged 29-9-5.

Mrs. Hannah Redding, at Mosquito Grove, Aug. 13, 1852, aged 63-1-4.

Margaret Brown, at Stout's Grove, Aug. —, 1852.

1854

Spotswood Wilkinson, in Bloomington, April 23, 1854, aged 59-2-22.

Perry Cross, in Bloomington, April 25, 1854.

William P. Watkins, in Bloomington, April 25, 1854.

Amos M. Jones, in Bloomington, May 1, 1854, aged 27 years.

Jacob H. Woodward, at Bloomington, Aug. 13, 1854, aged 32-0-9. (?)

Mrs. Mary A. George, (nee Hawkins) wf. of William C. George, at Stout's Grove, ——— 1854, aged 54 years.

John George, (1) son of William C. George, at Stout's Grove, ——— 1854 (a young man).

John George, (2) son of James S. George, at Stout's Grove, ——— 1854 (a child).

William H., son of Moses Hougham, (2) at Long Point, Sept. 2, 1854, aged 5-1-2.

Sarah J., dau. of Moses Hougham, (2) at Long Point, Sept. 3, 1854, aged 7-3-2.

Cary, son of Moses Hougham, (2) at Long Point, Sept. 4, 1854, aged 13-11-6.

John S. Hougham, son of Moses Hougham, (2) at Long Point, Sept. 8, 1854, aged 28-0-5.

Mrs. Elizabeth Jane Andrew, (nee McWhorter) wf. of John B. Andrew, at Selma, (?) Sept. 30, 1854, aged 37-6-3.

Mrs. Elenor A. Creamer, (nee McWhorter) wf. of George A. Creamer, at Selma, Oct. 1, 1854, aged 31-8-8.

Hugh Albert, son of George A. Creamer, at Selma, about Oct. 1, 1854, aged 2-8-25.

Mary E., dau. of James S. McWhorter, at Selma, about Oct. 1, 1854, aged 2-1-23.

Stephen S. McWhorter, at Selma, Oct. 2, 1854, aged 25-6-20.

John W. McWhorter, at Selma, Oct. 2, 1854, aged 23-1-17.

Jacob Wright, at Selma, Oct. 3, 1854, aged 25-1-26.

William Wright, at Selma, Oct. 9, 1854, aged 22-9-1.

Four members of the Woodard Family, on the Stephen Houghton Farm, near Bloomington, about 1854. (?).

1855

Mrs. Caroline Mayers, (nee Dalzell) wf. of William J. Mayers, in Bloomington, July 1, 1855, aged 31 years.

Joshua Willhoite, at Diamond Grove, July 27, 1855, aged about 65 years.

Runnion Hougham, Jr., near Funk's Grove, July 27, 1855, aged 27-5-17.

Mrs. Mary B. Rowan, (nee Baker) wf. of Martin B. Rowan, in Bloomington, July 27, 1855, aged 32-5-15.

Martin B. Rowan, in Bloomington, July 28, 1855, aged 35 years.

John W. Ross, near Funk's Grove, July 28, 1855, aged 43-5-4.

John Ackerson, near Waynesville, July 28, 1855.

Mrs. John Ackerson, near Waynesville, about July 30, 1855.

Mrs. Charlotte Montgomery, (nee Ackerson) wf. of Allen Wiley Montgomery, near Waynesville, about July 30, 1855.

Sarah Ann, dau. of John Ackerson, near Waynesville, July 31, 1855 (a child).

Jane, dau. of John Ackerson, near Waynesville, July 31, 1855 (a child).

Daniel W. Denson, near Clarksville, July 29, 1855, aged 42-5-23.

Mrs. Maria E. Rice, (nee Jenkel) widow of Henry (?) Rice, in Bloomington, July 30, 1855, aged 51-0-23.

Frederick Weilert, son-in-law of Mrs. Maria E. Rice, in Bloomington, July 30, 1855.

Joseph A. Clark, son of John A. Clark, in Bloomington, July 30, 1855, aged 19-3-21.

Mrs. Polly Willhoite, (nee Sparks) wf. of Joshua Willhoite, at Diamond Grove, July 30, 1855.

Dr. L. A. Caster, in Bloomington, Aug. 1, 1855, aged 30 years.

- Mrs. Mary F. Brown, wf. of Dr. J. H. Brown, in Bloomington, Aug. 1, 1855, aged 36-1-1.
- Belinda A., dau. of Dr. J. H. Brown, in Bloomington, Aug. 1, 1855, aged 15-6-7.
- J. ("Mat") Critchet, at Twin Grove, Aug. 1, 1855, aged 21-8-19.
- Mrs. Hugh McDonald, at Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Timothy Fitzpatrick, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Mrs. ——— Driscoll, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Mrs. ——— Spires, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- John Phelix, ("a German") in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Mr. ——— Allin, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Mr. ——— Fritzer, ("a German") in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- A child (name unknown) of German parentage, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Henry R. (?) Rice, in Bloomington, about Aug. 1, 1855.
- Samuel Denman, son of Zenas H. Denman in Bloomington, Aug. 2, 1855, aged 23-6-22.
- Frederick E. Rice, son of Mrs. Maria Rice, in Bloomington, Aug. 2, 1855, aged 23-5-24.
- Henry E. Rice, son of Mrs. Maria Rice, in Bloomington, Aug. 2, 1855, aged 12-1-29.
- Archibald Thompson, in Bloomington, Aug. 3, 1855.
- George Beeler, at Twin Grove, Aug. 4, 1855, aged 52-10-26.
- Henry Klemkow, in Bloomington, Aug. 4, 1855.
- Mrs. Henry Klemkow, in Bloomington, Aug. 5, 1855.
- A child of Henry Klemkow, in Bloomington, about Aug. 5, 1855. (?).
- Mrs. Elizabeth Doty, (nee Livenger) wf. of Henry A. Doty, Sr. in Bloomington, Aug. 5, 1855, aged 55 years.
- John Lantz, near Congerville, Aug. 5, 1855, aged 58-1-10.
- Jonas Kauffman, Sr., near Congerville, Aug. 6, 1855, aged 29-2-0.
- Alexander Hutchison, near Shirley, Aug. 6, 1855.

Mrs. Elizabeth Ann (?) Hutchison, wf. of Alexander Hutchison, near Shirley, about Aug. 6, 1855.

George W. Barker, at Bloomington, Aug. 6, 1855, aged 29-1-25.

Mrs. Jane Hair, wf. of Thomas Hair, near Shirley, Aug. 7, 1855, aged 44 years.

Lorenzo D. Eberman, in Bloomington, Aug. 7, 1855.

John, son of L. D. Eberman, in Bloomington, about Aug. 8, 1855.

Mrs. Catharine Guthrie, (nee Spawr) widow of Robert Guthrie, in Bloomington, Aug. 8, 1855, aged 59 years.

A child (daughter) of John Ackerson, near Waynesville, Aug. 9, 1855.

Phoebe, dau. of Absolom Skeen, at Twin Grove, Aug. 10, 1855, aged 18-7-22.

Ellen, dau. of George W. Barker, at Bloomington, Aug. 11, 1855, aged 2-5-23.

Dr. Fielding S. Harrison, at Waynesville, Aug. 11, 1855, aged 51 years.

William H. Scudder, at Clinton, Aug. 12, 1855, aged 31-7-1.

Young Fouts, at Waynesville, Aug. 14, 1855.

Mrs. Young Fouts and child, at Waynesville, about Aug. 15, 1855.

Jeremiah Adams, near Shirley, Aug. 15, 1855, aged 32 years.

John A. Clark, at Bloomington, Aug. 15, 1855, aged 45-3-12.
(?).

Archie McCullough, in Bloomington, Aug. 19, 1855.

Christian Schmidt, near Congerville, July or Aug., 1855.

Mrs. Christian Schmidt, near Congerville, July or Aug., 1855.

Barbara, dau. of Christian Schmidt, near Congerville, July or Aug., 1855.

A young daughter and a young son of Christian Schmidt, near Congerville, July or Aug., 1855

Isaac Bowman, and child, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

Alexander Gaston, near Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

Mr. and Mrs. Grimes, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

Mrs. Hoagland, (nee Grimes) at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

Dugald Walker, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

Mrs. Dugald Walker, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

A child of Dugald Walker, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

A child of Jeremiah P. Dunham, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

A child of Mr. Shelley, at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

An unknown person at Waynesville, July or Aug., 1855.

1873

Joseph Wells, near Mason City, July 30, 1873.

Hannah Wells, dau. of Joseph Wells, near Mason City, Aug. 3, 1873.

John William Wells, son of Joseph Wells, near Mason City, Aug. 6, 1873.

Mrs. Hannah Wells, wf. of Joseph Wells, near Mason City, Aug. 11, 1873.

The following persons suffered attacks of Asiatic Cholera, but recovered, and lived many years afterwards, viz;

William Orendorff, Sr., at Blooming Grove, 1834.

Mrs. Sarah Low, (nee Brooks) wf. of Nathan Low, Sr., at Low's Grove, 1849.

Nathan Low, Jr., at Low's Grove, 1849.

Mrs. Edward Bacon, Sr. (nee Sarah Lilly; first, Mrs. Lucius M. Warden) at Lilly, 1849.

Mrs. George Walker, (nee Mary Lilly) at Lilly, 1849.

Isaac Handley, at Bloomington, 1852.

Mrs. John Summers, (nee Emily Handley; first, Mrs. Alex C. Finley), at Bloomington, 1852.

Ira Hougham, son of Moses Hougham (2) at Long Point, 1854.

Mrs. Rebecca Drake, (nee Messer) near Clarksville, 1855.

James S. Pierson, at Selma, 1855.

Mrs. Frederick Weilert, (nee Regina Rice; secondly Mrs. Frederick Sharples) at Bloomington, 1855.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

The Ackerson Family and Mrs. Montgomery—

Came to Illinois from Cincinnati, Ohio, about 1853, settling near Waynesville. The family consisted of John Ackerson, Sr. his wife, (nee ——— Atkinson?), their children, John, Jr., Sarah Ann, Jane, Susan, and an unnamed infant, also Mr. Ackerson's sister, Charlotte, who married Allen Wiley Montgomery, 1852. All were cholera victims except John, Jr. and Susan. John Ackerson, Jr. (born 1847) died at Ashton, Ill., 1920, leaving five children surviving. Susan Ackerson, born 1851, married 1st, William Buckley, 1868, 2ndly, Ira Hougham, 1901, and died in Bloomington, Ill., 1927, also leaving five children surviving by her first marriage. Ira Hougham, was a survivor of the Long Point, DeWitt County, cholera outbreak of 1854 his case being one of the few recoveries. (Box 14, Case 140, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., History of DeWitt County, Ill. 1882, Page 298, and information from Mrs. Susan Hougham.)

Jeremiah Adams—

He married Elizabeth Robertson, daughter of William Russell and Malinda (Hinshaw) Robertson, 1845. One daughter, Lovisa (A.) Smith, survived her father. His widow married secondly a Mr. Summerfield and removed to Kansas. (Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father; Ezra Hinshaw, Mrs. Ida Hinshaw Hull, and Gravestone Inscription, Scogin's Cemetery, Sec. 13, Dale Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Isaac Allen—

A native of Tennessee, and one of the first settlers at White Oak Grove in the Northwest part of McLean County, Ill. Came to Illinois about 1833. His children were William S., Susannah (A.) Carlock, Mary J. (A.) Leatherman, Sarah Ann (A.) Lupton, Abner P., Amos W., and James K. (Bloomington, Ill. "Western Whig," April 13, 1850: Early Probate

Records, Woodford County, Ill., History of Woodford County, Ill. 1878, Page 458, History of McLean County, Ill. 1879, Page 683, and "Old Family Records" No. 6.)

Mr. ——— Allin—

Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855, in Weekly Pantagraph. No other data found.

Benjamin Ayers—

Father of the late Joseph B. Ayers, a prominent citizen of Danvers, Ill. and Normal, Ill. Benjamin Ayers had married secondly, Mary Susan (Haybarger) Hinshaw, widow of Charles Hinshaw, in 1851. She survived him. He was the father of Mrs. Caplinger, Carlinville, Ill. and also of William B. Ayers and John T. Ayers, late of Danvers, Ill. both now deceased. (Box 11, Case 38, Box 12, Case 441, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. and Information from C. C. Hinshaw, a step-son.)

George W. Barker—

He married Elizabeth Toliver, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Maxwell) Toliver, early pioneers of Bloomington, Ill. 1852. A son, George Barker, and a daughter, now Mrs. Leckann (B.) Tiffy, of Clinton, Mo. survived him. (Box 15, Case 160, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 7, 1855, and Information from Mrs. Ida Hinshaw Hull, niece of Mrs. G. W. Barker, Bloomington, Ill.)

George Beeler—

A native of Fayette County, Kentucky. Son of Samuel (2) and Mary (Graves) Beeler. He married Delilah Sheeley, 1823, and came to Illinois about 1830. He left surviving, his widow, and four children, viz. Mary Ann (B.) Winn, Benjamin S., Harriet (B.) Fowler, and Beverley. (See Beeler genealogy by the author. Information from J. B. Enlow, Bloomington, Ill. 1929, and Gravestone Inscription, East Twin Grove Cemetery, Dry Grove Township, McLean County, Ill.)

The Blue Families of Livingston County, Ill.—

Came to Illinois from Virginia about 1830. Garrett M. Blue married Jane Somers. Their children were Daniel, Mary Ann (B.) Barrett, Benjamin H., Matilda (B.) Ross, Polly J. (B.) ———, Keziah (B.) Gentry, Garrett, Jr. and Rebecca. (Early Probate Records, Livingston County, Ill. History of Livingston County, Ill. 1878, Page 301, and Portrait and Biographical Album of Livingston County, Ill. 1888, Page 755.)

Isaac Bowman—

An Isaac Bowman married Elizabeth Perry somewhere in McLean County, Ill. in 1837. This one? (Early Marriage Records, McLean County, Ill. and History of DeWitt County, Ill. 1882, Page 298. No other data found.)

Dr. William Broomenjam—

After making diligent and intensive research, I have been unable to learn anything about this man other than the item contained in the Bloomington, Ill. "Western Whig" of Aug. 1, 1849, in which his death is noted. I have wondered whether this is the correct spelling of his family name. In many years of experience as a student of family names, I never before saw this one, and I cannot find it in any family name dictionary, nor anything closely resembling it. I do find, however, that the name "Brummajem" is a corrupt nickname for the city of Birmingham, England. M. C.

Mrs. Dr. J. H. Brown and daughter, Belinda—

Mayor Price's death list, Aug. 7, 1855, and Gravestone Inscriptions, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. No other data.

Margaret Brown—

Was she married or single? Information from C. C. Hinshaw to Miss Agnes McCracken. No other data found.

Dr. L. A. Caster—

Probably a native of Ohio or Pennsylvania. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855, and Gravestone Inscription in Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. No other data found.)

John A. Clark—

Uncertain. He may not have been a cholera victim, though his death followed soon after that of his son, Joseph, who is known to have died of cholera, and both lie buried in adjoining graves in the Old City Cemetery in Bloomington, Ill. (Box 16, Case 146, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill.) Among his estate papers is an undertaker's bill for a coffin for "Ambrose." Query; Was this Mr. Clark's middle name or was "Ambrose" another cholera victim?

Joseph A. Clark—

Son of John A. Clark, who lived "on Grove Street" in Bloomington, Ill. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855, and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill.)

J. ("Mat") Critchet—

He was a single man employed on the farm of Jesse Hill, at Twin Grove, a few miles west of Bloomington, Ill. My informant, Mr. Enlow, called him Matthew Critchet, and says he was commonly called "Matt," but the gravestone shows the name as J. Critchet. (Information from J. B. Enlow, 1929, and Gravestone Inscription, East Twin Grove Cemetery, Dry Grove Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Perry Cross—

Death Notice in Weekly Pantagraph. No other data found.

Samuel Denman—

A native of Ohio. Son of Zenas H. and Elizabeth (Townley) Denman, and an uncle of D. E. Denman, Normal, Ill.)

He was not married. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855 and information from D. E. Denman, Normal, Ill.)

Daniel W. Denson—

Born at Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Proprietor of a grist mill at Clarksville, near Lexington, Ill. He left a widow and two children, Eugene D., and Mary Ann, surviving. (History of McLean County, Ill. 1878, Page 699; Box 15, Case 151, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. and Gravestone Inscription, Scroggins' Cemetery, Lexington, Ill.)

Mrs. Elizabeth Doty—

A native of Pennsylvania. Born Livenger. Married Henry A. Doty, Sr. Came to Bloomington, Ill. 1850. Husband died at Ottawa, Ill. 1876. They had seven children including Catharine, Henry, Jr. and Rebecca. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 7, 1855; Portrait and Biographical Album of McLean County, Ill. 1887, Page 364; Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. and Extracts from Diary of Isaac L. Kenyon, in "School Record of McLean County, Ill." 1903, Page 402.)

Mrs. ——— Driscoll—

(Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855. No other data found.)

Lorenzo Dow Eberman and son, John—

Uncertain, though they both died within a short time of each other, and during the cholera epidemic. Probably the "Mr. Everman" of Mayor Price's death list. The father left a widow, "C. M. Eberman" and five minor children, viz. Mary, Joseph, Emaline, Sarah, and William, surviving. (Box 15, Case 138, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill.)

Augustus Fellows—

A native of New York State. He was an early hotel proprietor at Pontiac, Ill. His widow married secondly, Nelson Buck. (History of Livingston County, Ill. 1878, Page 301, and early Probate Records, Livingston County, Ill.)

The Finley and Handley Families—

Alexander C. Finley was an early daguerreotype artist in Bloomington, Ill. His widow, nee Emily Handley, daughter of Isaac Handley, married secondly, John Summers, of Woodford County, Ill. and they were the parents of Miss Carrie Summers and Mr. Edward Summers, of Bloomington, Ill. who have assisted me very greatly in gathering material for this paper. (Gravestone Inscriptions, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. and Information from Edward Summers.)

Timothy Fitzpatrick—

Probably a native of Ireland. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855. No other data found.)

Mr. and Mrs. Young Fouts—

History of DeWitt County, Ill., 1882, page 298, and early Probate Records, DeWitt County, Ill. No other data found.

Mr. ——— Fritzer—

Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855. No other data found.

William Garner—

Information from Sylvester Potter to H. J. Mies, Pontiac, Ill., 1929. No other data found.

Alexander Gaston—

History of DeWitt County, Ill., 1882, page 298. No other data found. (Dr. J. E. Marvel of Waynesville, Ill. made diligent efforts to learn more about this and many other Waynesville cases but without success.)

The George Family—

William C. George, the head of this family, born in Virginia, 1796, married Mary A. Hawkins in Hampshire County, Va. 1816, and died in Champaign County, Ill. 1876. Buried in East Twin Grove Cemetery, Dry Grove Township, McLean County, Ill. Their children were Samuel, John, (1), Thomas, James S., Catharine (G.) Simons, Elsie (G.) White, Mary

(G.) Brown, Sarah (G.) Smith, Rebecca (G.) Emmett, William, Abraham and Isaac; (Portrait and Biographical Album of McLean County, Ill. 1887, Page 317-18, and Gravestone Inscription, East Twin Grove Cemetery, Dry Grove Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Mr. and Mrs. ——— Grimes

History of DeWitt County, Ill. 1882, Page 298. No other data found.

Mrs. Catharine Guthrie—

Born in Pennsylvania. Daughter of Valentine and Margaret (Richer) Spawr. Grandmother of P. A. Guthrie, veteran County Clerk of McLean County, Ill. She married Robert Guthrie, and left ten children surviving, viz. John, Margaret, Robert E., Jacob, Mary (G.) Holmes, Adam, (Father of P. A.); Thomas H., Rebecca, Lee, and Catharine E. (See Diary of Isaac L. Kenyon,—extracts from—in "School Record of McLean County, Ill. 1903, Page 402, and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. Also Information from P. A. Guthrie, Bloomington, Ill., and Weekly Pantagraph, Aug. 15, 1855.)

Mrs. Jane Hair—

Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father, and Gravestone Inscription, Grassy Ridge Cemetery, near Shirley, Ill. No other data.

Matthew L. Harbord—

Son of William and Jane (Coffey) Harbord. He married Catharine Low, daughter of Nathan, Sr. and Sarah (Brooks) Low, 1836. Their children were George Corteus, Alphonzo, Sarah J. (H.) Brown, Ione (H.) Brown, Laura, and Matthew Adolphus. His widow married secondly, Hon. Bailey H. Coffey. Matthew L. Harbord was an uncle of Gen. J. G. Harbord, noted World War soldier. (Bloomington, Ill. "Western Whig," July 28, 1849; Box 7, Case 358, Probate Files,

McLean County, Ill. and "Old Family Records" No. 6, also Gravestone Inscription, West Twin Grove Cemetery, Dry Grove Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Dr. Fielding S. Harrison—

Came from Ohio to Waynesville, Ill. 1840. Married Martha Hash. (Her mother, Elizabeth (Crockett) Hash, was a cousin of the noted David Crockett). His children who lived to maturity were Andrew T., Mary (H.) Hull, Martha E. (H.) Dunham, Addison, William, and Adeline (H.) Long. His widow died 1891 aged 85 years. (Information from Dr. J. E. Marvel, Waynesville, Ill.)

David K. Haybarger—

Son of Abraham, Jr. and Mary (Crobarger) Haybarger, and a native of Augusta County, Virginia. He was also a brother of the second wife of Benjamin Ayers. He was not married. (Information from C. C. Hinshaw and Gravestone Inscription, Hinshaw Cemetery, Danvers Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Miss Leannah Hinshaw—

Daughter of Zeno Hinshaw. (See Hinshaw-Henshaw Family History, edited by the writer. Information from C. C. Hinshaw; also Gravestone Inscription, Hinshaw Cemetery, Danvers Township, McLean County, Ill.)

Mrs. ——— Hoagland—

History of DeWitt County, Ill. 1882, Page 298. No other data found.

George Y. Hobson—

Probably a son of Joshua Hobson, an early pioneer of Stout's Grove, McLean County, Ill. He married Adah L. Smith, 1847. (Information from C. C. Hinshaw, and Gravestone Inscription, Hinshaw Cemetery, Danvers Township, McLean County, Ill.; also Box 12, Case 444, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill.)

Dr. Josiah D. Holland—

A pioneer physician of Pontiac, Ill. History of Livingston County, Ill. 1878, Page 301, and early Probate Records of Livingston County, Ill. No other data found.

Mr. ——— Holmes—

Information from Mrs. Ricketts, to I. H. Yoder, Lilly, Ill. 1929. No other data found.

The Hougham Family—

Moses Hougham, Jr. an 1812 War veteran, married Elizabeth Ann Rhodes, and came from Ohio to DeWitt County, Ill. at an early date, settling at Long Point, near Waynesville. Their children were David, Amos, Rebecca (H.) Draper-Harrod, Ann (H.) Veteto, Mary (H.) Veteto, Andrew, Cary, (2), Ira, John S., Miriam (H.) Wooster, Sarah J., and William. Of these the last two named, Sarah J. and William, and their older brother, John S., died of cholera. Another older brother, Ira Hougham, was attacked with the disease but recovered. John S. Hougham married Samantha Adkison, 1852, and had a son, John A. Hougham, born after the father's death. (Information from Oscar J. Hougham, son of Ira Hougham, Heyworth, Ill. 1929; Gravestone Inscriptions, Halsey Cemetery near Waynesville, Ill. and early Marriage Records, DeWitt County, Ill.; also information from Dr. J. E. Marvel, Waynesville, Ill. 1929.)

Runnion Hougham (2)—

Another member of this well-known pioneer family. He left a widow and three minor children, Isabella, Laura, and William G. (Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father, D. R. Stubblefield, Box 16, Case 137, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. Gravestone Inscription, Funk's Grove Cemetery, McLean County, Ill. and "Old Family Records," No. 6.)

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Hutchinson—

Probably natives of Kentucky. Among the papers on file in connection with his estate is a bill from Dr. Eli K. Crothers

for \$59.10. "To medical attention, family in cholera." They left two minor children, George and Amanda. (Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father. See also Box 14, Case 152, and Box 15, Case 143, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill.)

Amos M. Jones—

A native of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Came to Illinois, 1850. An I. O. O. F. resolution on his death in the Weekly Pantagraph, May 10, 1854; "Waynesboro & Chambersburg, Pa. papers please copy." No other data found except death notice in Weekly Pantagraph.

Jonas Kauffman, Sr.—

Born in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. Left a widow surviving and had a son, Jonas Kauffman, Jr. born after the father's death. (Information from Milo Plank Lantz, Carlock, Ill. 1929.)

The Klemkow Family—

Germans. Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 7, 1855—name mis-spelled "Kramkow"—and Box 15, Case 142, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. No other data found.

John Lantz—

Born in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. Married first, Magdalena Yoder, secondly, Sarah Hostetler. Children by first marriage, Lydia, Joseph, Simeon, Magdalene. Children by second wife, Eli, Samuel, Malinda. (Information from Milo Plank Lantz, a grand-son, Carlock, Ill. 1929.)

The Lilly Family—

The family consisted originally of five persons, Joseph Lilly, Sr., his wife, Mary, son Joseph, Jr., and two daughters, Sarah, (first Mrs. Lucius M. Warden, secondly, Mrs. Edward Bacon, Sr.) and Mary, (Mrs. George Walker.) The mother and son died of cholera, the two daughters were attacked but recovered. The father died at Lilly, Ill. in 1858. He was a pioneer tavern keeper. Some descendants are now living.

The town of Lilly, in Tazewell County, Ill. was named for them. (Bloomington, Ill. "Western Whig," July 28, 1849; Gravestone Inscriptions, Lilly and Bacon Cemetery, Lilly, Ill. and Duis' "The Good Old Times in McLean County, Ill." 1874, Page 304.)

Ben Major—

Born in Kentucky, Oct. 31, 1796; Married Lucy Davenport, who was born Sept. 15, 1802; Came to Ill. 1834; One of the founders of Eureka College, at Eureka, Ill. Son, Jo Major. (Early Probate Records, Woodford County, Ill. and History of Woodford County, Ill. 1878, Page 604.)

Mrs. Caroline Mayers—

Born 1824, Kentucky or Virginia. Daughter of John and Keziah (Nichols) Dalzell, who came from Virginia to Kentucky, thence to Logan County, Ill. at an early date. Related to the Depew Family. No children. (Death Notice in Weekly Pantagraph; and Information from Mrs. Harriet Lawrence, niece of Mrs. Mayers' husband, Bloomington, Ill. 1929. See also "Old Family Records," No. 5.)

Archie McCullough—

(Extracts from Diary of Isaac L. Kenyon, as published in "School Record of McLean County, Ill. and other Papers," 1903, Page 402. No other data.)

Mrs. Hugh McDonald—

A native of Ireland. Came to America 1844. She left surviving, her husband, four daughters, Mrs. Elizabeth Hoy, Decatur, Ill., Mrs. Catharine Dixon, Bloomington, Ill., Mrs. Margaret Martin, Decatur, Ill. and Mrs. Bridget Roach, El Paso, Ill. also one son, Patrick McDonald, California, all now deceased. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855, and Information from Thomas Dixon, a grandson, Bloomington, Ill. 1929.)

The McWhorter Families—

Several varying accounts exist. As best I can learn, Hugh McWhorter and six of his thirteen children came from

Clinton County, Ohio, and settled in McLean County, Illinois, probably about 1848. The children who settled here were James S. McWhorter, married, who lived in Selma, near Lexington, Ill.; Mrs. Elenor A. Creamer, wife of George A. Creamer, who lived on a farm in Sec. 14, Martin Township, McLean County, Ill.; Mrs. Sallie Reeder, wife of S. J. Reeder, who lived near Saybrook, Ill.; Stephen S. McWhorter, married, John W. McWhorter, single, and Miss Nancy Catharine McWhorter, single, who lived with their father on a farm near Heyworth, Ill. In September, 1854, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane Andrew, (wife of J. B. Andrew,) an older daughter of Hugh McWhorter, came from Ohio to visit her father and other relatives in Illinois. She contracted Asiatic cholera supposedly at a hotel in Chicago where she had stopped to rest a few days while enroute to Illinois, partly recovered, succeeded in making her way on to Bloomington, (if my information is correct) went to the home of James S. McWhorter in Selma, Ill. where her sister Mrs. Creamer and her two younger brothers also came to visit, and was there again attacked with the disease, along with several others. A total of eight deaths resulted within a few days, all starting from this single case. Those who died were Mrs. Andrew, Mrs. Creamer, Stephen S., John W., a young daughter of James S., a young son of Mrs. Creamer, and two neighbors, Jacob Wright and William Wright, brothers. Mrs. Andrew left surviving, a daughter, Mary Ellen (A.) Williams, and a son, Robert McWhorter Andrew, Oregonia, Ohio; Mrs. Creamer left two daughters, Mary E. and Eliza J. (C.) Fry, wife of Thomas Fry. Stephen S. McWhorter left a son, Stephen A. McWhorter, New York City, N. Y. The widow of Stephen S. McWhorter, (nee Louisa Perry) married secondly, Edward Wilson, and left several children of her second marriage surviving at her death many years later, including Mrs. Esther (Wilson) Davison, Chicago, Ill. Hugh McWhorter died near Heyworth, Ill. in 1864, in his 77th year. James Reeder, Normal, Ill., former Sheriff of McLean County, Ill. is a son of Sallie (McWhorter) Reeder. (Information from Mrs. Esther Davison,

Stephen A. McWhorter, Robert M. Andrew, and James Reeder. See also Box 18, Case 334, Box 21, Case 70, Box 28, Case 742, and Box 63, Case 2077, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. also Gravestone Inscriptions, Adams Cemetery, near Selma, Ill. and Heyworth Cemetery, Heyworth, Ill. also History of McLean County, Ill. 1878, Page 838., also letter of Mrs. Sarah Bishop, 1929.)

Miss Ann Oliver—

History of Livingston County, Ill. 1878, Page 301. Relatives still live in Livingston County, Ill.

Dr. Wanton H. Parker—

A native of New York State, and probably of Oneida County. Son of Archelaus R. and Sarah (Tefft) Parker, the father a native of Massachusetts. Came with his parents to Ashtabula County, Ohio, about 1815, married there to Rosannah Lemmon, 1824. Attended medical lectures at Columbus, Ohio. Settled at Versailles, Woodford County, Ill. about 1833, later removing to Stout's Grove, (now Danvers Township, McLean County, Ill.) about 1840. Like many other pioneer doctors, he was both farmer and physician. His estate papers show that at his death he had more than two thousand dollars in accounts for medical services outstanding. His attack of cholera was contracted from the Lilly family whom he had attended professionally. His children were Fidelia Ann (P.) Beeler-Mahaffey; Mary C. (P.) Miller, Dr. Robert L. Parker, Polly (P.) Stillwell, John H. Parker, and Hannah (P.) Hayes-Griffith. He was an older brother of Orrin Parker, the writer's maternal grandfather. Fred S. Larison, a well-known business man of Bloomington, Ill. is a great-grandson, and numerous other descendants now live in McLean County, Ill. and elsewhere.

The Pekin, Ill. Victims of 1834—

Thus far the only data I have been able to secure about these people is that found in the History of Tazewell County, Ill. 1879, at Page 566, with the single exception of Thomas

Snell, whose estate is shown in the early Tazewell County Probate Records, with a limited transcript of the same in the early McLean County Probate Files. Query; Was he an ancestor of the late Col. Thomas Snell, Civil War Veteran, and prominent citizen of Clinton, Ill.?

John Phelix—

Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 7, 1855. No other data found.

Mrs. Hannah Redding—

Gravestone Inscription and Information from C. C. Hinshaw. Buried in a lone grave at "Mosquito Grove," Section 5, Allin Township, McLean County, Ill., at the site of her home.

*The Rice Family
and Mr. Weilert—*

Once a prominent, cultured and wealthy family of Alsace-Lorraine, who later suffered severe reverses through the misfortunes of war. Henry (?) Rice, Sr. emigrated from Strasbourg, Alsace-Lorraine, about 1848. He died on board ship and was buried at sea. His family consisted of his wife, Maria, (nee Jenkel or Jencquin), and six children, Regina (R.) Weilert, (secondly Mrs. Sharples); Elsie (R.) Lampe, Sophia (R.) Sesselberth, Charles, Frederick, and Henry; the family came to Bloomington, Ill. about 1855, being referred to as "strangers" in Mayor Price's list. Of these the mother, Mrs. Maria Rice, and the son-in-law, Frederick Weilert, died of cholera and the two sons, Frederick Rice and Henry Rice, soon followed, victims of the same disease. The daughter, Regina (Rice) Weilert, was attacked with cholera but recovered. She married secondly, Frederick Sharples. Sophia married Charles Sesselberth, Elsie married Charles Lampe. Charles Rice became a soldier in the Civil War, later married Lena H. Schneekloth and died near Bloomington, Ill., at an advanced age, leaving three children, Lena (Rice) Scott, Regina (Rice) Castle, and the late Joseph F. Rice, former

County Treasurer of McLean County, Ill., surviving. (Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855, Gravestone Inscriptions, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill., and Information from Mrs. Regina (Rice) Castle, and Miss Emma Keeran, Bloomington, Ill. 1929.)

Henry R. Rice—

Uncertain. Was he the "Mr. Rice" of Mayor Price's death list? Box 13, Case 217, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. shows the estate of Henry R. Rice, whose widow, Jane Rice, was appointed guardian of their five minor children, viz. George, Mary, Clarinda, Lucinda, and William, in 1856, with Simeon Rice and John R. Rice, bondsmen. (No other data found.)

John W. Ross—

Born in Indiana. Son of Jacob Ross. Came to Ill. 1830. Married Nancy Funk, daughter of John Funk. They had seven children, viz. Margaret (R.) Brazill, James, Mary (R.) Nicol, William H. H.; Francis M., Martha Ellen (R.) Park, and John W., Jr. (Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father; D. R. Stubblefield, Portrait and Biographical Album of McLean County, Ill. 1887, Page 618, Box 15, Case 153, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. and Gravestone Inscription, Funk's Grove Cemetery, Funk's Grove, Ill.)

Mr. and Mrs. Martin B. Rowan—

Mr. Rowan, was, I think, a native of Kentucky. Mrs. Rowan was a daughter of Dr. Isaac Baker, one of McLean County's earliest and most well-known pioneers. They were married in McLean County, Ill. 1843. Two children, Albert H. Rowan, and Ella (Rowan) Mason, wife of Judson R. Mason, survived them. (Weekly Pantagraph; Gravestone Inscriptions, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. and "Old Family Records," No. 5.)

Lucian A. Sampson—

The cholera's first victim in Bloomington, Illinois. Probably a native of Massachusetts and a relative of John Ma-

goun, whose mother was a Sampson. He was an early merchant in Bloomington, Ill. He married Eliza S. Oliver, 1844. They had two children. His widow married secondly, Dr. Henry Conkling, 1851, and died in 1873, aged 46 years. (Bloomington, Ill. "Western Whig," July 21, 1849; Box 7, Case 360, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. Duis' "The Good Old Times in McLean County, Ill." 1874, Page 304, and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill.)

William H. Scudder—

An early jeweler of Bloomington, Ill. He left surviving, a widow, Mary Jane, and two young children, William A. and Sarah E. (Weekly Pantagraph, and Box 13, Case 213, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., also Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill.)—He died at Clinton, Ill. but was buried in Bloomington.

Joseph Seeley—

A native of England, probably of London. He left surviving, his widow, Sarah, and three minor children, viz. "F. J., a boy," aged 14 years in 1849; "D. M., a girl," and Ellen S. "a girl" both "under 18 years of age" according to the declaration of Amasa C. Washburn, of Bloomington, Ill. who was appointed their guardian and administrator of his estate. (Box 8, Case 375, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. and Duis' "The Good Old Times in McLean County, Ill." 1874, Page 304.)

The Christian Schmidt Family—

This family consisted originally of ten persons, the father and mother and eight children. The parents and three children perished in the cholera epidemic, five children survived. Those who lived were Peter, Joseph, Mary (S.) Felrath, and Lena (S) Meininger. (Information from Milo Plank Lantz, Carlock, Ill., 1929.)

Miss Phoebe Skeen—

Information from Mrs. Laura A. Mikesell, Bloomington, Ill., 1929, and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill. Miss Skeen died at Twin Grove, a few miles west of Bloomington, Ill., but was buried in the Old City Cemetery. No other data, except Box 47, Case 1594, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., which shows the estate of her father, Absolom Skeen, who died in 1867.

Mrs. ————Spires—

Mayor Price's death list of Aug. 3, 1855. No other data found.

Archibald Thompson—

Information from Samuel Custer, the writer's father, to Miss Agnes McCracken, 1913, according to Miss McCracken; also Box 15, Case 141, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill. I think Miss McCracken must have learned of this cholera victim from some other informant, as my father in his life time never mentioned this name to me when telling of his personal experiences during the cholera period of 1855.

Mr. and Mrs. Dugald Walker—

History of DeWitt County, Ill., 1882, page 298. No other data found.

William P. Watkins—

Death notice in Weekly Pantagraph. No other data found.

The Wells Family, 1873—

The cholera's last victims in Central Illinois. (Bloomington, Ill., Weekly Leader, 1873, Withers Public Library, Bloomington, Ill.)

Spotswood Wilkinson—

A native of New Kent County, Virginia. I think he was a bachelor. His mother survived him. He died at the residence of Hon. James Miller, 801 South Madison Street, Bloomington, Ill. (Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill., and obituary in Weekly Pantagraph.)

Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Willhoite—

Mr. Willhoite was born at Versailles, Woodford County, Kentucky, and was a veteran of the War of 1812. He came to McLean County, Ill., in 1851. His wife's maiden name was Polly Sparks. Their children were Dr. Willis C. Willhoite, Elial T., James M., Lucy (W.) Hancock, Alexander, and Reuben. (See "Soldiers of the Revolution and War of 1812 Buried in McLean County, Ill." by the author, 1912.)

The Woodard Family—

I have been unable to secure satisfactory data for this family. Whether Jacob H. Woodward was one of them or not, I have been unable to determine. (Information from Miss Lura Lindley, and Mrs. Alice Houghton Hazle, Bloomington, Ill., 1929. No other data found.)

Jacob H. Woodward—

Uncertain. He may or may not have been a cholera victim and he may or may not have been a member of the Woodard family mentioned by Miss Lindley and Mrs. Hazle. He left two young daughters, Elizabeth Ann, and Alice, both "minors of tender years" according to Hon. Franklin Price, who was appointed their guardian. (Box 14, Case 125, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., and Gravestone Inscription, Old City Cemetery, Bloomington, Ill.)

Jacob Wright—

He was a blacksmith and a young man of exceptionally robust physique, according to my informant. His widow, Rebecca, married secondly, Jesse B. Thompson. (Information from Mrs. Sarah Bishop and Grant Hare; see also Box 13, Case 64, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., and Gravestone Inscription, Selma Cemetery, Selma, near Lexington, Ill.)

William Wright—

A brother of Jacob Wright. He left a widow, Margaret. (Information from Mrs. Sarah Bishop and Grant Hare; see

also Box 11, Case 76, Probate Files, McLean County, Ill., and Gravestone Inscription, Selma Cemetery, Selma, near Lexington, Ill.)

NEWSPAPER ITEMS AND EDITORIALS.

The following represents only a part of the entire number of items and editorials referring to this subject, as they occur in the files of these very rare old Bloomington, Illinois, newspapers. There are many others containing much valuable historical information, that would doubtless be very useful to anyone writing a general article covering the entire state or the whole United States; such as names of cities and towns in other parts of this state and other states where the epidemics prevailed, number of deaths for certain periods, references to measures taken to prevent the disease spreading, etc., but the limitations of this paper compelled me to confine my transcriptions to such portions as apply directly to Central Illinois. Therefore, I have made a special selection of the following twenty numbered items, all of which have been chosen with great care. I have had access to much other more or less scattered data on the cholera, as published in various county histories, the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, etc., but enough copies of all these publications exists to insure their safe preservation and the material they contain is in no immediate danger of becoming lost, while on the contrary, only two files of the Bloomington, Ill., "Western Whig," the Bloomington, Ill., "Intelligencer," and the Bloomington, Ill., "Weekly Pantagraph" covering the cholera periods are known to exist, and all of these files are incomplete. In several instances only one copy is known to exist of certain numbers, for instance that of the "Western Whig" of Aug. 1, 1849, containing the account of the deaths from cholera of Drs. Broomenjam and Parker, the Illinois State Library copy of this number, which is incomplete of itself, the second sheet being missing. A third file of the Bloomington, Ill., "Western Whig" once owned by the New York State Library, was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1912. For this reason I trust my copies of this very rare

material will be appreciated by all who are interested in this subject. Altogether they form a fairly well connected contemporary history of the cholera epidemics in Central Illinois.

- (1) "*Western Whig*", Jan. 13, 1849; *Editorial*; C. P. Merri-man, *Editor*.

"THE CHOLERA."

"This fearful epidemic has made its appearance arrayed in all its wonted terror, at New Orleans. From fifty to sixty persons have died with it daily for some days, the weather being extremely warm at that time. People fled from the city in all directions, and business was nearly suspended. But the rage of the disease has nearly abated, and it is hoped that it will soon disappear as the weather gets cooler. Many deaths have occurred on board of steam boats on their way up the Mississippi and Ohio. Some fatal cases are reported at Cincinnati and also several on board of steamboats at St. Louis, but none in the city, at last accounts. At New York the disease progresses very slowly without much apprehension of its becoming severe or general. We still believe that this disease will be stayed in its progress up the country by the cool weather of the season and by closing of navigation on account of the ice in the river.

What is the exact nature of the malignant agent in the atmosphere which causes this disease has not been discovered—But it is undoubtedly a miasma arising from the decay of vegetable matter about the mouth of the Ganges in Asia where it takes its periodical rise and spreads on westward through Europe and America.

It generally follows the course of rivers, lakes and other bodies of water, being more or less violent in its character in proportion to the habits of the people, the warmth of the climate, the season of the year, the abundance or the scarcity of vegetation in the vicinity, the low or high situation of the country, etc. Something of the kind prevails more or less every year in some countries. In this country sickness of

somewhat a similar character though much more mild in its effects is common every year, and it is undoubtedly attributable to similar causes."

- (2) "*Western Whig*," May 12, 1849; *Editorial*; C. P. Merri-
man, *Editor*.

CHOLERA.

"This fearful malady is advancing slowly into more remote parts of the country. It has very much abated in New Orleans, and other places on the Missouri it has decreased in violence. * * * Several cases have occurred at Peoria."

- (3) "*Western Whig*," May 19, 1849; *Editorial*; C. P. Merri-
man, *Editor*.

"CHOLERA."

"From St. Louis papers we learn that the cholera is increasing in fatality on the Missouri and its branches. It is still progressing in St. Louis, Cincinnati and New York. Report says that it is raging in Chicago, but many papers have so strangely suppressed the truth on the subject that one is at a loss what to believe. It would be infinitely better on every account to publish the plain facts and then let people act on their own responsibility."

- (4) "*Western Whig*," July 14, 1849; *Editorial*; C. P. Merri-
man, *Editor*.

"CHOLERA."

"This malady continues to rage with increased violence. At St. Louis the deaths from this disease were for several days from 100 to 127. Owing to delay of the papers for the Southern mail, we have no very recent news from that city. —Quarantine regulations have, however, been established, and all boats up from New Orleans are obliged to land their passengers below the city. It is hoped that much benefit will result from these arrangements, as the great mortality at that place has been owing principally to the continual rush of Emigrants from Europe, with all the predisposition to dis-

ease acquired on their passage. At Cincinnati, there has been a great increase in the number of cholera cases, and in their fatality. On one day the number of deaths were 134, though 100 was about the average number per day last week. At Louisville, it is mild. Several towns in the southern part of this State have suffered considerably. At Peru, on the Illinois, the mortality has been very alarming, so that the town is mostly deserted by the inhabitants. Several other points on the same river, and on the canal, have been visited. At Chicago the number of deaths has ranged from three to five daily up to the 8th inst."

(5) "*Western Whig*," July 21, 1849, and July 28, 1849; *Advertisements*.

"CURE FOR CHOLERA."

"D. Jaynes Carminative Balsam for the cure of cholera which, he writes, never failed in 30 cases of Asiatic Cholera. It ought to be in the hands of every person and in every family."

"For sale by R. O. Warrinner & Co.,"*

(6) "*Western Whig*," July 21, 1849; *Editorial*; C. P. Merri-
man, Editor;

"CHOLERA."

"It is our painful duty to announce the death by cholera in this place, of Mr. L. A. Sampson. On this subject we shall state our honest conviction of the facts—most assuredly not from any unkindness or disrespect for the deceased, but from a sense of duty to the living.

Mr. Sampson had been absent for some days on a trip to Chicago, and was intimately exposed to cholera influences on the canal and river boats. On the 15th between Peoria and this place, supposing himself to be safe from the influence of the cholera, he dined improvidently, making free use of vegetable food. On the evening of the same day, having arrived at home, he felt somewhat unwell, was worse on the 16th, and

*Early druggists of Bloomington, Ill.

died on the forenoon of the 17th. As to the spread of the disease, there is no such thing in this town to spread. There are no grounds for standing in fear of cholera now in this place than for two months past. Bloomington is now as healthy as it ever was or as any other place in the country at this season of the year. Let the people of this vicinity go cheerfully about their business, exercise that amount of good sense which they are wont to employ on other subjects, avoid all excesses of every kind, partake very prudently (that is not at all) of new vegetable food, fresh meats or early fruits, attend promptly to the first indications of the disease, and all will be well. If people would be but half as anxious to avoid the causes of the disease as they are to escape the consequences, few, comparatively, would be sick. Truly it may be said that the follies of mankind cost them more than their faults, and their wants more than their necessities.

Our friends in the country need be under no apprehension of our concealing the facts in reference to these matters—they will be set forth in truth and soberness.”

(7) “*Western Whig*,” July 28, 1849; Editorial; C. P. Merri-
man, Editor;

“CHOLERA.”

“We learn that Mr. Lilly, residing some three miles this side of Mackinawtown, has been severely afflicted in the loss by cholera, of his wife and son, Joseph. Others of the family have been sick but they are recovering. Mr. Lilly’s house has long been favorably known by the traveling community in this vicinity.”

“From most points the reports are favorable in reference to this disease. At St. Louis the number of deaths from cholera for several days has averaged less than fifty, and gradually decreasing. It is about the same in Cincinnati—the number of deaths being somewhat less. At Chicago it is increasing gradually, the number being from fifteen to twenty daily. In the towns in the interior of this state, as a general thing, where it has hitherto been severe, it is disappearing. Spring-

field and Jacksonville are said to be entirely free from it. In some of the interior towns of Ohio it has been quite fatal. Dayton has suffered severely. This place continues healthy as heretofore."

"DEATHS."

"On the 24th inst. of cholera, at Tremont, Tazewell Co., Ill., Mr. Mathew L. Harbord of Davis Co., Missouri, formerly a resident of this county. He was 36 years of age."

(8) "*Western Whig*," August 1, 1849; *Editorial on first page; C. P. Merriman, Editor;*

"CHOLERA."

"Dr. Parker of Stout's Grove, in this county, died of cholera in the forenoon of Saturday, last. He had attended on the family of Mr. Lilly, in Tazewell County, and had been unwell two or three days.

Dr. William Bromenjam also died of the same disease, on Sunday night last, at the house of Mr. Lilly, on whose family he had attended professionally. No other cases have been heard of.

In St. Louis the cholera is rapidly disappearing,—the number of deaths being, on Thursday last, 14, and on Friday, 10. In Cincinnati, it is about the same according to the latest dates."

(9) "*Western Whig*," August 18, 1849; *Editorial; C. P. Merriman, Editor;*

"The Boston Transcript of the 24th says: "Owing to the prevalence of the cholera, south and west, pleasure travel from large towns and cities has been diverted to Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, and many a country tavern has a plethora of fashionable people who dine daily on boiled pork and potatoes and New England pudding, well contented with that fare, if only privileged to breathe an air free from pestilence. It is said that so numerous is the company in some of the public houses in the vicinity of the White Mountains, that at night they place travellers on the floor in rows,

till they get to sleep, then they set them up against the wall and lay down another set, and so on, until all are accommodated."

- (10) "*Western Whig*," April 13, 1850; *Editorial*; R. H. Johnson, *Editor*;

"CHOLERA."

"This disease again 'stalketh abroad' in different parts of the country, and it is certainly the duty of everyone to be on their guard and use every exertion in their power to escape its fearful ravages.

We are informed by Dr. Rogers who was called to see Mr. Isaac Allen of White Oak Grove in this county, that it was a case of cholera. The patient had just returned from the south and upon his arrival home was prostrated with the fearful disease. When the Doctor left him he was supposed to be beyond recovery.

This case is almost in our immediate neighborhood and should warn our citizens to prepare for its blighting scourge. Our streets and alleys should be cleaned immediately and every preparation be made to keep it from our midst, as it comes "like a thief in the night" (and) we know not how soon it may visit us."

- (11) "*Western Whig*," October 12, 1850; *Contribution*; Johnson & Underwood, *Editors*;

(A long article by Dr. Eli K. Crothers of Bloomington, Ill. written in reply to another long article signed "Silas," written from Hudson, Ill. and published in an earlier issue, (that of September 28, 1850), attacking Dr. Crothers for maintaining that the disease then prevailing in this locality was dysentery and not cholera. In his reply, of which the following is a brief extract, Dr. Crothers defended his stand on the subject and set forth very clearly his reasons for holding that the epidemic then prevailing was not cholera. Both articles are entirely too long for the limits of this paper. M. C.)

Who? Dr. Silas Hubbard?

(Extract from Dr. Crothers' article)

"In cholera we have vomiting and purging almost invariably after the cholerine or diarrheal stage of a peculiar character, well-known as the rice colored evacuations. * * * * Cholera in the great majority of cases runs through its different stages, from which danger is apprehended, in from one to three days. Attending it invariably are spasms of the involuntary muscles, of a very severe and decided nature." * *

(Note:—"Silas's" article refers to an earlier article in the *Bloomington, Ill. "Reveille,"* of about Sept. 21, 1850, no copy of which is now known to exist. M. C.)

(12) "*Western Whig*," June 18, 1850; Editorial; Johnson & Underwood, Editors;

"Cholera—This fell destroyer is again abroad in the land. Papers from all parts of the country speak of its awful ravages and destruction. The disease seems to be prevailing to a great extent on the rivers, and pursues the channels of commerce and trade. The mortality is not so great now as it has been heretofore. Yet it is sufficiently alarming to induce all to exercise great prudence in regard to eating green and unhealthy fruit and berries. Let all be cautious."

(13) "*Bloomington, Ill. Intelligencer*," August 4, 1852; Editorial; Jesse W. Fell, Editor;

"CHOLERA IN TOWN."

"Much excitement, we are informed, prevails in some parts of the adjacent country in reference to the prevalence in our city of this alarming disease. This is wholly uncalled for, as from the best information derived from most reliable sources, not a case does or has existed for some time past. A week or two ago, as is generally supposed, three or four cases, having a fatal termination, occurred,* but none it is be-

*Undoubtedly a reference to the Finley and Handley families. M. C.

lieved now exists, and no excitement whatever (is) here felt on the subject. Our friends in the country need be under no apprehensions in visiting this place."

"Cholera:—We regret to learn from the offices of the Regulator that the cholera has again made its appearance among the laborers on the railroad and public works in the neighborhood of Peru on the Illinois. Sixteen deaths had occurred, nine at Peru and seven at La Salle. None of the citizens had been attacked, and no great alarm was felt of the disease spreading to any great extent."

"St. Louis Intelligencer."

(14) *Weekly Pantagraph, May 10, 1854; Editorial; C. P. Merri-
man, Editor;*

"CHOLERA."

"There has been manifested some little disposition to censure us for publishing three or four deaths last week as by cholera—fearing that it might keep people away from Bloomington and injure business men.

Now we have only to say that those cases were reported by those who had been witnesses thereof and stated them to be cholera. Whether they were cholera, or aggravated cases of some milder malady, we do not pretend to say—that being the business of the doctors to decide, and we do not feel disposed to invade their peculiar province—though Heaven knows that among our many sins and shortcomings, there will not be found the sin of paying too much deference to professional men of any kind.

"Nor do we pretend to decide whether the result—sudden death in the said cases was induced by the extremely warm weather for the season, or by the medicines employed.

We are not unaware that it is the custom with many editors to conceal the truth in such diseases for fear that it might injure the character or the business of their places, but in such rascality we will not participate. Such concealment would be indictable in a court of moral equity, and the perpetrators of

it would be accessory to the deaths of those who should die in consequence of exposure to the disease under such circumstances.

In this as in all other cases, honesty is the best policy, and let the impression get among the people in the vicinity, that the cholera was actually in our city, but that efforts were made to suppress the fact, and it would injure the place ten times more than the truth. Such is the healthiness of Bloomington, that it has nothing to fear from the truth on the subject. Our friends in the country rest assured that there are not money and influence enough in this place to suppress the truth, should the cholera make its appearance among us, and our fellow-citizens will also find that we are no alarmist. The true principle is to state the facts, and then let each one act knowingly on his own responsibility.

There is now no more cholera in Bloomington than there was on Mount Ararat on the day in which Noah's dove returned no more on the Ark."

Note—No file of any local newspaper covering the latter part of September and the early part of October, 1854, in which period the cholera deaths at Selma—the McWhorter families—occurred, can be found. M. C.)

(15) *Weekly Pantagraph, August 1, 1855; Editorials; Charles P. Merriman and Jacob Morris, Editors;*

"SUDDEN DEATHS."

"We have heard of five deaths in the city and two in the country, occurring suddenly, and it is said to have been from cholera, within the last two or three days. Amongst these are Mr. and Mrs. Rowan, residing on Center St., the former of whom died yesterday, and the latter early this morning.

Prudence and temperance should be observed both in eating and drinking, particularly during the prevalence of symptoms indicating a predisposition to this disease."

(Advertisement:)

“All will do well to remember that Wells “Cholera Specific” is the most safe and certain remedy in existence for Cholera, Cholera-Morbus, Diarrhea, Dysentery, &c, &c. This is the ark of safety.”

“Deaths by Cholera—We have heard of five deaths by cholera since Saturday morning; but have not been able to learn the names of the victims, with a single exception, viz. Mr. Joseph A. Clark, son of J. A. Clark, on Grove Street. Three of the others were Germans, one man and two women, and the other was an Irish woman.”

(16) *Weekly Pantagraph, August 8, 1855; Contributions;*
Charles P. Merriman and Jacob Morris, Editors;

“Messrs. Editors—”

“As many false and unwarrantable reports are in circulation respecting the health of our city, I have taken upon myself the responsibility of obtaining all the information to be procured, and herewith present you the name and number of deaths that have occurred from Cholera, or otherwise, since Thursday the 26th day of July, the day upon which the first case of cholera appeared in our city.”

“The following are the cholera cases—17 in no.”

Mr. Allin, residence Peoria Junction, died in jail.

Mr. Clark, City.

Mr. Rice, City, German. (Mr. Weilert?)

Mr. Fritzer, City, German.

M. B. Rowan and Mrs. Rowan, City.

A German child, City.

Mrs. Spires, City.

Two Germans named Rice, City—strangers.

Mrs. Rice, mother of the above, City.

Miss B. A. Brown, City.

Dr. Caster, City.

Mrs. McDonald, City.

Mrs. Driscoll, City.

Timothy Fitzpatrick, City.

Samuel Denman, City.

“No deaths are reported this morning, and the physicians think the disease has abated.

Hereafter, weekly reports will be published giving all the interments from this date until the suppression of the epidemic.”

“Franklin Price, Mayor.”

“Bloomington, Aug. 3, '55.”

(Also the following in the same issue)

“For the Pantagraph”

“Messrs. Editors—The mortality of our city since Friday last is as follows: Of cholera—

Mr. Kramkow, German.

Mrs. Kramkow, German.

John Phelix, German.

Mr. Everman.

Mrs. Doty.

Flora Fell. (Error—This child died of cholera morbus. M. C.)

Mrs. J. H. Brown.

George Barker.

“F. Price, Mayor.”

“Bloomington, Aug. 7, '55.”

(17) *Weekly Pantagraph, July 4, 1855; Death Notice; Charles P. Merriman and Jacob Morris, Editors;*

“DIED.”

“On Sunday night, last, Mrs. Caroline Mayers, wife of William Mayers, of this city, very suddenly. Her disease is said to have been cholera.”

(18) *Weekly Pantagraph, August 15, 1855; News Item; Charles P. Merriman and Jacob Morris, Editors;*

“DEATHS FROM CHOLERA.”

“Two deaths from cholera were reported yesterday, Mrs. Guthrie, and a woman in the south part of town.

The disease is apparently abating. We hear of no new cases this morning.

“The cholera still prevails at Shelbyville in this state, and a large number of its inhabitants have left the town. Deaths occur daily. On Thursday week nine are said to have taken place.”

(19) *Weekly Pantagraph, August 15, 1855; Editorial; Charles P. Merriman and Jacob Morris, Editors;*

“Correction:—We have been twice in error in alluding to the sickness near Waynesville. We mentioned on the authority of a “colporteur” who had been in the neighborhood where the mortality prevailed, that nine deaths had occurred in one family. This we now learn was erroneous. Only five deaths occurred in the family alluded to—Mr. Akison, (Ackerson) the father, mother, and three daughters. Three of the number were lying dead at one time in the house. The total mortality in the neighborhood was at last accounts, about 20. The sickness was subsiding.”

(Also the following death notice in the same issue)

“DIED.”

“At Clinton, DeWitt County, night before last, of cholera, William H. Scudder, jeweler, of this place.”

(20) *Bloomington, Ill., Weekly Leader, August 20, 1873; Editorial; Charles P. Merriman, Editor.*

“The Cholera—Four members of the family of Joseph Wells, who lived in the edge of Logan County, about seven miles from Mason City, have recently died with the cholera. Mr. Wells was taken sick on Wednesday and died on Sunday, July 30th. Hannah Wells, a daughter, was taken on the following Wednesday and died on Thursday morning. John William, a son, was taken Saturday, and died Sunday. Sarah Wells, the wife, was taken on Saturday and died the next Friday. Four children of the family are left orphans by this terrible calamity that has fallen upon them. Mr. Wells was a brother of James Wells of this city.”

SOME HISTORICAL INCIDENTS.

There can be no doubt but that some of the cholera afflicted families endured some heart-rending experiences. Several stories have come down to us traditionally that seem almost unbelievable. Some are ludicrous, a few even humorous despite their tragic setting. Perhaps all of them are more or less reliable and true,—some may be gross exaggerations. Some, told in the uncouth language of the early pioneer rural communities were unsuitable for publication, therefore must be omitted.

Many cholera victims died on river steamboats that stopped at the nearest river bank as soon as possible after a death occurred; burial was hastily made, often in a strange land, far from the victim's home and friends, and the grave left unmarked, soon became lost and unknown.

Perhaps one of the most repeated of these stories was the following: A young negro man, a deck-hand on one of the Mississippi river steamboats, suffered an attack of cholera, passed through all its various stages, including the collapse, was pronounced dead, placed in a cheap, hastily constructed coffin, carried ashore and preparations were made for a hurried burial. While digging the grave, the man who was doing the work heard a slight noise. Looking up he was astounded to see the supposed dead man sitting up in the coffin, blinking his eyes and looking around him. "What yo-all doin?" he asked. "Why, I was getting ready to bury you!" said the grave-digger, realizing the situation and recovering his self-possession. "The h—l yo' was!" said the negro, and kicking off a few boards from the flimsy casket, he leaped out and fled.

When Lucian Sampson died here in Bloomington, in 1849, his friend, John Magoun waited on him and nursed him during his fatal illness; Abram Brokaw and Goodman Ferre, two of our most prominent pioneer citizens, buried him. Another prominent citizen, hearing of this death, and not knowing the cause, came to the house of the deceased to make inquiry and perhaps offer condolence. On learning it was a case of

cholera, it is said, he instantly ran out of the house, through the back yard, leaped over a high board fence, and fled. What his name was "deponent sayeth not," but those familiar with early local history could hazard a good guess.

From several different sources I have heard the stock tale of the family who with the exception of one young infant, were all discovered to be dead of cholera by some neighbors, who in a frenzy of zeal to prevent the disease spreading, quickly removed the child and set fire to the house, consuming it with all its contents, including the unburied bodies of the dead. I made diligent efforts to learn the name of this family and also to determine the exact site of this peculiar act of pioneer sanitation, but so far, without success. No particular community or town within the territory covered by my researches seems desirous of claiming the honor. It is a fact, however, that the house of John Ackerson, Sr., (near Waynesville, Ill.) who with his wife, sister, and three children, (two children surviving) were all cholera victims within the space of a few days, in August, 1855; with all its contents, was actually set on fire and completely destroyed by neighbors shortly after the deaths occurred, but the bodies of the deceased were first removed and buried, at least bills for five coffins supplied by two undertakers are still on file along with other documents relating to his estate.

While the flames were roaring, it is said, little John Ackerson, Jr., one of the two survivors, then about eight years old, stood looking ruefully upon the blaze, and was heard to make this remark: "I didn't care much for the old house, nor anything else we had in it, but I left a darn good pair of new boots in there!"

When Dr. Wanton Parker was stricken on his return from a professional visit to the Lilly family, it is said he was so ill when he arrived home, he was unable to guide his horse, the faithful animal making its way to his destination by its own instinct, and the doctor was already too sick to dismount without assistance.

When Nathan Low, Jr., was attacked with cholera in 1849, his mother made a mistake and gave him a double dose of the prescribed medicine. Recovery followed and the attending physician told Mrs. Low that the double dose was all that saved her son's life. In striking contrast is the following:

In 1855 a second "cholera scare" visited Selma, according to Mrs. Sarah Bishop. A young man named James H. Hays, aged about 25 years, feeling slightly ill, hastened to a doctor who gave him some medicine with the usual instructions to take it in certain prescribed doses. The young man hurried home, drank all the medicine in one dose, "went to sleep and never woke up." His grave is still to be seen in Selma Cemetery, marked by a good old marble headstone.

Sad indeed were the experiences of some of the pioneers who came into actual personal contact with cholera cases. It is said that most of the attacks commenced late at night, generally between midnight and morning, and that most of the deaths also occurred late at night. The late C. C. Hinshaw once told me that when young David Haybarger (I believe it was) died, there was but one man in the neighborhood who was willing to stay with him until the end came and then sit up with the corpse the rest of the night. (I have forgotten who Mr. H. said it was.) Mr. Hinshaw said that in telling about it afterwards, the man said it seemed to him that long bitter night would never end, that it seemed to him the longest night he had ever known.

According to Mrs. Esther Davison, when Mrs. Elizabeth Andrew was attacked with symptoms of cholera on an Illinois Central railroad train while on her way from Chicago to Bloomington, in September, 1854, the obliging conductor stopped the train at some town on the way, went to a drug store and bought Mrs. Andrew a bottle of some kind of cholera medicine, which soon gave her temporary relief, enabling her to reach her destination.

In 1850 a disease known as dysentery was epidemic in Bloomington. It was very severe and caused several deaths.

Dr. Eli K. Crothers,* then a young man, practicing medicine in this city and vicinity, pronounced the malady dysentery and treated it as such. Some person at Hudson, Ill., signing the name "Silas" to his letter, wrote a long and scurrillous article to the editor of the "Western Whig" attacking Dr. Crothers for his stand and claiming that the disease then prevailing was really Asiatic cholera. Dr. Crothers "came back" two weeks later with a scholarly article, showing fully that the disease was not cholera, and offered ample proof of his views. Both articles were published in full and are contained in the Withers Library file of the Whig.

In a historical sketch of the local German M. E. Church by Mr. R. N. Woodworth, published in the Bloomington, Ill., Bulletin several years ago, it is stated that Rev. John Schmidt, the first (missionary) pastor, who came here in February, 1855, was well acquainted with medicine, and that when the cholera broke out here in the summer of that year, he used his talents in aiding the people of his congregation, many of whom died with the disease, however.

Referring to the rapidity with which the disease progressed, Mr. Thomas Dixon tells me his mother (Mrs. Catharine Dixon) whose mother, Mrs. Hugh McDonald, was a cholera victim of 1855, in Bloomington, told him that many of the victims hardly knew they had the disease until they were dying of it.

SUPPLEMENT.

A Description of Cholera from an Old Medical Work.

"SYMPTOMS."

"After watery diarrhea, generally of a few hours' duration, vomiting begins, of a clear colorless fluid; which as well as the copious passages from the bowels, resembles rice-water. There is, also, coldness of the skin, which gradually increases; with cramps, thirst, great feebleness of the pulse, and general prostration, deepening into collapse. In this last condition,

*Father of Miss Lulu Crothers, the noted playwright.

the patient is blue all over, with skin shrunken, and the pulse at the wrist is imperceptible; sometimes the breath is cold. Few recover.”

(MacKenzie's Ten Thousand Receipts, Edition of 1866, Medical Division.)

Extract from letter of Dr. J. E. Marvel, Waynesville, Ill.

“Waynesville, Ill.

August 7, 1929.

“Mr. Milo Custer,
Bloomington, Ill.

“Dear Sir:

“Your inquiry received in regard to——persons who died from Asiatic cholera in Waynesville and vicinity in 1855. I will give you all of the data that I have.

* * * * *

“My father, the late William Thomas Marvel, often related to me that the cholera epidemic was in July and August in 1855. On account of the panic produced by the scourge, several families who then lived at Waynesville, temporarily abandoned their homes and left the village. A few remained to care for the sick and bury the dead. They were usually rolled in a blanket and buried in haste to prevent further spread of the disease. Many feared to go near a victim of the scourge. Time was seldom taken to construct a wooden casket for the dead.

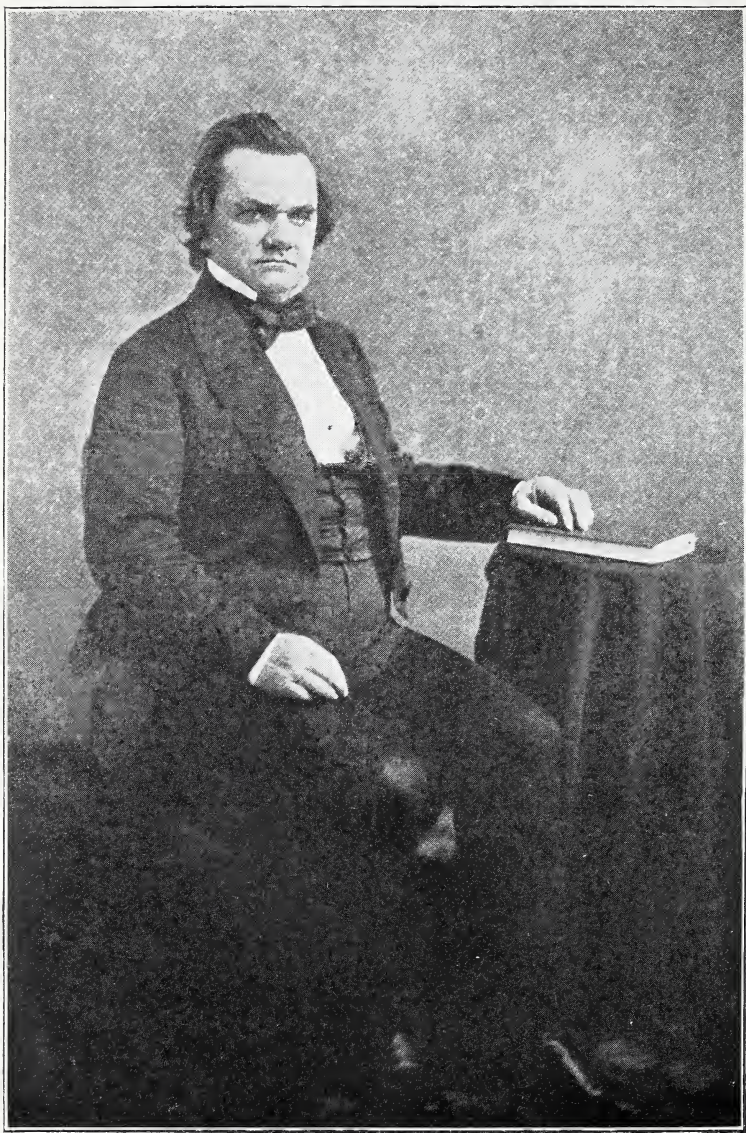
“The cause of cholera was then unknown and nothing filled the public mind with more alarm and apprehension than this fatally malignant disease. It began suddenly with fever, nausea and vomiting, colicky griping, abdominal pains, rice-water discharges from the bowels, rapid pulse, and marked prostration. After a few hours the eyes sunk in the head, the pulse quickened and was often imperceptible to the touch, then violent cramp pains seized the muscles of the limbs and abdomen. The skin became purple in color.

“The disease was characterized by violent purging and rapid collapse which led to death in a day or two. When the patient survived the collapse, color returned to the skin and warmth to the body.

“In 1884, Koch, a German scientist announced the discovery of the comma bacillus, the specific organism of this disease. Vaccines were developed at a later date for the specific cure of the disease. Since 1873 the disease has gained no foothold in the United States. * * * *

Yours truly,

Dr. J. E. Marvel,
Waynesville, Ill.”



Last Picture Taken of Stephen A. Douglas, at Aurora, Illinois.

DOUGLAS THE LOYAL.

A hitherto unpublished manuscript by James Pollock,
previously Governor of Pennsylvania,
with introduction by Esther Cowles Cushman.

An important incident in the life of Lincoln apparently not known to any of his biographers is described in a document recently acquired by the McLellan Lincoln Collection at Brown University. Material of this character is now extremely rare; and such a significant and well authenticated account as this will be hailed as a treasure-trove by all Lincoln scholars.

The document was written by James Pollock, previously Governor of Pennsylvania, and at the time of writing a member of the unofficial "Peace Congress" in Washington. It is on double sheets of letter paper such as were common in 1860; and the handwriting, as shown by comparison with letters signed by Pollock, is unquestionably his. He first gives a short account of his friendship with Stephen A. Douglas and Lincoln when all three were members of the 29th Congress in 1848, and then a picture of the life in a boarding house on Capitol Hill showing the influence of Lincoln in restoring peace when arguments became too heated among the group of Congressmen who lived there. He goes on to describe a meeting between Lincoln and Douglas in Washington, just before Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861. Of this meeting no biographer of either man appears to have had any knowledge.

James Pollock was born in Milton, Penn., Sept. 11, 1810. He was graduated at Princeton in 1831 with the highest honors, studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1833. From 1844 to 1850 he was a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania. At that time Lincoln and Douglas were also in Congress, and Pollock became well acquainted with both.

In 1854 he was elected Governor of Pennsylvania on the Union-Republican ticket. In 1860 he represented Pennsylvania in the so-called "Peace Congress," called together by the Governor of Virginia to seek some means of reaching a peaceful settlement of the difficulties between the states. In May, 1861, President Lincoln appointed Pollock Director of the Mint in Philadelphia. It was through his efforts and with the approval of Secretary Chase that the motto "In God we trust" was placed on our national coins.

Lincoln and Douglas had long been rivals, and before 1860 Douglas had been the successful contestant in all cases except that of winning the hand of Mary Todd. The contrast between the two was great. Physically Douglas was almost a dwarf, scarcely five feet tall, while Lincoln measured six feet and four inches. Mentally Douglas was extremely quick, though superficial; while Lincoln took time to find his way and thoroughly comprehend all sides of a question; also what Lincoln lacked in mental dexterity he more than made up in moral superiority. Indeed morally we note the greatest contrast of all. Douglas has been called color-blind to moral principles in politics, and deaf and dumb to any expression concerning the evils of slavery; while Lincoln's nickname "Honest Abe" reflects his moral integrity, which was so clearly visible to all who came under his influence. Douglas's rise in political life to the position of leader in the Senate was phenomenal, while Lincoln's political ambition seemed doomed to failure until he became President.

After the debates between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, Lincoln had apparently failed again, as the vote of the legislature gave the Senatorship to Douglas. This was owing to the fact that the districting of the state was based on the census of 1850, and was unfair to the increase of population in the northern part of the state. The popular Republican vote, having a plurality of 4,191 votes, showed that Douglas really had failed and that the true victory was with Lincoln. Evidence of the recognition of this may be found in many Illinois newspapers. In the Chicago Press and Tribune of

October 29, just before the State election, we find the following comment: "No fact has been more apparent in the canvass than that Mr. Lincoln was more than a match for his opponent. In all the elements of statesmanship, in close, compact, logical argument, in gentlemanly amenity, in control of his temper under the severest provocations, in an unfailing fund of good nature—in every quality in short, that commends itself to the approbation of the better nature of man, on every occasion he has loomed above Mr. Douglas, immeasurably his superior." Immediately after this election Lincoln was suggested by several papers as a candidate for the Presidency in 1860.

This is not the place for a discussion of the presidential campaign of 1860. It is well known that Lincoln's clear understanding of the issues led him in the 1858 debates to force the issue of popular sovereignty in such a way that in answering to win the immediate election to the Senate, Douglas lost all his following in the South, and with it the possibility of becoming President.

When Douglas learned of the Republican victory in October in Pennsylvania, he said: "Lincoln is the next President. I have no hope and no destiny before me but to do my best to save the Union from overthrow. Now let us turn our course to the South." He spoke throughout the South up to election day, pleading for the old party, the old constitution and the old Union. After his defeat in the presidential campaign, he returned to his duties in the Senate, with the determination that he had always held, to be faithful to the Union. He was a member of the Senate Committee of Thirteen appointed to try and effect a compromise between the states, and was ready to support the Crittenden resolutions as he had the measures proposed by Clay in 1850; but the Senate this time would not accept any compromise and the plan failed.

Among the first to call on President-elect Lincoln when he reached Washington, near the end of February, 1861, were Pollock and Douglas. This formal call by Douglas is men-

tioned by the biographers, but Pollock here tells of a later meeting of the three friends, and of the pledge that Douglas gave Lincoln to aid him in any effort that he might deem proper to save the Union.

A thorough search has been made for any mention of such a meeting in the published works on Lincoln or Douglas, and none has been found. The meeting and pledge of assistance made such an impression on Governor Pollock that he wrote out his account, but he seems not to have made it public, and the paper never was found by those writing about Lincoln or his times. Nearly a month and a half after the meeting recorded by Governor Pollock, just after Sumter had been fired upon and the President had sent out his first call for troops, Douglas again pledged his aid in saving the Union, and issued to the newspapers a signed statement to this effect. This act is known and most of the biographers refer to it. The earlier pledge made in the presence of Pollock has remained unknown until now.

Though Douglas, in a speech in the Senate in March, seemed to go with his party in opposing Lincoln's administration, yet as soon as the firing on the flag at Sumter brought about a real crisis, he again showed his loyalty, turned aside from party allegiance, and renewed his pledge. By his death Lincoln lost a faithful ally and the Union a staunch defender. When the Republican leaders were hesitating and criticising their President, Douglas boldly and vigorously supported him, and became one of the Senators most trusted at the White House.

It is gratifying to have the fact reconfirmed that Douglas was great enough to appreciate the greatness of Lincoln even before the inauguration and to place his abilities at the service of the President. Pollock describes, in a vivid way, the giving of this unexpected pledge of co-operation, and shows how it heartened Lincoln at the outset of his baffling task to preserve the Union.

ESTHER COWLES CUSHMAN.

GOVERNOR POLLOCK'S MANUSCRIPT

Near the close of February, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, President elect of the United States, reached Washington after a perilous and exciting journey. Notwithstanding the threats of assassination and the attempt made to execute such fiendish purpose, he arrived safely and was warmly welcomed by his many friends. He occupied rooms at Willards Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. The "Peace Congress" was then in session and held their meetings in a large hall fitted up for the purpose, in the rear of and connected with the same hotel. Many distinguished civilians were then in Washington. Among these was Stephen A. Douglass,* United States Senator from Illinois, whose competitor for that honorable place had been Abraham Lincoln, now the President elect. I was a member of the "Peace Congress" and roomed at Willards. I had also been a member of the 28th, 29th and 30th Congress, of all which Mr. Douglass had been a member. In the 29th Congress he was Chairman of the Committee on Territories, of which committee I was also a member. Associated with him in the House of Representatives and on this Committee I became intimately acquainted with him, and although we differed politically, yet this difference did not interfere with our personal relations or friendship. Mr. Lincoln was also a member of the 29th Congress, I knew him well. We, with other M. C.'s, occupied one of the principal boarding houses on Capitol Hill. He was a genial and pleasant companion, full of good humor, ready wit and with an unlimited fund of anecdote, which he would relate with a zest and manner that never failed to bring down the "Mess", and restore harmony and smiles, when the peace of our little community was threatened by a too earnest or heated controversy on some of the exciting questions of the hour. Our friendship was mutual, I therefore did not hesitate to call upon him soon after his arrival at Washington. I was cordially received—was often alone with him. The conversation was frequently

*Pollock uniformly employs the earlier spelling of the name which Douglas himself used certainly as late as 1838.

on the then condition of the country—the threats of secession—the danger of civil war and the disruption of the Union. He was always firm in his resolve to defend the Constitution and save the Union.

One evening about the end of February or 1st of March, I called to see him. A few friends who had called, were just leaving when I entered. I was then alone with him. He greeted me with his usual kindness, with an informal sincerity that was the very essence of true friendship. The conversation was general and free from restraint. In the midst of it, there was a knock at the door—the hearty “Walk in” was uttered—the door opened and Stephen A. Douglass entered. Mr. Lincoln received him with great cordiality. After a warm shaking of hands, Mr. Douglass took his seat. We went back and talked about other times and scenes—incidents in our Congressional life, and then the theme of all others of that time the most impressive and important was introduced—the Country and its impending dangers.

There was a deep and solemn earnestness in that half hour’s conversation. At its close Mr. Douglass arose to go. Mr. Lincoln also arose. Mr. Douglass approached Mr. Lincoln and taking his hand and looking him full and earnestly in the face, said: “Mr. President you and I have been for many years politically opposed to each other—we have often addressed our constituents on the political questions of the day—often met before them in debate—differed honestly, but strongly and warmly differed; but in our devotion and attachment to the Constitution and the Union we never differed—in this we are one—this Union must and shall not be destroyed. Now I am here tonight to say to you, in the presence of our mutual friend Pollock, that should any attempt be made by the advocates of secession and disunion to carry out their treasonable designs, by force or otherwise, I will be with you, and I here in the presence of our friend pledge myself and my friends, to aid and sustain you in any effort you may deem proper to save our Union—with all our strength and energy we will aid you. This Country must be saved—

our Union must be preserved. Partisan feeling must yield to patriotism. I am with you Mr. President, and God bless you."

Mr. Lincoln who stood with his eyes fixed on Mr. Douglass during the delivery of these sentiments, could not withhold the tears that slowly coursed down his manly cheeks, and, seizing Mr. Douglass' hand with both of his and giving it a most heartfelt pressure, said in tones that bespoke the fullness of his heart: "God bless you Douglass! With such pledges and such assurances from my political opponents, and with God's help we must succeed. Oh! how you have cheered and warmed my heart! The danger is great, but with such words from such friends why should we fear. Our Union cannot be destroyed. With all my heart I thank you. The people with us and God helping us, all will yet be well. God bless you Douglass! Good night." Before the close of this scene all our eyes were moistened with tears—it was solemn and impressive—I cannot forget it. Mr. Douglass then retired. So soon as the door closed Mr. Lincoln turned to me and with strong and meaning emphasis said: "Oh Pollock, what a noble man Douglass is! We have always been opposed politically, but now when the country needs the help of every true patriot, he forgets party and pledges his aid to me and the Union. How such words of his encourage me! I hardly know how to express my feeling for him—I did not expect such pledge—such promise of co-operation." He was surprised and delighted by the words and pledge of Mr. Douglass. I assured him that Douglass was in earnest and that he and his friends would sustain him in any effort that might be necessary to defeat and overthrow the treason that clamored for disunion.

Although Mr. Douglass died (June 10, 1861) soon after the commencement of hostilities, yet while he lived he fully redeemed the pledge given to President Lincoln. By word and act he declared his attachment to the Constitution and the Union—his hatred of treason—and was in full sympathy with the men who dared to do and die for their country.

Lincoln and Douglass—no longer on earth—they rest in honored graves. A grateful nation cherishes their memory. Let a grateful people imitate their example and ever defend our Country, our Union and our liberties.



ARTHUR L. MERIAM

FINAL INTERMENT OF PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S REMAINS AT THE LINCOLN MONUMENT IN OAK RIDGE CEMETERY, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

BY ARTHUR L. MERIAM.

At the request of Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, son of the President, J. S. Culver, President of the Culver Construction Company of Springfield, who rebuilt the monument, went to Chicago and conferred with Mr. Lincoln in regard to the final interment of his father's remains.

Mr. Robert T. Lincoln came to Springfield to make final arrangements for the burial of his father's remains, and on May 23, 1901, visited the Lincoln Monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery with the then Governor Richard Yates, J. S. Culver and myself, then General Superintendent of the Culver Construction Company, where we met Major E. S. Johnson, then custodian of the monument, and after looking over conditions, Mr. Lincoln directed Mr. Culver to inter the remains in an east and west direction, approximately ten feet below the finished tile floor of the sarcophagus room at the north end of the monument, the casket to center as nearly as possible on the center lines of the space in front of the crypts; the casket and old wooden box to be enclosed in a new wooden outer box and this encased all around, in approximately twenty inches of Portland cement concrete, reinforced with heavy flat steel bars running in both directions on all sides and ends of the enclosed casket, all bars securely fastened together.

It was also Mr. Lincoln's request that the interment be as private as possible with no public announcement or ceremony. Mr. Robert Lincoln's wish was carried out which accounts for the few people present at the monument that day.

Later, following the above instructions of Mr. Lincoln, the tile and concrete floor was removed above this space, the

earth excavated, and the remains interred as above directed, the earth replaced and the concrete and tile floor relaid.

On September 26, 1901, after some discussion between members of the Lincoln Guard of Honor and J. S. Culver, as to the advisability of opening the casket and viewing the remains, it was decided by a majority of the Lincoln Guard of Honor and State Officials present to open the casket and view the remains for the purpose of identification before they were permanently laid to rest. This decision was contrary to the desire of Mr. Lincoln as he had previously expressed a wish that the casket should not be opened, as in his opinion it would not be necessary as the casket had been opened and the remains positively identified at the time of its last previous burial, and that since that time there had been no opportunity for it to be tampered with.

Then the remains were taken from the sarcophagus room in the north end along the east side into the south room of the monument and placed on pedestals in a north and south direction.

All newspaper men, reporters and others, with the exception of the following people were excluded from the room and shades put up over the glass panel in the door.

Those remaining were members of the Lincoln Guard of Honor, State Officials, Officers of the Culver Construction Company, mechanics for opening and closing the casket, and others especially interested.

Names of people viewing and identifying Abraham Lincoln's remains September 26, 1901, as attested by their signatures in the Lincoln Monument Register of that date:

J. N. Reece, Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln Guard of Honor.

J. P. Lindley, Springfield, Illinois, son of J. P. Lindley.

Clinton Conkling, Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln Guard of Honor.

Joseph H. Freeman, Springfield, Illinois, acting Trustee Lincoln Monument.

J. S. Culver, Springfield, Illinois, acting Trustee Lincoln Monument; also President of the Culver Construction Company.

George N. Black, Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln Monument Association.

John J. Brenholt, Alton, Illinois, acting Governor and Trustee, Lincoln Monument.

J. S. McCullough, Urbana, Illinois, Auditor, State.

F. K. Whittemore, Springfield, Illinois, Assistant Treasurer, State.

B. D. Monroe, Springfield, Illinois.

J. C. Thompson, Macomb, Illinois, in office, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

M. O. Williamson, Galesburg, Illinois, State Treasurer and Trustee Lincoln Monument.

W. S. Robbins, Springfield, Illinois, Assistant Secretary to Governor, Major staff.

Laura Clinton Johnson, Springfield, Illinois, wife of custodian.

Clara Kern Bayliss, Springfield, Illinois, wife of State Superintendent of Public Instruction and Trustee Lincoln Monument.

Arthur L. Meriam, Springfield, Illinois, Superintendent Culver Construction Company.

Ross P. Culver, Springfield, Illinois, Secretary, Culver Construction Company.

Henry B. McVeigh, Springfield, Illinois, Plumber, 413 Monroe Street.

L. P. Hopkins, Springfield, Illinois.

C. H. Willey, Springfield, Illinois.

E. S. Johnson, Lincoln Guard of Honor and Custodian.

The casket was then opened and the remains were found in a perfect state of preservation and easily identified as the hair, beard, face, hands, and clothing, including the small black bow tie which he nearly always wore, were as natural as in life; his complexion was dark as though tanned.

After the remains were viewed by all and identified, and we each signed our names in the Monument Register, and the lead lining of the casket securely sealed, and the casket and boxes closed, it was taken back to the sarcophagus room and under my personal supervision was interred as above directed.

The photograph purporting to be a picture of those present and viewing the remains was taken after the body was returned to the sarcophagus room and the people whose pictures appear were called together by a local photographer, and does not include all who were present and viewed the remains, as some had already left the monument, and I was inside the sarcophagus room directing the workmen in the burial of the remains.

PORTRAIT OF A PIONEER PRINTER.

BY PHILIP D. JORDAN.

Lord Macaulay once remarked that the only true history of a country is to be found in its newspapers. Certainly in those days of a hundred years ago in the United States when civilization was far less complex than it is at present, the press was able to give a fairly accurate and instructive account of politics and economics and social chit-chat. This was especially true of those little frontier newspapers whose editors made a gallant attempt to publish news and feature material under most adverse circumstances.

Even the professional historian, in the main, has paid little attention to the newspapers published on the western frontier during the first half of the nineteenth century. And the social historian who treasures the smallest bit of information bearing upon the customs of the people has turned his blind eye, in too many instances, to the multifarious details of frontier culture as portrayed in those papers printed during that interesting middle period in the history of the United States.

It is small wonder, then, that a practical printer, James G. Edwards, should be little known not only to the researcher in early middle-western culture but also to even state and county historians. The truth is that Edwards has few claims to prominence and practically all the claims to obscurity. He is of interest only because of his supreme normality. A typical frontier newspaperman who set his type by hand, pulled the galley proofs, ran off the edition, delivered it, and then attempted to collect from his subscribers—this was Edwards and in these chores he was no different from other printers who were hoping to build up a publishing business on the frontier. But to the Illinois historian James G. Edwards should mean something more and to the historian of Morgan

County he should mean a great deal. For Edwards was one of the first Illinois printers and he was the very first man in Morgan County to establish and run a newspaper for any length of time.

Edwards' birth and early life are a mystery, for there is no evidence of his existence until 1829 when he failed in the Sunday newspaper field in New York and like so many other men started for the west where the glamour of the ever-widening frontier held out hopes for success. He arrived in Jacksonville sometime in November in company with Julian M. Sturtevant who later became such a prominent figure in the history of Jacksonville College.¹ Accompanying him was his wife, Eleanor, and with them were a few type fonts and a small hand press. A journeyman printer was in the party also.

It was Edwards' intention when he pulled the proofs for the first issue of the *Western Observer*, as he christened the new sheet, to "present to our readers a summary view of all the most important transactions which might occur throughout our country and the world so far as the means in our possession would permit them to be brought within our observation,"² but he was disappointed just as he had been in New York and just as he was doomed to be in the future. He found it almost impossible to keep journeyman printers, the one he had brought with him to Jacksonville suddenly quitting because "all the articles decrying intemperance were given him to put in type."³ Even with the practical assistance of his wife Edwards found it difficult to continue the existence of the *Western Observer*. This paper had begun its life during the last week of April or the first week of May, 1830 and it continued to appear until 20 December 1831, when its owner admitted another failure and began publication of *The Patriot* which, however, lasted only a short time and led to Edwards leaving Jacksonville and crossing the Mississippi River to Fort Madison in the territory of Wisconsin where

¹This Journal. Vol. XVIII. No. 1. April 1925 p. 157.

²*Western Observer*. Jacksonville, Ill. 22 May 1830.

³Ibid.

"the first number of the *Fort Madison Patriot* was pulled from the press on March 24, 1836 before the admiring eyes of Chief Black Hawk and other Indians who frequently came to the office to inspect the mechanical part of the plant."⁴

As Edwards worked to publish weekly his *Western Observer* he discovered there was not enough Jacksonville news to fill its columns. What should he do? He had no time to compose editorial copy and so he clipped from other papers and magazines which came into his hands. This "filler" material was of all types and gave the paper a catholicity of information which was astonishing. For instance Edwards published an article on "The Cure of Bots in Horses"⁵ and two weeks later two and a half columns on the "Romish Persecution,"⁶ a story dealing with the Catholic persecution of the Irish.

The early settler in Jacksonville could sit outside his log cabin or sod house and read about the first steamboat voyage made up the Hudson River by Robert Fulton. For Edwards, keen newspaper man that he was, knew news when he saw it and had published a complete letter written by Robert Fulton in July, 1807, to a New York friend.⁷ Today if an editor should print a piece of news twenty-three years old he would be laughed out of business, but time was slow on the frontier and fresh news was scarce! And so it went all through those early days when Edwards was struggling to make the *Western Observer* pay. Anything and everything went into its pages. Edwards printed stories about the Kingdom of Christ;⁸ about a way-side cripple;⁹ he printed a partial biography of George IV;¹⁰ he turned over his columns to the atmosphere and a discussion of how oxygen supports life by aiding the lungs in the process of respiration;¹¹ he printed excerpts from Arabian

⁴University of Iowa Extension Bull. No. 175. p. 64.

⁵*Western Observer*. 8 May 1830.

⁶*Ibid.* 22 May 1830.

⁷*Ibid.* 14 August 1830.

⁸*Ibid.* 21 August 1830.

⁹*Ibid.* 28 August 1830.

¹⁰*Ibid.* 4 September 1830.

¹¹*Ibid.* 11 September 1830.

conversation¹² and he told of the sad plight of a family whose head was a drunkard.¹³

After the *Western Observer* had failed and Edwards had taken his type and press to Fort Madison he still found fresh news scarce and he still continued to publish short stories, items of interest and hints of one kind or another. For instance, he devoted one column to poetry, printed four rules on how to raise potatoes and gave space to a discussion of the Virginia Corn and Cob Crusher and Grinder.¹⁴ Subscribers read the evidences on atheism which were a resume of a course of lectures in Cincinnati given by Henry Ward Beecher. The interesting feature is not so much that Edwards saw fit to reprint a famous divine's remarks on atheism, but lies within the editorial preface which Mr. Edwards set for his readers. He says: "In order that our readers may find a specimen of the power for reasoning of this great minded man, we publish the following brief extracts from one of his lectures."¹⁵ It was not the content but the logic that was important. Edwards, a staunch church member, wanted this made plain!

During his Fort Madison days Edwards was making frequent trips to Burlington, there to gather news from the Territorial Legislature, to speculate upon the number of pioneers constantly drifting into the town, and to pick up what gossip he could concerning the day's turn of events. Consequently, the *Fort Madison Patriot* did not always appear regularly.

Business must have been as poor in Fort Madison as in Jacksonville and Edwards was forced to acknowledge another newspaper failure. He discontinued the publication of the *Fort Madison Patriot* on 2 September 1838 and moved his equipment to Burlington. Since his arrival in Jacksonville he had added some printing equipment, having purchased the type and press of the *Western Adventurer*, owned by Dr.

¹²*Western Observer*, 18 September 1830.

¹³*Ibid.* 2 October 1830.

¹⁴*Fort Madison Patriot*, 14 April 1838.

¹⁵*Ibid.* 21 April 1838.

Isaac Galland and edited by Thomas Gregg in Montrose. The first number of this newspaper came out 26 June 1837, before the plan of Montrose was laid out.

Edwards' first venture in Burlington was the publication, 13 December 1838, of the *Burlington Patriot*. This was a specimen number; it was a feeler—an attempt to find out whether there were sufficient Whigs to justify a paper. The prospectus of this specimen paper is interesting:¹⁶

The Subscriber proposes to issue at the Seat of Government of Iowa Territory a weekly newspaper to be called "The Burlington Patriot." In its Politics, the Patriot will advocate the cause of the People, the whole People and nothing but the People, in contradistinction to the parasitic practice of advocating the cause of the Government or Government Officers exclusively, right or wrong. With those in office we shall have no more to do than scrutinize their acts, to applaud when they do right and censure when they do wrong. This shall be done with no other reference to the party to which they may belong, than as their acts may be identified with the leading principles of such party.

The News Department will embrace all the latest Intelligence of the Day, including Congressional, Legislative, Agricultural, Scientific, and Miscellaneous.

The size of our sheet—being the largest of any now published in the Territory—will admit of our giving a full account of all the important transactions of the Iowa Legislature, which has recently commenced its first session in this city, without such infringement on the other departments of the paper.

As the practice of crediting subscribers has been found injurious both to the publisher and the subscriber, we shall open no accounts in the office on subscription; and shall therefore expect every subscriber to pay his subscription on the reception of the first number; a re-

¹⁶*Burlington Patriot*. 13 December 1838.

ceipt will then be furnished in the shape of a note, guaranteeing to each yearly subscriber fifty-two numbers of the paper.

Those few subscribers who paid for the late Fort Madison Patriot in advance will be furnished with the Burlington Patriot to the account of numbers due them. All others must subscribe anew, according to the above terms.

The price of subscription will be three dollars, per year—one dollar and seventy-five cents, per six months—and twelve and a half cents per single copy.

Advertisements will be inserted at one dollar per square, or less, for first insertion, and fifty cents for each continuance. To those who advertise by the year a liberal reduction will be made.

With the above brief synopsis of our plan, we ask for a share of public patronage.

James G. Edwards

Burlington, Iowa, December 12, 1838.

To the student of political history and to the researcher in social phenomena this prospectus is doubly fascinating. Here is a man who had attempted to furnish the news of a frontier territory in an adequate and worthwhile manner. He is a staunch Whig and a confirmed prohibitionist. His Fort Madison Paper fails just as his New York venture failed and as his two Jacksonville ventures failed and now he is asking public support in a new venture.

Well might Edwards be fearful of the success of his new venture, for James Clark already was publishing a paper whose revenue was derived in part from an official printing grant made by the legislature. The specimen edition of the *Burlington Patriot* came as a monstrous bit of news to the frontier community. Here was a man, the gossip ran, who was attempting to start a paper sympathetic to the Whig cause, in a town most Democratic. However, the first number of Edwards' paper was not to make its appearance until July

of the following year. The birth of the new paper was, in itself, a news event. Edwards felt that he must make the venture successful. He printed innumerable stories asking patronage and co-operation. In addition a copy of the first issue was left in every home in Burlington with the request that it be read. This first issue appeared 6 June 1839, six months after the specimen number was printed. The *Burlington Patriot* continued to run along, advocating the Whig cause and decrying the use of intoxicating liquor, until 5 September 1839 when the editor changed the name to the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*. The name was not again altered until 1 June 1843, when the name *Patriot* was dropped and the paper became known as the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*.

But again adversity seems to have met Edwards, for he was obliged to become associated with Col. Fitz Henry Ward in 1844. Col. Ward, however, stayed only a short time and it was on 24 July 1845 that J. M. Broadwell bought an interest in the *Hawk-Eye* and the firm was known under their joint names.

Although actually little is known of the relationship existing between Edwards and "Jimmy" Broadwell, there are many curious stories told. Edwards himself tells that he has known Broadwell "from his youth up" and says "He has served a faithful apprenticeship of seven years in this office."¹⁷ There is a story to the effect that Broadwell was adopted by the Edwards who had no children, but as yet no definite evidence has been furnished on this point. Another prevalent story has it that Mrs. Edwards, soon after the death of her husband, married Broadwell.

From the time of the association between Edwards and Broadwell until the former died from cholera in 1851, one year after the plague had demoralized the frontier, life proved more pleasant for Edwards. He found himself in a position of leading public opinion against the Democrats and he could devote his columns to news of the Mexican War, to

¹⁷*Burlington Hawk-Eye*. 24 July 1845.

the wonders of the telegraph, then called the "lightning wire," and finally to editorial expressions on practically every subject of local and national interest.

Although little is known of Edwards' personality it is not difficult to draw a fairly accurate character delineation from a study of his editorials and from his business and social life. Both he and Mrs. Edwards became members of the First Presbyterian Church in Morgan county. The minutes of the church show they were received into full communication and membership only upon "acquaintance, information, and examination."¹⁸ The numbers assigned to them were forty-nine for Edwards and fifty for Eleanor.¹⁹ In addition to being a church member Edwards appears to have been fanatical on the question of prohibition as all his papers are permeated with articles denunciatory to liquor of all types. However stout Edwards' personal feelings were toward liquor, his business sense permitted him to carry advertisements in his columns for "well rectified whiskey"²⁰ Politically, Edwards was an extremist. His well-cultivated Whig sympathies never permitted him to give an inch before the democratic attack and one of his greatest joys was hurling verbal brickbats at editors of democratic sheets. His knowledge of right and wrong seems to have been absolute and unquestionable and his sense of social order and justice well developed. All in all he seems to have been a man of decided opinion, of great personal vigor, of staunch religious convictions, and of a certain amount of editorial skill. Despite all these attributes, however, his professional life, like his printing ventures, was a failure.

¹⁸This Journal. Vol. XVIII. No. 1. April 1925. p. 153.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 157.

²⁰Western Observer. 10 July 1830.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SPONSORED BY THE WILL COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the invitation of the Will County Historical Society delivered in May, 1929, at our annual meeting, a special meeting of the Society, sponsored by the Will County Historical Society was held in Joliet, Illinois, October 30-31, 1929.

The Will County Historical Society provided the following interesting program, which was carried out as planned, and proved that the County Historical Societies affiliated with the State Historical Society are doing interesting historical research, and we are glad, indeed, to assist them in any way we can to increase the study of Illinois history throughout the State, by holding these special meetings.

PROGRAM.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 30; 1:30 P. M.

Open Air Concert—12:00 o'clock Noon—Public Library
Joliet Township High School Band of 100 pieces.

Song—"America"

Led by Prof. J. M. Thompson, Supt. Joliet Grade School
Music.

Invocation

Rev. J. W. Lowery, Joliet.

Opening Greetings

H. E. Baldwin, President Will County Historical Society.

Welcome to the City

Mayor George F. Sehring,

John H. Morrison, President Joliet Chamber of Commerce.

Responses

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago,
President of Illinois State Historical Society
John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, Vice-President.

Introductions

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Presiding.
Prof. Theodore C. Pease, Assistant Director Historical
Survey, University of Illinois.
Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Secretary-Treasurer Illinois
State Historical Society.

Address—"Landmarks of the Chicago Portage of the Seven-
teenth Century," With Pictures.

Dr. Lucius H. Zeuch, Chicago Historical Society.

Address—"Pre-History in Will County."

Written by Mr. George Langford, Joliet.
Read by James C. Bell, Joliet, Director Historical Re-
search Will County Historical Society.

Song

Led by Prof. J. M. Thompson.

Adjournment.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

7:30 O'CLOCK

JOLIET CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Presiding.

Music—7:30 o'clock

Joliet Township High School Orchestra of 75 Pieces.

Invocation—8:00 o'clock

Rev. Walter H. Macpherson, Pastor Universalist Church,
Joliet.

Song

Mr. George A. Brewster, Joliet.

Address—"New Data on the Life of Shabbona, The Friendly Indian."

Dr. W. E. Walsh, Morris, Ill.

Introducing Chief Shabbona in Full Indian Costume.

Leading Parade of a Group of Ladies in Pioneer Dress, in a Beauty Contest with Shabbona's Wife in Typical Indian Garb. There will also be some Indian Maidens.

Shabbona Selects the Handsomest Woman.

Introduction—Hon. Elbert Waller, Tamaroa, Ill.

By Hon. Richard J. Barr, Senator of 41st District.

Address—"Historical Facts and Objects and Their Permanent Preservation to Mark Progress of Communities."

Hon. Elbert Waller, Tamaroa, Ill.,
Member of the Illinois House of Representatives and
Author of History of Illinois.

Song

Mr. George A. Brewster, Joliet.

Remarks

By Supt. W. W. Haggard, Joliet Township High School.

Presentation of Life Membership Certificates to Members of the Will County Historical Society.

Singing

Led by Prof. J. M. Thompson.

Public Reception

Light Refreshments to Guests of the Evening.

Adjournment.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

OCTOBER 31; 9:00 A. M.

PUBLIC LIBRARY AUDITORIUM

Singing

Led by Prof. J. M. Thompson.

Invocation

Rev. Edward E. Hastings, Pastor, Central Presbyterian Church.

Address—"Unusual Things in County History"

August Maue, Supt. Will County Schools, Joliet.

Address—"Abraham Lincoln; Land Owner and Investor,"

Mr. Paul M. Angle, Secretary Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois.

Songs

Mrs. Wm. C. Godden, Joliet.

Address—"Illinois' Part in the Revolution."

Mr. John H. Hauberg, Rock Island.

Address—"Co-operation of the High School With the Historical Society."

Miss Elizabeth Barnes, Historical Department of Joliet Township High School.

Songs

Mrs. Wm. C. Godden, Joliet.

Remarks

By J. Ambrose Perrin, Supt. Joliet Grade Schools.

Address—"Historical Spots, Deep Waterway and City Parks,"

Col. Fred Bennitt, Joliet.

Singing

Led by Prof. J. M. Thompson.

Adjournment.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON

1:30 P. M.

Reception and Inspection of Collection of Relics in the Will
County Historical Museum,

Mrs. Rena Barickman, Custodian.

J. B. Gurney, Assistant.

Automobile Drive to Historical Spots, Deep Waterway and
Parks.

Col. Fred Bennitt.

James C. Bell.

MARISSA CHAPTER, D. A. R., UNVEILS MARKER TO JOHN STEELE.

CORA WHITE MCCLINTOCK, SECRETARY.

On November 2, 1929, the Marissa Chapter of the D. A. R. unveiled a marker which they had placed on the grave of John Steele, in the cemetery at Steeleville, Illinois.

On this beautiful autumn day, in the presence of the Chapter and a number of descendants of this Revolutionary hero and their friends, this program was carried out, as arranged by Mrs. J. A. Campbell, Chairman of the Committee for the Marking of Historical Spots.

Bugle Call.....Wesley Neilson
Salute to the Flag.....Chapter
Prayer.....Mrs. John Nixon, Chaplain
Address of Welcome.....Mrs. G. F. Dryden, Regent
"America"By Assemblage
Biography of John Steele.....Harold Welge
Work of the D. A. R.....Mrs. S. S. Boyle
Tribute to the Pioneers.....Att'y Millard McMurdo
Unveiling of Marker.....

.....Phyllis McMurdo and Joe Glenn
Wreath Placed on Grave.....Edward Welge
Taps.....Bugler, Wesley Neilson

Attorney McMurdo of Marissa is a great-grandson of John Steele, while Harold and Edward Welge and Joe Glenn of St. Louis, and Phyllis McMurdo, of East St. Louis, are great-great-great-grandchildren. Two members of the D. A. R. Marissa Chapter, Mrs. Isa McMurdo Marshall and Miss Nellie Steele, are descendants of John Steele.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

John Steele, at whose grave we stand, was the son of Samuel and Sarah Hunter Steele.

His ancestors were Scotch and emigrated to this country about the year 1750, settling in Orange, now Rockbridge County, Virginia. They came to America from the North of

Ireland, having been driven out of that country on account of their religious belief. They were Scotch Presbyterians and upon arriving in Virginia became members of the New Province or Presbyterian Church. Here they could worship God in spirit and in truth and not be punished for it.

John was born in Virginia about the year 1755.

He assisted in establishing American Independence in the capacity of a soldier with the Virginia forces during the war of the Revolution, serving as Ensign and Second Lieutenant with the Ninth Virginia. He was transferred to the First Virginia in the year 1778; becoming first lieutenant in the year 1781. He later became Captain, commanding an independent company under the immediate command of General George Washington. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, May 12th, 1780.

At the close of the War he removed to Tennessee where he lived until the year 1807 when he came, with his wife Mary and their seven children, to Illinois.

They came by wagon route, pushing far beyond the settlements already made, and located in what is now Randolph County, forming the nucleus of a settlement now known as Steelesville.

In your mind's eye can you not picture him as he fells the trees and builds the log hut which is to bear the sacred name of home, and see him as he improves the land with the crude instruments of those early days, with no neighbors or friends near to share the joy of progress or the many hardships he had to endure? Like the sturdy oak he stood alone for *he* was a pioneer. He died September 11, 1820, and was buried here by the side of his wife who preceded him to the grave the year before and who had shared with him the experiences of the pioneer days, now long, long passed.

As a descendant of this man of self reliance and courage I bring today a tribute of honor, and pledge anew my allegiance to the country which he served; ever holding in reverence his memory and the priceless gift of freedom which he helped to bring to us.

NECROLOGY

ELAM LEWIS CLARKE

1861-1929

Mr. Elam Lewis Clarke, a prominent lawyer of Waukegan, Illinois, passed away at his home, on May 14, 1929, following a sudden attack of pneumonia.

Mr. Clarke was born at Waukegan on October 7, 1861, the son of Isaac Lewis and Lemina Mead Deane Clarke. Isaac Lewis was head of the Waukegan Academy when the Civil war broke out, and after helping organize the 96th Illinois regiment, left for the field of battle, when Elam was only a few months old. He was killed at the battle of Chicamauga in 1863.

Mrs. Clarke took her son to Grafton, Vermont, where he spent his boyhood, living with his grandparents. He attended the Vermont Academy, afterward going to Dartmouth, and later to Brown University, where he was graduated in 1885. He then studied law in the office of his uncle, Francis Clarke, at Waukegan. After his admission to the Bar he entered the law offices of Grant, Northrup & Brady in Chicago, but after some years returned to Waukegan to take over the practice of his uncle who had died.

As a lawyer his abilities were far above the average, especially as a chancery lawyer, as a counselor, and in the Probate Courts. He was not only a lawyer, but he was a scholar, a voracious reader, and had a wonderful fund of general knowledge outside of the practice of law.

Chief among his personal attributes and characteristics, which were outstanding, were his unfailing courtesy and his ability to listen. He was a representative citizen—the last word in citizenship and square dealing.

Mr. Clarke was a devoted husband and father, and took great pleasure in his home. He loved his flowers and he loved his books. He was always ready to lay aside his own duties

at the call of public service. He served on the school board, the library board, and the Constitutional Convention. He held memberships in the Lake County Bar Association, Illinois State Bar Association, Waukegan Elks Club, Rotary Club and University Club. He was also an interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

His was truly a successful life.

Mrs. Clarke and two children, Lewis D. Clarke and Sylvia Clarke survive him.

Memorial services for Mr. Clarke were held in the Circuit Court Room in the Court House in Waukegan, on May 27, 1929.



PROFESSOR E. C. PAGE

EDWARD CARLTON PAGE**1863-1929**

Professor Edward Carlton Page, one of the Associate Editors of the Illinois State Historical Society Journal, and a member of the Advisory Commission of the Illinois State Historical Library, passed away at his home in DeKalb, Illinois, on December 25, 1929. His death was caused by pneumonia.

Mr. Page was educated at Mount Morris College, Northwestern University, receiving his degree of A. B. in the class of 1888, and attended the University of Chicago from 1894-99, teaching in the University while studying.

On July 9, 1899, he was married to Janet Clive Gloss of Evanston, Illinois, who survives him. In September, 1899, Mr. Page became the head of the Department of History in the Northern Illinois State Normal School, and later, head of the Department of Social Science in the Northern Illinois State Teachers' College.

After graduating from the Northwestern University in 1888, he was, for several years, Assistant County Superintendent of Schools of Ogle county. While there he decided to devote his life to the teaching and interpretation of History. To make History "live" was his ambition.

In 1912 he organized the "Working Museum of History," the most unique type of museum in the world. He used this daily in his classes as a means of making History real. In this he was among the first to adopt Visual Education. The Museum attained national and international fame.

Mr. Page was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The American Historical Association, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Illinois State Historical Society, The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Numismatic Association.

Service was the keynote of Professor Page's life, whether in school, in church, or in the community, and he gave himself unstintedly to this service.

WILLIAM M. HOPPE.**1874-1929.**

Mr. William M. Hoppe was the son of Hugo and Mary Hoppe, well-known residents of Belleville, Illinois. He was born in the city of Belleville on November 19, 1874, and received his education in the public schools. He was then employed as a railroad clerk for the Illinois Central Railroad at East St. Louis. Mr. Hoppe served in the Spanish-American war in 1898. In 1900 he went into the insurance business, and the year following, on September 18, 1901, he was married to Miss Anabel Stanley. From this union came two children, namely, Miss Anabel E. Hoppe and Mrs. Mary Davidson, the wife of Lieutenant H. G. Davidson.

He conducted a prosperous insurance agency up to the time of his death, which occurred on December 31, 1929. By close application to business he built up a business reputation in the city of his birth, and his energy in attending to business affairs was unflagging, while at the same time he took an interest in civic matters.

Mr. Hoppe was an interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The widow and the two daughters survive him, and also his aged mother.

GEORGE MURRAY McCONNEL
1833-1930

George Murray McConnell was born in Jacksonville, Illinois, on December 23, 1833, and died in Indianapolis, Indiana, on January 27, 1930. He was the second son of Murray McConnell and Mary Mapes McConnell, his wife. His father, Murray McConnell, was one of the founders and very early residents of Jacksonville, and resided there until his death in 1869.

George Murray McConnell grew up in Jacksonville, and later in his life there, served the city as councilman and Mayor for a number of years. He held degrees from Illinois College there, Union College at Schenectady, New York, and Dane College of Law at Harvard University. After practicing law with his elder brother for two years in Jacksonville, he acquired a dislike for the profession, and after some unprofitable ventures in business, went into banking and followed that until leaving Jacksonville in 1875 he went to Chicago and into newspaper life where he served for many years on the Chicago Times under Wilbur F. Storey, as literary and dramatic critic, afterward following this general course in connections with metropolitan newspapers in New York and Boston. His last continuous service in newspaper work was in the same sort of writing with the Chicago Chronicle where he remained until the Chronicle ceased publication in 1905.

During the civil war he early served the Union cause as a sort of "drill master" for companies of youths from which many went into active service at the front. Later, President Lincoln tendered him a commission as Major in the Paymaster's Department, which he accepted and served for the remaining years of the war in that capacity, being mustered out at the close.

Until the last few years of his life he was a hard and conscientious worker, serving those in whose service he labored

well and faithfully. His writings necessarily as a newspaper man were voluminous, though he found time during those years to write and have published in book form several volumes on different subjects. He also contributed more or less to the columns of the Illinois State Historical Society Journal, having been a member of the Society almost from its organization.

He was possessed of a fund of knowledge, information and anecdote, concerning early days in Illinois which few now living men can claim.

He was united in marriage on January 8, 1857, to Maria A. Gillette of Jacksonville, whose father, Dr. Bezaliel Gillette and family were also among the very early residents of the city, and from that union eight children were born, of whom four now survive.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless, 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-35. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1928. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II, Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Out of Print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

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REFERENCES TO ILLINOIS IN FRENCH-CANADIAN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

By The HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL,
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A few years ago, the Province of Quebec published four quarto volumes intituled *Collection de Manuscrits contenant Lettres, Mémoires et Autres Documents Historiques relative a la Nouvelle-France* and containing many official documents in the Archives of Quebec with some others, copies of which were procured in France.

Examining these beautiful and interesting volumes for another purpose, I found some references to Illinois; and it occurred to me that they might be found of some interest to my friends in Illinois.

The series begins with 1497 but the first reference I find to Illinois is in 1677 in an official despatch from Paris, April 28, by the celebrated Colbert to Jacques Duchesneau, who had in 1675 been sent out as Intendant and second in rank only to the Governor, Frontenac and the Bishop, de Laval.

The sentence reads: "His Majesty (i. e. Louis XIV) does not wish to give Sieur Jolliet, the permission he asks to go and establish himself with twenty men in the country of the Illinois. It is necessary to increase the inhabitants of Canada before thinking of other places and that you should use as a maxim in respect of the discoveries that are made": Vol. 1, p. 262. It will be remembered that Louis Jolliet (a native-born Canadian) had been sent on a voyage of discovery, especially to ascertain the course of the Mississippi, by Frontenac in 1673, and that he traversed much of the western country, including what is now Illinois, Indiana and Iowa—it was at the village of Peoria that his expedition was met by four old men with the pipe of peace and the greeting "We are Illinois: We welcome you." Illinois courtesy is not a thing of yesterday.

Some seven years later, November 19, 1684, de Callières, who in that year had replaced Perrol as Governor of Montreal, wrote from that place to the Minister in Paris.

"The peace made with the Iroquois by M. de la Barre will not be of long duration: the English of New England and New York are egging them on . . . they may attack the Illinois and wish to leave not one alive . . .". Vol. 1, p. 333.

Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre, an old sailor, had succeeded Frontenac as Governor of Canada in 1682: war was already on between the Illinois and the Five Nations; he could get only 150 soldiers from France, and peace was made in September, 1684; but the Court was not satisfied with it and la Barre was recalled for "his disgraceful peace and the abandonment of the Illinois."

By this time, of course, La Salle had succeeded with his faithful Tonty in exploring the Mississippi to the sea to the joy of his master Louis XIV, after whom he called the immense territory Louisiana.

Passing over a couple of references of no importance, we come to 1715: the King writes to M. de Ramesay, the Governor *ad interim*, from Morly, July 10:

"His Majesty is informed that the English have sent as far as the Mississippi, even to the Nakés, to the Illinois and to the Miamis and that they have done everything possible to form an alliance with them. His Majesty has provided for the safety of part of the River Mississippi by a reinforcement of two companies of fifty men each which he has sent to Louisiana and the orders he has given Sieur de la Motte Cadillac to establish a Post among the Nakés (Naquis) and another at Wabash under the orders of Sieur de Bienville, Lieutenant of the King.

"But as these precautions will become useless if the English establish themselves among the Illinois and the Miamis, His Majesty desires that Sieur de Ramesay send a prudent and experienced officer with 8 or 10 soldiers to occupy the old Fort which is among the Illinois and remain there to keep that nation and the Miamis in the alliance with the French

and prevent them assisting the interests of the English or having commerce with them. By that means, free communication will be kept up between Canada and Louisiana and that is very important. Use may be made of the canoes which go up (i. e. for trading) to make that little establishment cost His Majesty nothing." Vol. III, pp. 13, 14.

The last quotation I make is from a Journal of the year 1747—the author seems to be unknown, but apparently the document was official, and probably de Beauharnois, the Governor, was responsible for it.

Under date, November 23, we read: "We receive news from Detroit the news from the Illinois is equally interesting: Monsieur le Chevalier Berthet, Commandant, writes us from Caskaquias, August 11; it appears by his despatch that a great deal of trouble has been raised in that quarter—it appears, in fact, that since the irruptions of the Hurons of Detroit, all the other nations following their example are disquieted and wish to take part with them. . . ."

A précis of the despatch follows from which it appears that at the end of July three strange Indians came to the Illinois from Fond du Lac, bringing an English token and message in the name of the Iroquois, Hurons, Abenakis and all the nations of the Wabash, inviting the Illinois to abandon the French or it would be fatal for them: or if they did not wish to get rid of the French, themselves to separate and go to "the Caskias," and then they (the other Indians) would come and destroy the French—then the English would come to the Illinois and abundantly supply their wants. The Illinois were about agreeing when M. de Berthet was informed of the design; he sent for the three strangers, but they refused to come and the Illinois backed them in their refusal. The Illinois promised the Commandant, however, to tell him everything that should be said—the Commandant finding that they broke their word, called them to an assembly and told them he knew everything, that they could not hide anything from him; and they after consideration, believed him! They gave him the token, a shell (wampum) a pipe and tobacco;

he gave this back on the spot and told them to return it to those who had brought it. One of the three Indians took it, but was not willing to take it to those who had sent him—he said he was ashamed to carry it, that he was an Illinois and would stay with his people.

De Berthet had been informed by a Huron that the Illinois and other nations had taken up the tomahawk against the French and intended to drive out all the French Posts, beginning with the Illinois country—they would start at August Full Moon, and if they did not succeed then they would the following spring.

The Commandant would have no fears of checking the movement if he had plenty of certain merchandise, but unfortunately neither the royal magazine nor the merchants had an ell of cloth, or any munitions of war to defend themselves with in case of attack, and this he said “forced him to unite all his forces of the village of ‘Caskaynias’ (*sic*) and abandon the other Posts in the country to the discretion of the Indians.” He had received no assistance from New Orleans for 15 months and did not know if it had been taken by the English. He waited for assistance from Louisiana till the end of the autumn, and then applied for assistance to de Longueuil at Detroit, he was afraid that he would not receive it as he had learned that the Chawenons established at Wabash and other Indians were going to the Mississippi to lie in wait for it.

He awaited it, however, knowing that once the English got possession of the country they would bring the Indians over to their interests and easily possess themselves of the whole Colony of Louisiana.

He had sent to New Orleans, three of the principal chiefs of the Illinois to see M. de Vaudreuil in order to gain time and check the evil designs of the English. Vol. III, pp. 363-365.

If we only could discover all the facts, the story of Illinois on the Mississippi would be recognized as of enthralling interest.

THE FIRST BRITISH BISHOP OF QUEBEC AND THE CATHOLICS OF KASKASKIA.

By THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL,
LL. D., F. R. H. S., &c.

(Justice of Appeal, Ontario)

When during the Siege of Montreal by the British Forces under Amherst in 1760, Monseigneur Henri-Marie Dubreil de Pontbriand, by Divine Permission and Grace of the Holy See, Bishop of Quebec, died in the beleaguered city at the comparatively early age of 52, broken-hearted—for he had seen the fall of Quebec the year before after the ever-memorable Battle of the Plains of Abraham, and it was evident that Montreal and with it, all of Nouvelle France, must soon be surrendered to the conquering British—the Church in Canada lost its leader. De Vaudreuil, the Lieutenant of the King of France and Commandant at Montreal, when the time came for surrender, tried to obtain as one of the terms of capitulation, that even if Canada should remain British when peace came, the King of France should have the right to appoint the Bishop of Quebec. This, General Amherst peremptorily refused.

So long as Canada was only *de facto* and not *de jure* British, the Church had no thought of obtaining an occupant of the Episcopal Throne: but when peace was reestablished and by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, Canada was formally ceded and so became *de jure* and permanently British, steps were speedily taken to fill the vacancy.

The Chapter of the Cathedral at Quebec met for that purpose, and, September 15, 1763, unanimously elected Vicar-General Etienne Montgolfier, Bishop. Under the former regime, it was the King of France who had the right to designate the Bishop: but now no one could fill that or any other office without the approval of the Government at Westminster.

ster. It was of the last importance, too, to Britain that the Bishop with his enormous influence with the French Canadians, who were with almost negligible exceptions Catholics, should be a person who could be relied upon to reconcile them to the change of allegiance. Montgolfier was not such a man; and when he crossed the sea to England to solicit the approval of the British Government, he was met by despatches from the Governor, General James Murray, objecting to his appointment, and he failed.

He returned to Canada, and in view of the refusal of the Home Administration to accept him, resigned; at the same time he recommended the election of Jean-Olivier Briand, and Briand was unanimously elected by the Chapter, September 11, 1764.

He was a firm adherent of the British régime: born at Plerin in France, 1715, he had come to Canada with Monseigneur de Pontbriand in 1741, having been ordained Priest, two years previously, and was made a Canon of the Cathedral. After the Cession he had recommended himself to Governor Murray, and he was furnished by the Governor with a commendatory letter when in November, 1764, he left for London; thereafter considerable difficulty overcome largely by his own earnestness and bearing, he succeeded in obtaining approval of his election. Remained to obtain the assent and imprimatur of Rome: the Bull of January 21, 1766, "*Dilecto filio Joanni Olivario Briand, presbytero seculari, Electo Quebecensi*" was obtained, and March 16, 1766, he was consecrated by the Bishop of Blois in the Church of Sainte-Marie-de-Merri at Paris.

Arriving in his Diocese in June of the same year, he at once entered upon his episcopal duties. He was well acquainted with them, for in addition to his having enjoyed the close confidence till the hour of his death of his predecessor, Monseigneur de Pontbriand, he had on that prelate's death been chosen one of the Administrators of the Diocese.

And this Diocese of which he had now become the head was enormous, all of the old Quebec, what is now the Province

of Ontario, much of the present Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and down the Mississippi to and including Louisiana.

Monseigneur Briand, thus the first British Bishop of Quebec proved worthy of the trust placed in him by Murray and the British Government, he was instant in season and out of season in keeping his people loyal to British rule and, *inter alia*, it was largely due to him that Franklin and colleagues sent by the Continental Congress to bring Canadians into the Revolutionary fold made such a dismal failure of their important mission.

Worn by incessant labors, he obtained a Coadjutor in Monseigneur Mariauchau D'Esglis in 1770 but continued to perform certain duties until his death in 1794.

Many of his Mandements and Circular Letters are extant: and I have thought it might be of interest to the people of Illinois to transcribe a communication of his to his people at Kaskaskia.

It is in French. I translate as literally as the respective idioms of the two languages permit.

"Pastoral Letter to the Inhabitants of Kaskaskias, August 7, 1767.

"It is about two months ago, Our Very Dear Children that I wrote to Rev. Father Meurin to vest in him my powers as Grand Vicar. I am again writing him to confirm him in these anew: my intention is that you will obey him as you would myself and I am counting on sending you next Spring one or two missionaries to help to eradicate from among you the vices I know are abounding there for it has been given me to know that the spirit of piety is almost wholly extinct among you. When Father Meurin takes pains to visit you, several do not come to church or come only to show there, their want of respect, there are even in some of the parishes which he serves, recalcitrants who refuse to recognize him as their pastor, saying that he has no right to give them advice and they are not obliged to listen to him, others have had the temerity to get married without the blessing of the Priest

upon their marriage. I am writing to Father Meurin to put an end to these disorders, or rather, My Dear Children, it is to you yourselves, that I address myself with confidence, that is, to those among you who are the most Christian (for I have the consolation to learn that there are still among you families in which religion brightly shines), it is those, I say, that I wish to remind that Jesus Christ has entrusted to every one of us, the care of our neighbor. Labor then, to edify yourselves and to conduct yourselves well toward each other: you are fully conscious that the Holy Catholic religion in which you have had the happiness to be born will thrive among you only so far as you are kindly affectioned toward another and practise its precepts with zeal and spontaneity. I can no longer, as could have been done formerly, exercise holy violence toward transgressors by applying to the secular powers to force them to their duty; it is, then, for you, My Dear Children, for you to continue in the practice of the right and to prove by your respect for my Grand Vicar and by your obedience in practising his precepts, that it is not the fear of temporal punishment but the love of your religion and your desire for salvation by which you are animated.

“Moreover, I notify you that if you condemn the precepts I give you as your father, I shall hereafter pay no attention to your requests and I shall regard you as members of my Diocese who no longer deserve my attention: for you are to know that I am making a great effort in promising to send priests to you, every day I see the number of priests in my Diocese diminishing and I have but a very limited circle from which to supply them, demands are made upon me from all sides and I cannot satisfy them. I know not by what secret moving of the grace of God I find myself impelled to prefer you to many others. The salvation of your souls and the sad condition to which you have been for a long time reduced, have touched me and you present yourselves to my soul in a far more lively manner than if you had been under my eyes.” *Mandements des Evesques de Quebec* (Quebec 1888), Vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

MRS. CAROLINE PHELPS' DIARY.

LEWISTOWN, ILLINOIS, *March 2nd, 1830.*

Furnished by her Grand-daughter,
Mrs. J. T. Phelps Ewan.

I have concluded to keep a journal of my life as I have began with rather bad prospects—today is my wedding day. I am married privately, as all parties are opposed to it—we cross the street after dark to a hotel—the magistrate and five witnesses are present, as it was to be kept a secret, no person suspected it for some time—today, the fourth, Wm. starts away to St. Louis on a keel boat to get up goods for his Father and try to make something for ourselves as we had nothing but our clothes to begin the world with, and but very few of them. I now board at a hotel, a cousin of Wm. to work for my board—three weeks and Wm. returns from St. Louis after sinking his boat he got out most all of the goods and dryed them on the ground. You get them, then put them aboard of the boat and brought them to Lewistown..... first we started to Oquawka, we got about 8 miles from Lewistown and going through a creek the wagon box came off and Wm. was on one of the horses, the wheels come out from under the box. I was in it in the water. Wm. looked back after he was on the bank and says to me “What are you doing there?” As I had no oars I could not row to the shore. Wm. brought me one of the horses—the wagon box, I got on the horse and went to dry ground. I then held the horses til Wm. went to a house for help, a man soon came with him. They put all to rights and we started again. Night came, we could not get to a house, so we slept under our wagon that night, for my own part I did not sleep, I was not used to such fare. I caught a bad cold—next day went on and arrived at Oquawka at the house of Wm.’s brothers, we stayed here a few weeks. May 8th we went up the Mississippi on a steam

boat to the upper yellow banks, with a few goods to trade with the Indians, the goods belonged to S. S. Phelps, we built a small house at the mouth of the Iowa, a place for mosquitoes and frogs, the old Indian burying ground is here close by, and the town is a short distance from here. We had an interpreter that was drunk most of the time. We had not been long here when Wm.'s brother A. P. came after Wm. to go with him to Wisconsin river to raise lead out of the flat boat that was sunk. Wm. went and left me there with the interpreter, but the Indians acted so bad when drinking that I was a little afraid they might rob us. A young man then came from Oquawka only 20 miles. As I had written to my sister-in-law to tell her husband to send some here to take care of the house. I got sick with the fever and went down to Oquawka in a canoe with a squaw. I stayed 3 weeks. I then went home and in a few days Wm. came home, but so differently dressed and he had on a soldier's cap. I would not believe it was him till he came close to the house, his beard was an inch long, I think. He did not look like the same person he did when he went away.

We stayed here until the last of July. We then went to Lewistown, but before we started my father brought my sister to live with me. My father then went to Orleans, we all three went to Lewistown to stay. This was now the last month of September, we went to the Desmoin river to trade with the Indians, we went up the river about 90 miles camped with the Indians, we had only a small feather bed and two blankets and one quilt, one skillet and one trunk that was all we had of our own, the goods belonged to S. Phelps. Two men began to cut house logs to make a house, we lived in the little smoky camp and I had gotten poisoned coming here so my face and hands were swelled badly. I was one day sitting in the camp thinking what my Father had told me before I was married, it was about living in just such a place, he said Wm. was wild and careless and I would have to live like a squaw if I married him. I was thinking it all over to myself, when who should ride up to the camp but Father

himself. He came in and did not say much, but I thought his face looked sad and mournful. I gave him something to eat. He went out. Eliza my sister followed him. She came back and said Father was crying. I felt bad enough for I knew he was thinking what he had said to me. I appeared as cheerful as I could before him, only crying some when he did not see me. He stayed two days with us. When he started Eliza and myself went with him about a mile. We all sat down on a log and cried heartily. Before we parted he told me to be a mother and a sister to Eliza, my little sister then 11 yrs. old. I promised him I would take care of her as long as I could. We parted; he got on his horse after kissing both of us, he went along at a slow pace. Eliza and I still sat on the log, till he was most out of sight. He then looked back, his handkerchief to his eyes, it was the last time we ever saw our father. Eliza and I returned to our solitary Indian camp, nothing of much consequence happened for several days, we soon had our house finished, such a one as it was, a log cabin with rough puncheon floor, and no hearth, a small rock fire place, the house was cold enough the snow was very deep, 3 and 7 feet deep. We had but little provision and no place to get any nearer than Quincy, 80 or a hundred miles from here, and before spring we was entirely out and we might as well been out long before we was, for the flour was green and spoiled. I did not eat any for a long time before it was gone. I lived on parched corn and crab-apples for a long time. I never knew what it was to want for bread before now. I took many a little crying spell to think we were so poor. A man stopped at our house on his way up the river to see his brother who was an opposition fur trader, this trader had some biscuits with him. I wanted some very much but I was ashamed to ask for some. I thought he had more than he needed and, so when we went to sleep I went to his cakes and stole three and then went to bed and eat them, yes I stole them, blame if you please, but I assure you that never was bread so good as that, at least it tasted good to me. I dare not let Wm. know it for fear

he would scold me for stealing it, but after a long time I told him. He did not say very much. In the Spring I helped to pack the skins, as we had no man to help, Wm., I helped him myself, and by the time the ice was off of the river we were ready to go down, we loaded our boat and started with two Indians to help us. I steered the boat most of the way, it being a small keel boat. I blistered my hands steering. In three days we arrived at the mouth of the Desmoin river and we then camped at the Mississippi waiting for a steamboat, one came along on the second day we went on board and went up as far as the Yellow Banks. Wm. then went to Lewistown after a wagon, he was gone ten days when he did come the next day we started for Lewistown, 3 days we were going when we got there we went into an old log cabin at the lower end of town, I had no friends in town as Wm.'s had not made up with us for marrying. I had never seen any of them nor did not wish to. We had been in town about six weeks when one day Wm.'s mother paid us a visit. I treated her as if nothing had happened. She invited me to visit her. In a few days I went there, all was friendly, or appeared so from that time. Nothing of consequence happened this summer. In Sept. 1832 my oldest son was born in a few days after Wm. started to the Desmoin river and built a house, he then came back after me, my child was then six weeks old. We went in a wagon. We went through Macomb then to Nalec-trelle (?) We crossed the river Mississippi to Keokuk, we then went to sugar creek and could not cross for the high water: We camped out by a fire. The next morning Wm. crossed on some flood wood. He come up opposite the flood wood being half a mile down the stream. He hollowed over to me to lead one of the horses to the bank and make him swim over to him. I had caught cold in one of my eyes, it was swelled so bad I could not see out of it. I led the horse down to the bank close and Eliza whipped him the horse whirled and knocked me down and jumped over me, knocking one of his hind feed against my forehead. I was so stunned by the blow that I did not know anything for a few

minutes. My babe was lying by the fire. The horse ran right there and stopped in front of the child. Wm. ran down to the flood wood, crossed and came to me. Eliza had wiped the mud off my face and was raising me up as he came. I went to the fire and sat down and soon felt better. Wm. then crossed by swimming on horseback, he went to a house that was about 2 miles from the opposite side, he soon returned with two men to help us across. We all went down to the flood wood and went over, the men took the wagon to pieces and carried it over piece by piece. That night we stayed at Mr. Zollmans. We had a good supper and a good bed. The next morning I was quite refreshed. We then traveled by water in a canoe with some Indians. We got within 6 miles of home. We stayed all night at a Mr. Bedells. We fared pretty well there too. The next day we reached home with joy. My babe was not very well, but he soon got well. I had but little milk for my child. I had to feed him with soup. He disliked soup, but he grew to be a large fleshy child in a short time. I got along very well all winter, nothing of consequence happened till spring when my sufferings commenced, owing to the high water the ice blocked up below our house, the water rose right up in one hour, the Indians told me I had better be ready to start but I did not listen to them till the water burst through the back of the chimney. The floor was all swimming. I told Eliza to take my babe and go up to the hills if she could get there and she did by wading. I then gathered a few things and got the Indians to take them to a little hill where Eliza was. I got upon the table and stood till Wm. came to me as he was busy securing his goods and skins, he carried them out upon his back. The water was then above the top of the door. We bowed our heads under water, and went to the little hill. It was now dark and the water was most over this place, only fifteen inches and it pouring down rain. I saw a crooked tree that I expected to climb soon. Wm. sat on a log and marked the water, it kept about so for one hr. the ice then broke loose below, it fell as quick as could be. We slept none that night, nor for three

more nights. It rained incessantly. The ice ran down. We then loaded our boat and started out of the creek, where we was camped as we turned into the Desmoin the boat went under a tree top and like to took me off. I was sitting on the top in a chair, I dodged and lay flat down. It gave me a good scratching and took my chair off. We went down to Bedells, they had fled to the hills. We went on farther down and camped on the side of a steep hill, it rained, thundered and lightened and took off our tent in a hurricane. It was now dark and the fire all out. We could only see by the flashes of lightening the rain poured down in torrents. I sat up all night and held a blanket over my head to keep my child from drowning. He screamed most all night. He cried till he could cry no longer. I cried too, but it all did no good. I was then sick, being broke of my rest and being exposed to the cold so much. Welcome daylight came at last. I was most starved too. Eliza and myself went to an Indian camp about a half mile off to see if there was a squaw that would suckle my child, we got there and found one, the little fellow filled himself pretty soon. I asked them if they had anything to eat. The squaw then got some big blue beans, the largest I ever saw, they were about half cooked. I eat about a pint I think but not eating anything so long and not being used to such food, it made me sick. We then went to the boat. We all started down the Miss. We landed there about dark. We slept in an Indian camp till most day when a party of drunken Indians came from a little town, about five miles up the river. Wm. had gone there the evening before, so Eliza and myself and child was in the camp. Two men lay on the boat to watch the boat, so when the Indians came in at the door there was but one, I dodged out under the camp—Eliza and my child all got out just as the fire brands began to fly and the Indians began to fight wretchedly. I made my escape down to the boat, it was then getting daylight. Wm. returned the next day on a steamboat, it landed and took on board all the skins Wm. went to St. Louis with them, he hired some Indians to take up to town in a canoe.

We started but the water was so high and the current so strong and the grape vines so thick we could scarcely get along, we went in this canoe about 2 miles and a half, then went ashore and walked. I was so sick I could hardly get along, and old Indian carried my child on his back. We went up a cliff or hill of rocks and cedar bushes to pull up by the bushes gave way and I rolled down I don't how far, and injured my nose; it bled all over my clothes. It was now dark and about a mile yet. I was fatigued. I thought I never would get there, by this time my dress was covered with blood and my face and hands besmeared all over, we got to town about nine o'clock in the evening. The folks had just gone to bed. I was glad of it, for they did not see me. I went to the door and called the landlord. He got up and lit a candle and showed me where to sleep, as Wm. had spoke to him about my coming, he had saved a bed for me. I soon went to bed, but was too tired to sleep. Next morning I was in a high fever, I did not get up nor eat anything for 11 days, only a little tea. My fever continued all the time, both my breasts broke three times, the 15th day I hired a horse and got on with help, Eliza behind me, I carried my child in my lap and rode ten miles to a Drs. house an old acquaintance of ours. I then felt as tho' I were at home. He doctored me till I got considerable better, when one night about midnight a steamboat came along and Wm. was aboard. He came ashore with the yawl I had not hardly time to dress, we went on board and landed at Oquawka 1832—in a few days we were on our way to Lewistown, three days traveling in a wagon over rough road and sleeping out nights. I caught another cold and was very sick when we got to Lewistown, so that I could hardly get out of the wagon alone. I had a high fever and was under the Drs. care 5 weeks. I had more difficulty with my breasts. Oh, what horrid sufferings I endured in that time.

As soon as I recovered my health a little, we moved to our house in the lower part of town. Nothing of much consequence for 2 months when the Black Hawk war broke out,

such a fuss coming to town—most all the women went to Wm.'s fathers it being the best and largest in town; women came crying, some on horseback, some on foot, all bringing a bundle. One woman came in town with a pair of twins in her lap, 2 children behind her and one on the horses neck, they were setting on a featherbed that was thrown on the horse without a saddle. And numbers of others in a similar fix. The women crying, the men some of them bragging and some preparing to meet the enemy, and some playing ball. All was a confusion for about 3 months, or pretty much all summer. In September William started again to the Desmoin river and left me in Lewistown. I stayed here all winter without hearing a word from him. In March 1833 he sent a man after me with a wagon. He was there at the rapids, on the Mississippi. I went there and found him gone down to the foot of the rapids, there was no one there but some Indians and them drunk, one of them came to me and asked for tobacco. He looked so queer I could not help but laugh at him, he was mad in a minute. He got hold of an iron wedge and came at me. I dodged into a corner, he was just in the act of striking me when another Indian caught hold of his arm and took him off out the door and put him in a canoe and tied him. There happened to be some sober ones amongst them or I should of been alarmed some.

In the evening Wm. came home with two or three others. This is a place of considerable company, and my health is quite poor. I am hardly able to cook for so many, and I would not if we could get a girl to help me. I done the housework until I got down sick. Wm. then went over to get a girl. He brought one home and the other went home. It is a busy time with steamboats. The water is low on the rapids and the boats have to stop here to lighten over the rapids and the cholera has just broke out, steamboats land and put off the dead, the firemen just dig a hole and throw them in. The first day of July a steamboat came up the passengers all out on the fore end of the boat, there was cholera aboard, the corpses on the upper deck and some dying on the lower

deck. They landed and buried 2 then went 8 miles and buried 3 more. Everything looked solemn. I conceited I was taking it several times, I felt so bad, I could not work thinking what a time it is. We went on board of a boat and went to St. Louis in hopes of change of scene, but everything appeared as gloomy there as at home, we then returned home, and in a few weeks we went to Lewistown again and took our hired girl home. My sister Eliza, the winter before got married, she had not been married six months, she went home with me to the rapids, as soon as we got there we packed up to move to the Desmoin river. Wm. built a house and we traded with the Indians, nothing of much consequence happened that fall and winter. In the spring we moved down about 3 miles to Sweet Home, a place laid off in a town. We built another house (My sister's husband came after her and took her to Lewistown or below on Spoon river) there and one over the river opposite to trade with the Indians and whites—our store was frequently broken open and sometimes—and goods stolen. In Sept. 1833 my daughter Emily was born. I had to feed her with a bottle all winter. In May 1833 we went to Lewistown again. I saw Eliza and all the other folks I used to know there. We returned home again by swimming all the creeks. I soon heard that Eliza had moved to Dubuque, and that she had a young daughter a namesake of mine. Now the American fur Co. and the Phelps' have joined partnership and Wm. had concluded to move away up to Desmoin, we pack all our things aboard the keel boat and myself and black Charlotte go on back with two children and an Indian Jake West goes before on foot driving a cow and every night we stay with the boat, in 8 days we got above the white settlement. We then had to follow a little Indian road or trail. The 10th we got to our Indian trading house, we stayed here 3 days we then rode to the Indian village about 30 miles. The next day the boat came along. I had eat nothing but dried meat for several days. We then went to the boat and got some bread and meat and then traveled on, that night we slept in the boat, the next morning we all started again but

our little road led us back so far from the river that we had to go without our dinners, but we had plenty of plumbs to eat, we got to the boat about dark and eat our suppers and went to bed, we traveled every day in this way, nothing of much consequence happened for several days, till the 20th day, when our cow took fright at some soldiers and ran off, our Indian guide after her, we then got lost or lost our own trail, but we were going on in the direction we had been when we met the 300 soldiers. They also had an Indian guide, the old Indian rode up to me and asked me where I was going. I told him I was going up the river to see the Sioux. He said I was crazy and that I would be killed certainly. The soldiers struck up their music and went on, as they came past me my horse like to have thrown me off, they were some distance off too. I was bewildered, so I did not know the right way. We hunted for the trail till most dark. I then took a course for the river. We got down in the river bottom but the vines and bushes was so thick and it was now dark we stopped and listened and hollowed or called our folks at last we heard the horn, we went straight as we could to the river. We was about half a mile below the boat, we lost no time in going to it, we traveled on then for several days, when one day the black girl fell off her horse with my youngest child in her arms, she did not get hurt but my child's shoulder was put out of place. I got off my horse as quick as I could, went to her, when I took hold of her the shoulder slipped back to its place, I heard the joint crack. My child was quite unwell for several days, had some fever. In 2 days more we got to the place we were going to stay, there was some old trading houses we went into. The first of Oct. our men went up the river farther and built a house to trade with the Indians. In a few weeks they came back with the boat, in a few days they started down the Mississippi after more goods and provisions. Wm. stayed at home with me this time. It is getting cold weather, the boat gets most up or about 50 miles below and froze up. Our black girl got lonesome and wanted to go down the river. Wm. had some business down

at Sweet home and so while he was there he let our girl go to the man that owned her husband, he came home with Wm. after her. I was then quite lonesome myself. I used to ride on horseback every day, through the woods, sometimes to hunt hickory nuts. I was one day gathering some walnuts and singing away to keep from being lonesome when I saw the largest bear coming right at me as I thought. I could see his eyes through the vines, his ears stuck up and he made no noise. I left my bag and ran to my horse got on and soon got home. I was rather cautious how I ventured out alone afterwards. In Feb. 1836 Wm. had business at Sweet Home, while he was gone away, the Indians had come to rob the house for they were the rebel band or the remnants of the Black Hawk war and they had robbed several other trading houses I expected they had come for that purpose, but they ordered me to go in the store and get pipes and tobacco. I thought they just wanted to get the door open and then all rush in. I told them I did not like to go in the store then two of the braves said they would burst open the door. I said nothing for some time, then the chief came to me and said if I would go in and get pipes and tobacco and something for them to eat he would stand in the door and keep the others out. I then went in and got some pipes and tobacco and some flour and some venison and some honey. They smoked and eat and then went on, they were going to fight if they could find their enemy, they went on as far as the forks of the coon river and saw fires in the prairie, they knew the Sioux had been there but a little while before, just as they were counselling what do do a runner came to them and told them the Sioux had killed some of their tribe over on Cedar river, they then returned back afraid to go on, they said they would wait till Spring and then go and fight them, the 5th day of March the ice was all out of the river and the men all started down after the keel boat. Wm. hired a little Indian boy to stay with me, but he was so afraid of the Sioux he kept hiding under the floor every noise the dogs made. We are getting pretty scarce of provisions, we had some honey

and corn, the 5th day the boy left me, so I was along with my two little children, and a big black dog, was all and the wolves howled tremendously every night. I had shut up the dog in the house for fear the wolves would tear him up, they were large black wolves and by the noise I guess there was about a thousand, they came to the door and took meat that hung on a pole by the side of the door. The window was over the top of the door, or I would not of kept the dog in, he could see them through the cracks of the door. I then blindfolded the dog and held the door, it was this way every night for sometime. In eleven days the men came up with the boat. The next day we loaded and started down. We got ten miles and then camped, the Indians killed a goose that evening and gave it to us, the men cooked it or broiled it, but it was so tough I could not eat it for fear of breaking my teeth out, we had a little bread which I saved for my children. The current run swift, we soon got down to a trading house, it was at the Indian town or opposite. We expected to live here sometime, we moved into the house and the next day Wm. started down to the Miss. there to take a steamboat to St. Louis. When Wm. came home I went down to Sweet Home. It is now eleven months since I saw a white woman. It seemed quite natural to visit there again. I stayed two weeks, when there came along some squaws in a canoe. I got in with them and started up the river. I slept at white peoples houses as far as they lived up the river. The squaws had whiskey along. We got up to some Indian camps about sun down and stopped to stay all night. I tried to persuade them to go on farther but they were determined to stop and get drunk, which they soon did and several others. About dark they commenced fighting and the fire brands flew every which way. I went off with my two children and set down on a log and was crying when an old squaw which I had befriended several times (by letting her have flour and meat) came to me and said I must sleep at her camp. I went there and fixed a place for my children to lay down. I sat up all night and kept the dogs off of them (any person that never

was at an indian camp had no idea what a parcel of little nasty mangy dogs they have). The next day about 11 my company was sober enough to start, but before we had started my boy and a little indian boy got to fighting about a pen-knife, the indian boy got it away from my boy and stabbed my boy in the knee or just above the knee. It bled very much. I tied it up with my handkerchief and we then went on. I told the squaws that if they would push on and get home quick I would pay them more and give them as much as they could eat. The next day we got home, I paid them. My boy had fever, but I attended to him and soon cured him. In June I went to the Miss. in a canoe with some half white men he was half Chipewa. We went to the Miss. I went to a tavern where there was some Western people lived, they never had seen many Indians and they were afraid to let them sleep in the house for fear they would steal something. I told them landlady I would pay for everything they stole that night and it was raining hard or I would have told the Indians to go and camp out, but as they had come with me they thought I might buy them some bread and meat, which I did. The landlord consented for the Indians to sleep in the house. The next morning they started as soon as it was light, when the landlord got up he could not find his hat, he soon said the indians had stolen it, pretty soon out came one of his boys and said their ax was gone, it was all laid to the indians and I was expected to pay them. They looked around to see if anything more was missing, when they found the hat, and the boy found the ax, so the indians were excused. We all had a hearty laugh about it. The mosquitos were very loud and they had no bars. I did not pretend to sleep, I sat up and fanned my children all night. I don't know how the others slept under quilts as they did, for the weather was extremely warm. The landlady guessed they would have to buy some bars sometime, I thought to myself I would like to get away soon, but that night the same, the next night a steamboat came along. I went on board and in two days landed at Oquawka. I went to S. Phelps' and stayed 5 days. I then

went to A. Phelps' house and stayed there some time. On July 17th my son Charles was born. The day Oquawka was laid off in town lots, there were hundreds of people there, some buying lots and others were spectators, in three weeks I was about to start home. I was waiting for a boat to come down when we saw one coming up. It landed and Wm. came up to the house. He had come after me, in about 3 hrs. one came down. We went on board and went down to Keokuk a little town at the foot of the Rapids, we went on shore there and went to the tavern, Campbells Tavern, the most unkind unfeeling people I have ever seen or met with, I was feeble and sick, and walking from the boat up to the house tired me so I almost fainted as soon as I got in the house, I would of laid down on the carpet, but the little girl said lay on my trundle bed, which I did. Mrs. Connell came in the room and said I was most always sick she believed, I expect she thought I would be so sick I could not go away soon, as I was once before on the night my nose bled all over me. I had to stay there 15 days that time) but I was determined to go the next day if I was alive. We went to St. Louis or somewhere else, he did not wish to go in a canoe up the Desmoin river, he hired one Jake West, an indian and a frenchman to take the canoe up the Desmoin I stayed at white peoples houses every night, till we got home one night. We stopped at some old miserly peoples' house where they did not want us to stay, they said they did not want sick folks, then it was dark and we could not go any further as this was the last house and I was afraid to sleep out doors. I went up to the house and told them I was not sick, and tried to act as tho' I were not, when I could hardly sit up. I bought some milk and bread for my children. I could not eat anything. I went to bed on the floor. The frenchman and Indian slept in the canoe. The next morning, we went on that day, Jake West got drunk. We had to hire two winebagoes to help us, they could talk a little sac language, so we could make them understand, the next day we got to a trading house, the next we tried to get

home, the men worked hard all day, about sun down there came up a thunder storm, the wind blew as hard as I ever knew it to, it was not dark and 5 miles yet to go, it was very dark, we could see by the continual flashes of lightening. The wind blew so hard I was afraid we would turnover. I told the Indians to jump out and hold the canoe, which they did, the water was shallow so they walked along and pulled the canoe after them, we went a good ways this way till we had to cross the river. I told them to paddle hard so we could get over to the other shore before another gust of wind came up. We got over and went along close to the shore, we could not hardly tell the place where our house was, when it lightened we saw the path up to the hill. I got out and told the indians to bring my other children, I went up to the house without my bonnet, as I had lost it overboard. I went in the house and the floor was covered with Indians and squaws. I got one of them to light a candle. I then fixed my bed and laid down. It was 1 o'clock. I slept till morning and when I got up I was quite refreshed. I was quite feeble for several days tho'. I thought the wetting I had gotten would make me sick, but it did not, for I soon got my health quite well again. I was better than I had been for 3 years before. Wm. came home and the next day we all went over the river to see the indian dance, while we were there my little girl ran through some fire, she was barefooted and burned her feet badly, we went across the river home. I got an Indian doctor to cure my child's feet, in a few days we went over again. I left my children at home with the black girl we had hired, we went to see them dance again. They all danced around the young men before and the girls behind them, they had two drums and some whistles, and some gourds with shot in them.

They would shake them it would be one continual noise. They had four puppies killed and laid on a piece of scarlet cloth on the ground, the puppies feet were tied with blue ribbon, their noses painted red, they all danced around those puppies and sprinkled tobacco on them. They also had two

dogs cooked for the feast, the braves all sat down in the middle of the camp and ate the two dogs carefully saving all the bones. They then burned all the bones and one of the braves made a speech. The young folks then began to dance again, pretty soon the old squaws got up and they dance as light as the girls, and the old men too, it was a general dance. We soon saw a company of horsemen coming away out on the prairie. They were all painted different colors, some had considerable grass tied around their legs and necks, grass is a token of bravery or victory. The company rode around the bark house several times and sung as loud as they could hollow, riding full gallop as they always do. I went over home but I could see them parading till dark. The next night they had a drunken frolic in town and such noises all kinds of noises that savages could make. They were fighting and crying and fire brands flying and dogs howling, squaws crying and whistling (the way they call each other when at a distance). We could hear all those noises very distinctly from our house, the spree lasted till about daylight, when the most of them went to sleep. In a few days we all went over to see them worship, or as they call it, Manito Morso. They paraded in the Prairie, they put up little poles and put mats over for a shade, then dug away the grass and beat the ground smooth. They then unrolled two bolts of calico one of strouding and spread it out on the ground, then put down two new blankets, then they tear up two more bolts of calico into 3 and a half yds., a shirt pattern for them, then they hang these upon a pole tied on in a knot, they then go round, not all, just the medicine men, as they are called, they each one hold another skin in their hands all trimmed with small bells and red strings, little white beads, the skins are taken off with the bones left in the head which they dug out, they put large glass beads in for eyes, these fellows hold those skins with both hands, one hold of the head, and the other of the tail, then shake them and stamp with their feet making the most horrible noises all the time, they stand on one end of the calico, first they jump or dance

round the cloth three times, making a noise, I can't tell what kind, I can't describe the noise for it is different from any I ever heard in my life. They then stamp on the calico and run up to those that kneel and shake them that were kneeling, skim over them, then jump at them, then with the skin they then fall down as though they were dead, they then strip all their garments off and spat them and rub them and turn them over on their faces and hold their hands to their mouths and something white comes out of their mouths which looks like little white beans, spitting out the devil as they (can, or run). They then come to and get up and go and sit down with the others (I laughed at the performance and said they were only pretending to be lifeless. I told an old squaw so and she shook her head at me and looked so serious. They all looked serious, not one smiled. Others then came on the blankets and they went through the same performance. They were still doing the same when I left and went home. In a few days they had another drunken frolic. they had bought a barrel of whiskey and knocked the head out, all drank, young and old, some boys and girls not more than ten years old was drunk, they danced and played ball every day when they were not drinking.

Nothing of consequence happened for three weeks, the last of August my little girl got badly burned with powder, my oldest boy emptied a pound of powder on the floor in an empty room and got some fire and threw on the powder, it did not flash. He told his sister to blow the fire, which she did, and the blaze all went up in her face and burned her hair off back to her crown, one ear and both eyes, her chin was not burned, but her nose was very badly burned. I ran as soon as I heard her scream and a squaw had got to her first and was holding her in her arms. My child was so black I hardly knew her. I took her in the other room and gave her 30 drops of laudnum and put sweet oil on her and then fanned her all night. The next morning she got to sleep a little while. I sent 30 miles for a doctor, but he

was gone from home. I sent for Wm. down to Sweet Home. He had just started when the accident took place. He came home the next night about midnight. When he came into the room where she was and had not spoke out loud, she hollowed out 'There is my pa's come, I know'. "Oh, how glad I am to see you", she said but she could not see. We put all kinds of medicine on that we thought was good, but her face was so swollen the fifth day that she did not look like human being. I did not think she could live long in this situation. We did everything we could for her, but nothing seemed to do much good. We concluded to send for an indian doctor—he came and stayed with us several days, her burns healed alright—right away, but I thought she never could see any more, but I tried to hire her to open her eyes but she would not try. The 30th day I told her to open her eyes and see what a lovely bonnet she had, but she refused. I was determined to make her try to open her eyes, so I said, Oh just see that snake. She jumped up and opened her eyes, but she was so glad to see me and her brother she forgot the snake. She clapped her little hands and laughed out. I was so overjoyed I had to cry, to think she could see again. We kept the room darkened for two weeks more, when her eyes got stronger we let her go out. The marks showed for a long time but no scar is to be seen.

In the fall the indians took their credits as usual and went off hunting and did not return till about New Years. They pay their credits and trade for the skins, they have left, then take a drunken frolic. They are going down the river after whiskey all times of night, the house where they get the liquor is 10 miles below at the line.

In Jan. 1833 there came to our house some land speculators who wished to buy the half breed tract of the half breeds themselves—as soon as the half breeds understood what they wanted there was plenty of them that wished to sell. The whitest looking ones washed themselves up clean and put on new shirts and started down on the ice to a magistrates office to sign their names to the paper. They

got their money and started off, some up and some down. There was an opposition party down at St. Francisville. They were also buying claims and those that went down went to those men and sold claims again and got some money and notes, they came to our house and traded. Their bills were on the Quinebang bank. Wm. & myself traded most all the time for 10 days. Nothing worth writing occurred for some time.

In April they moved in to their towns and began to feast and dance as usual. They were talking of going to Washington City to sell land in a short time. It was not entirely concluded upon by the chiefs, the 1th of June we attended a dance in town when we got to the bark house the drum and fife and fourde accompanied by their voices sounded shrill enough. We went in they moved along and gave me a seat among the squaws. A number of them jumped down off their sleeping places and began to dance. They danced around the fire where the kettles hung with their dogs and corn that was cooking in them. They went round 11 times, then all sat down. The kettles were taken off and the servants put some of the dog and some of the soup in all 20 dished on wooden bowls then as many braves sat upon the ground and ate all the corn and soup there was on 2 kettles, then the other kettles were taken off and the corn and soup was handed round, they invited me to take some. I told them I was not hungry, but that I had fetched some salt for them. I gave it to the waiter and he divided it out, put some in all their dishes, they soon finished the contents of their dishes the dishes were then handed to the waiter, and the music was again begun. The Indians got up and then the squaws all commenced dancing around and around the fires. The Indians before some with whistles and some with their clubs in their hands, they had no shirts on nor no blankets, their backs were painted in streaks white and black and their faces were differently painted, some red with little black bands marked on each side of their mouth, and some with one eye black and the other white, and grass enough

about their necks and their legs to feed a mule all winter, they went round & twisting and jumping and screaming and singing as loud as they could holler, and clapping their hands upon their mouths to make the sound more awful, they appeared more savage in their amusement than any other time. The squaws were dressed in their best, some very richly dressed. The chiefs wives were dressed in brown cloth which cost \$12.00 apiece for their strouds they had one on and the other hung around their shoulders as a blanket and their silver generally cost from 20 to 30 dollars, besides the ribbons and other ornaments, some had on silk shirts and some velvet ones, they were also painted red on their cheeks and the tops of their heads where the hair parts, and more beads and wampums than they generally wear at home. I left them dancing and went over home. The next day my sister came from Dubuque. She hired a carriage at the Mississippi to come up in and got within 20 miles and then had to come on horseback as there is no road in this country for wag-gons. The fourth day of July I gave a feast to all the squaws, we boiled corn and had some fried bread, a favorite dish with them; they all ate and danced around the outside of the house a few times, and then all shook hands with me and went home. The 16th of July our folks went over to see them dance again. It was nothing new to me, but I went to accompany my sister who was a little afraid of the indians, and when the parade commenced she got frightened and wanted to go home, but I told her there was no danger and talked her out of it. We stayed till all got tired of seeing them. They performed as usual all to what I could see. We went home. The next day was a pretty clear sunshine day as I ever saw. I was sitting in the house sewing when I saw it lighten. I wondered at it; it lightened again. I then went out doors to see if it looked like rain, but no signs was to be seen. I heard the young indians laughing across the river but did not think anything of that, as it was common for them to do so. I went in and began to sew and it lightened again and Eliza saw it too. We both went out to see what

it was, and the young fellows laughed the louder. We sat down on a log waiting to see if it would do so again, it soon lightened and we directly saw what made it. Those fellows had a looking glass out in the sun making it glimmer the light across the river to our house. The first of August my sister's husband came after her and as he is rather a dissipated man she at first refused to go, but finally did go with him to St. Louis, Wm. had bought a part in a steamboat and was commanding the boat. The 5th of August he came home after me and we went down the Mississippi in a canoe and went on board the Pavillion as it was on the way to Prairie-du-then, and I visited that place and in 8 days we were in St. Louis again I went up in the city several times in hopes to see or meet my sister, but did not. I had just done my last shopping and was going to the boat and as I passed the market house I saw my sister's husband. I went to him and asked him where he lived. He went with me to his house and Eliza told me she wished to go home with me. I told her the boat would start the next morning. She packed her things and I hired a dray to take them to the boat. Eliza and her child came on board and next Leome came to bid farwell to his wife and child. He took the child out upon the guards of the boat and sat down and cried like a child, he gave her some apples and candy, and told Eliza to take good care of her, but he said he did not know when they would meet again, he said he was going to New Orleans to try to make some property or money. He went ashore and it was the last we saw of him. The steamboat started and in two days we landed at Churchill, the mouth of the Demoins river. I hired a carriage to take us up to Sweet home. We went into a room of our own, we stayed in it at nights, we had a mattress and some bed clothes, we boarded at a private house and went to our meals. I tried to hire a waggon to take us up home but we could get none. My two youngest children had the ague and fever every other day, the 11th day a stranger came here and said he was going to the indian town, I wrote a few lines to the clerk at our house to hire

some squaws to come after me. The squaws were not long coming down to Sweet Home. I bought some crackers for the children to eat and got some flour and meat for the others. We started up the river and on the 22nd of August we stayed at white peoples houses every night as long as we could, as far up as they lived. We had a tedious time. It rained most all the time and my children were quite sick and I got clear tired out attending on them, so I had the ague and fever myself. My fever was so high that I was a little wild or crazy. We got out of provisions so we had to feed all our companions, they were very kind to me and my children, my sister and her child were in another canoe with our trunks, myself and children and black girl was in another, we were traveling along when we saw a deer swimming in the river. The squaws told Eliza to jump out so they paddled off after the deer. They had such a frolic. I was afraid they would tip over the canoe with my trunks in, but they did not, they caught the deer by the horns and held him under water till he died. We all had a feast that night. We bought more flour, we went along well enough till I took the ague again, we got to a camp. I was so sick I could not travel that day. The next day we pushed on. We found everything upside down. We fixed up our house and I took medicine to cure the ague and did so, I tried to cure my children but could not succeed for some time.

In September the indians went to Washington to sell land, while there to attend all the places of amusement that is going. They returned to their town, or rather to our trading house to store their goods as they sold their lands for part goods and part money, they stored their goods in one of our houses till they could divide them. They sent for all to come and meet at our house, but when they did come about 400 indians they immediately sent their young men with goods down to the whiskey trader for liquor and such another drunken frolic, I never saw, their camps all round the house and quarrelling and fighting. While they were gone to Washington the chief's son died, he said before he died he

was bewitched by an old squaw, a crooked old squaw, he said she turned to a little dog every night and came to him, so in their drunken frolic the old chief painted himself red as he could be all over, he came to my window and said he wanted bullets and caps. He was so drunk he could not put the caps on the lock. He told me to do it. My husband was gone from home, and he looked so savage I felt a little afraid of him, as it was midnight he hallowed sometime before I answered but he knew I was there and I was afraid he would break the window, but just as it was getting light the squaws came to my window and said the chief was going to shoot an old squaw he said had bewitched his son that died, he loaded both pistols and went to their camp and shot her with both, he then hauled her out of her camp and then commenced dancing around her and screaming and slapping his hands on his mouth and jumping all the time. It was quite a scene I saw it all, I went out and stood on a big log behind the house. He went to his own camp and crying and calling his son's name, he said he could not cry till he got revenge and he had now got it. This old squaw had a son that took up the matter and tried to kill Keokuk, that is the chief's name. He saw the chief going to my house he got behind my door to shoot him. I told him he must not do so in my house, then he tried several other ways to kill him. Keokuk heard he was trying to kill him—he sent him a horse and sent word that he would give him one every five years if he would drop it and not try to kill him any more. The young indian agreed, the next day he was riding a fine horse as drunk as he could be and crying for his mother, the next night there was a carousal in earnest, all drunk and it rained in torrents, the harder it rained the harder they fought and cryed and screamed such awful howling, I cannot describe it, but anyone that has seen the infernal regions might have a slight idea. The next morning they were lying all around our house those that were dead drunk—others were partly drunk, they got upon the house top and jumped and hollered and made so much fuss—shook the house till the chimneys fell

down. I told them to come down, but they only laughed at me. I then went to the chief and told him to make them behave, but he also was so drunk he only laughed and told me to come into the camp and take a drink and be merry as it rained so hard, but I concluded I could not bear it any longer so I wrote to my husband who was down in Missouri attending court to come home as soon as possible for I could not stay another day in such confusion. In the meantime the indians had commenced dividing their goods, they took them right out in the rain unrolled bolt after bolt of calicos and broadcloths and all kinds of indian goods, they hauled them all about the yard in the mud, hundreds of new white and red blankets were all smeared with mud, they unrolled them most all and then piled them up in a pile in the rain, they became complete wet through. This being the 15 of May my husband came home and found us, our house was full of drunken indians and squaws they had taken possession. I kept the store locked, but my room was full. As soon as he came he said he could clear the house, so he took a bottle of water and told them it was whiskey, began to drink and soon made them think he was drunk and mad. He jumped in the hot embers and kicked them about all over the drunken squaws and got the shovel and began to strike the door and kick them. They soon got up and started and told me to run too or he would kill me. They said he was meaner than the indians, for they would not hurt anybody unless they hurt them first, but Chechebega that is what they called him, was crazy mad drunk, they said he was really mean, but while they were so drunk they did not cook nor pay any attention to their children, many a night I have been called by the little children to open my door and let them in to warm and eat something, then hide under my bed or in some corner where their parents could not find them. This 18 of November 1838, they have divided their goods at last and are now starting to hunt, how glad I am to have peace and quietness again after so much howling in the wilderness, if we always had to live as I have for three weeks past I could not stay in the indian country, but I never was very much afraid of them.

Not much of consequence happened for sometime. In the Spring we all went to St. Louis. Wm. took command of the Pavillion again. I went with him for sometime. I was uneasy about my children for fear they would fall overboard and finally as the boat was wooding, my little girl was running off the boat and fell by the side of the boat, nearly went under the wheel house, but a gentleman caught her in time to save her. I thought I had better leave the boat before I really did lose one. I went home, but it was very disagreeable to stay there. The burying ground being so near and they often set up their dead on the top of the ground. One day we were eating dinner, our doors all open and in came our big dog with a dead indians arm and a hand, right into the house. I took the tongs to take it out but some indians were there so they wrapped it in a piece of calico and took it back where it belonged. In the fall Wm. came home and in the spring our men went up the river to build, as the indians moved too having sold them the other town. We all settled near together again, the river being between us. 4th of July I made a feast for the women and children as the indians most of them had gone out on a war path. We had a beef killed and they came in the morning by the firing of our cannon, 10 squaws came over to cook, they fetched their large kettles to boil beef in, they fried in grease a half barrel of flour, half lb. crackers, 50 lbs. sugar, 10 lbs. coffee. When their victuals were done the boys fired the cannon again, then came 100 squaws, 8 children and they sure enough eat for they finished the whole, ever bit in just half an hour by the clock. They rubbed their greasy hands on their hands, shook me by the hand, made a speech and departed. The indians have come from war and brought 11 prisoners with them, six little boys one baby and 3 squaws, having killed all the men and brought their scalps in with them to dance around. They also made the prisoners dance too and the scalps still with the blood of their husbands. I felt bad to see their solemn faces as they passed around in the dance, those prisoners lived on the Missouri river. One that had the baby was

parted from her child and sold to a white man. She ran away and came to our house and hid, she was afraid of the Sac indians. My husband and myself went to the indian town to try and get her child but they had carried it away off into the cornfield to keep us from seeing it. I told the women how the mother cried and how her breasts were swelled with milk, but they only laughed to hear it. The next day we went again. My husband went security one horse that the mother should not run away with her child, then they let us have it. We brought it to it's mother. When she saw her child she merely turned her eyes towards it. The old indian was standing by, he told her not to run away with it. When he was gone she went out back of the house and cried so piteously for a long time, they had been parted 20 days but the child of six or seven months knew it's mother. She came in and showed me bruises on its head and back, it was very poor, it had been nearly starved. My husband went to see the indian agent, they councilled with the indians about buying the prisoners of them, they concluded to take \$10.00 apiece for them and take it in goods, the agent and my husband bought them, my husband took them to St. Louis and put them on a Missouri boat.

Nothing of importance transpired now for sometime, but we have had a flood. The river raised over the banks and was all around our house, the horses swam in their stables till let out, the boat was brought to the door and preparations made to leave the house. The indians ran to the hills, and the rain abated, the waters fell soon, we had a lame indian living with us. He said he never would let us move to white settlement or anywhere else, he seemed quite attached to us. I gave him his clothes and he would dress up fine and go to a dance, but always (more of him by and by). This summer passed without many events taking place. Where we lived now on the banks of the Demoin river we have 3 buildings facing each other, the store is next to the river joining is the storage room for dry goods, next is also a storage room but for meat and flour, opposite those are three of the same kind

of buildings, one was a kitchen, next rooms for the men, my room was joined like a well between those rows. I wish to describe how they stood because of all worst misfortune happened here. The winter 1840 in Feb. 22 at 3 o'clock at night I awoke and heard some noise—it seemed a cracking kind of sound. I waked my husband, he heard it in a moment, he hollered fire—fire—he ran into the store, the blaze was now some twelve feet high—the roof burning. Over 18 kegs of powder in the middle room placed there by the clerk. I and Wm. did not know anything about it. The other kegs twelve over the store, Wm. took out himself. The men all refused to get up to hand down the kegs, the roof was then burning over his head, the sparks burned his shirt several places, and he handling the powder, and the canvas that was around the kegs in the middle room then on fire, he thought he could save some of the goods, but when he looked around he saw no chance to save any. He then thought all the buildings would soon be on fire, in the meantime I had run with my children to the woods, barefooted, only a quilt to cover them all, and the coldest I have ever experienced. Wm. called to me saying the powder was all out of the house, but to come and tell him where his papers and most valuable things were, as we could not save any of the buildings, I ran back to the house taking my children most to the house. I told them to sit down on their quilt till I came after them or brought them something more to put around them. I went in the house, told him which trunk to take, he was just going out of the door, we had a porch in front, just as the explosion took place, 18 large kegs of powder nearly half as large as a barrell. I was thrown into the fireplace with a gun, a stand a trundle bedstead on top of me. I was insensible, when I came to myself Wm. was putting me out of the back window, no sash there. I looked up. I saw the whole heavens lit up with fire brands, whistling in the air. I thought of my children. I ran to them as I was going an iron bake kettle broke on a tree over my head, I heard nothing, but my childrens screams. I went to them and found them all alive. My oldest boy had

a favorite can which he had hunted up and run away. I was rejoiced to find them all living and knowing that Wm. was not killed, that I was sincerely thankful to God for sparing our lives. I then tried to go and get something to put around my children again, but the logs and timbers and every thing was in the road. I was climbing over to get them to try and get in my room to get something, when I discovered by the dim light something in human form, our lame indians' head blown half off and his heart was all open. I had put my hands right into his heart, the blood seemed hot. I held my hand up to the faint light when I saw it was blood. I screamed to some one to come, but it seemed as if everyone had fled or was killed, except a black man that was hollowing murder. I then tried to go on but when I came to the porch the roof had fallen down and by the edge there was another corpse. I then screamed for some one to come. Wm. came running to see if he was really dead, he was dead certain. We hollowed for others being five in number, but no answer. The black man got a horse and went to the agent's house five miles, just as it was getting light 20 men came to see us. They said they never had seen anything so horrible before. The mangled corpses and two persons knocked senseless or crazy and was so for sometime. The men repaired our room so that we were pretty comfortable. We had to borrow from the agent some vituals, our pickled pork was scattered for two miles, goods were thrown upon the river on the ice and piles of calico were burning next day and the flour and meat that was not scattered burned eleven days. The men buried the dead as well as they could, but I forgot to say that the white man that was killed by the door, his blood spirted in Wm's face and on his shirt as Wm. stood at the door, only the width of the porch between them. The young man's name was Edward Wood, from the city of New York, a coppersmith by trade. A blacksmith by the name of Berry was blown through the logs, or one was taken away or whirled around him and blown into the crack up to his chin and there stuck fast. He could not make any noise, he was insensible

or partly so for a whole day. Those white men had only lived a very short time with us, but our lame indian we all liked we felt his loss very much, my children cried for poor John (as we called him,) as much as though he had been a relative. He was their friend truly, they missed his singing, he used to fix a drum and then sing and drum and have them and the little papposes dance, any one could not tell which was which only by the color, many a time I have went in where they were dancing, all having blankets on, and I could hardly tell my own children, in the evening that is when they all turn their backs to the door, they would all sing, but just alike. My daughter could talk the indian language just as well as she could our own. But poor John his friends came and said he was to go with his tribe to the happy hunting grounds, but Wm. told them, they did not care for him while he was living, now he was dead they came to get presents, to help him out of purgatory. But he was going with us as he liked us best, anyway. They said he was lost, lost—they got some whiskey to cry over his grave, and then they were done. I have forgotten several incidents that would be a little amusing to some perhaps. I will go back two years. There was a sugar camp down the river near the white settlements and the indians wanted us to go with them and stay till they made sugar and keep the white folks from disturbing them, and near our house lived some green yankees that came to our house often to ask questions about indians, and said, they would like to see the indians (just for greens).^{*} Our men and Wm. always ready for fun, one evening quite dark, they all placed themselves along the path up the river bank with pistols and guns and Wm. was to go along with them up to the camps about a quarter of a mile. Wm. said the indians maybe were drinking, they would stop close by the camp and listen, it was all agreed upon among his men to scare them. A gun fired, Wm. fell down, kicked, hollered murder, murder. Wm. shot; the Yankees turned and ran and every rod most there was a gun fired, they were not so long coming back to our house, we all understood the joke,

so I went out and asked a great big yankee what was the matter. "O, I'll be damned if Mr. P. is not shot, he fell down and is dead". I told them to go up with me but all three rushed in the house, barred the doors, fastened the windows, they were consulting some plan to get away when Wm. fired a pistol in or near the window, they all slumped, some tried to get under the bed, but we had a trundle bedstead under and the littlest fellow took a running dive to go under when he bounced back, scratching his head, saying "O, I swow, what a damned time this is". I could hardly keep from laughing right out, but we all acted our part, one of the frenchmen at our house had his wife there, this frenchman besmeared himself with red paint, running in saying he was most killed, fell down, said he was dying, his wife pretended to cry, my sister pretended to faint, there was such a noise the indians came running down to see what was the matter, their interpreter told them to sing their war song. They began and it was really quite a scene. Those fellows rushed out amidst fifty indians and one desperate fellow rushed through thinking death or freedom I suppose. The white men tried to stop them, but they might as well try to catch wild horses, they jumped fences and wood piles, one roosted in the top of a tree that night, the other two ran till they could run no longer. I suppose they had greens enough for one time. *(The expression greens is an old expression meaning curiosity).

Now another incident was an old grey headed long bearded man with a three cornered cap and a shot gun with a flag on the end, and a little white apron on, came walking up to our house on the ice and said he was Christ and said he had come to see his lambs, meaning the indians, he went to their camps and they said he was a much manitou (meaning an evil spirit). They ran around scared enough, they made signs to him not to come any nearer or they would shave him and paint him. He then came to our house, he stayed two days. He told us he was Matthew the prophet from New

York. He mended his clothes and went on. We never heard from him again.

Another time a great big red headed fellow wanted to make a splurge in the world, so he shaved his beard and came to our house to join a way party of indians, he said he could distinguish himself he knew if he could go to war with them. He had on yellow jeans clothes, a sword by his side and mud all over his head to keep the mosquitoes from biting him. His big blue eyes and white eyebrows looked odd enough. He was singing away when the indians came. Said he would look as savage as he could, so when it was interpreted to them, by he had done so, they said they would have some fun, so they untied my clothes line, he inquired what all the fuss was about. When he was told they were going to tie him and perhaps strip him, and paint him over in their town, he begged the men to befriend him, he broke and ran through the corn fields, they after him, shooting, hollering, and screaming. They did not try hard to catch him, they were laughing heartily when they came back.

HON. NEWTON CLOUD.

By SARA JOHN ENGLISH (MRS. HENRY W. ENGLISH).

Newton Cloud was an Illinois Pioneer, honored citizen, Methodist minister, legislator, and president of the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847.

Going from Waverly, Morgan County, Illinois, to the settlement of Appolonia, we noticed beyond the corn field, evergreens, sentinels of perpetual memory, standing guard about one half mile from the road. We knew at once that there was a cemetery and we asked these sentinels, "Who sleeps here?" They answered, "Many pioneers, one of note, the Honorable Newton Cloud."

The Honorable Newton Cloud, who was he and why was he noted? In the Old North State, in Stokes County, one November day in 1804 this child was born. He was destined to play an important part in the early history of the great state of Illinois. After reaching young manhood Newton Cloud left his native state and went to Warren County, Kentucky, where he lived for a few years. Here he met Elizabeth C. Wood, whom he married on February 15, 1825. They left Kentucky and came to Morgan County, Illinois, in 1827.

This couple were the parents of nine children, all but three of whom had died prior to the death of their father who died on Sunday, July 22, 1877, at the homestead near Waverly, Morgan County, Illinois.

Going into the Rogers Cemetery, through weeds and grass literally above one's head, we finally came upon the most imposing monument there and Lo! we found the following inscriptions:

Newton Cloud. 1804-1877.

Elizabeth C., wife of N. Cloud. 1802-1874.

Newton Cloud. 1842-1843.

Laura J. Cloud. 1842-1843.



Newton Cloud Monument.

This cemetery is located in Pt. N. E. S. W. Sec. 10-13-8, bounded on the north, east and west by Mary J. Caldwell's land, and on the south by W. F. Miner's estate.

We began to gather facts regarding this man and found that he became a local Methodist preacher the same year (1827) that he came to Morgan County, Illinois. He at once became the possessor of Part of S. E. S. W. of Sec. 4, Township 13 Range 8—34½ acres and also a Part of S. E. Sec. 4, Township 13 Range 8—150½ acres. The tax value on this land at his death was \$280 for the 34½ acres and \$2240 on the 150½ acres.

This land was held by him from 1827 until his death in 1877 and his funeral was conducted from his residence on this farm. For fifty years he was a Methodist minister and sixteen successive terms he represented his county in the State Legislature, beginning in 1830. During the 16th and 17th Assemblies he served as a state senator from the 14th District, Morgan County. Throughout this long period he was a faithful Democratic leader. In 1844-45 he was clerk of the House. In 1846 he was chosen Speaker of the House and had the honor of being President of the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847. This same year Morgan County's able delegation to this Convention was composed of Samuel D. Lockwood, William Thomas, Newton Cloud and James Dunlap. As Speaker of the House, he is said to have "graced it with distinguished ability." In the Democratic Convention of 1860, held in Springfield, Newton Cloud received 65 votes for Governor, while Hon. William McMurty received 157 votes.

Newton Cloud also served for two years upon the Canal Commission. His noble character and ability made him serve ably wherever he was placed. During the 1838-39 session of the Legislature a bill was introduced by Honorable O. H. Browning, senator from Quincy, praying for the establishment of an asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. He asked Judge Thomas of Morgan County to assist him in the passage of this bill. Judge Thomas was in favor of the bill and its

object and he proposed Jacksonville as the location of this institution and assured Mr. Browning that Morgan County's delegation would give the bill their earnest support and influence. Judge Browning consented and William Thomas, William Weatherford, William Crear, senators from Morgan County; and J. J. Hardin, Newton Cloud, John Henry, John Wyatt, William Gilham and R. Walker, representatives, succeeded in getting the bill passed and the institution located in Jacksonville. Honorable Newton Cloud was appointed as temporary principal of the Illinois Deaf and Dumb Institute in 1855 and in April, 1856, Mr. Edward Peet of New York was appointed principal. So we see that many and varied were the positions he filled. In the records of the marriages of Morgan County he is cited as a Justice of the Peace, "Levi Deatherage and Martha Deatherage by Newton Cloud, J. P., Feb. 4, 1830." In 1855 he is referred to as "Minister of the Gospel."

Newton Cloud had a brother, Joseph Cloud, and a sister, Polly Cloud, who married the brother of his wife, William C. Wood, married by the County Commissioner, July 16th, 1829.

As the years creep on errors creep in and in the account of Newton Cloud by Doctor Short in the History of Morgan County and Historical Encyclopedia, he states, "Newton Cloud was born in 1805." His gravestone in the Rogers Cemetery, Appolonia, Morgan County, we find: Newton Cloud. 1804-1877.

We may get a very good pen picture of Newton Cloud from Mr. Anderson Foreman's article in the Illinois Courier in 1828.

"Then too there is the Christian Statesman (if that can be) the Rev. Newton Cloud, no man in this community stood higher in the state and church than he. Nature and grace combined to make him good and great. His wise counsels in the organic laws of church and state will live and keep his name and memory bright and honored as long as time shall last or civil and religious governments endure. Having

reached that serene and honored round in life's fair temple and Christian exaltation he passed gently down the steps of time and now he sleeps with the pure, noble, honored and loved of the earth." Truly Newton Cloud's person bore the impress of nature's choicest stamps.

Newton Cloud himself told us of his coming to this state and to Morgan County in an address to the Old Settlers of Morgan County at one of their annual reunions. He said he located here in 1827, three years before the great snow, the prairies were covered with flowers in their native luxuriance and were untrodden by the foot of man; they were but a vast bone yard in which thousands of buffaloes killed by the Indians lay bleaching in the sun. He said he was glad he came to Illinois though he was poor when he came and still poor. He spoke of the men and women of this County as fine characters and hospitable noble people.

It might be interesting to look into the possessions and family of Newton Cloud, with the light of the Court records of Morgan County. After an illness of some length, during which his physicians, Doctors Kimber and Brown, made thirty-nine day calls, four night calls, (six office calls by Mr. Cloud) and medicine for which his estate paid \$110.00, he passed on leaving no will. His son, Virgil W. Cloud, and his two daughters, Frances A. Caldwell and Mary E. Cartwright (only three children living), as per Petition for Alters of Administration. Newton Cloud, a grandson (minor), son of Campbell Cloud, a deceased son, also survived.

This petition states date of death of Newton Cloud, July 22, 1877. This petition prayed that George W. Caldwell be appointed administrator. He was duly appointed August 10, 1877. George W. Caldwell was ordered to make the final settlement of the estate, May 16, 1881, chattels \$820.35, \$851.69 in notes and accounts were due, and doubtful notes, \$22.34, \$246.33, total \$1120.26. Cash on hand at time of death, \$69.58. A letter under date of May 12, 1881, from Zanesville, Illinois, signed George W. Caldwell, Montgomery County, Illinois, states that "Virgil W. Cloud, Haysville, Sedgwick

County, Kansas, and Mary E. Cartwright, Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, heirs of Newton Cloud received from me long ago by registered letters receipts to be signed and forwarded for amount of sixty dollars and fourteen cents due them." A grandson (G. Newton) Newton Cloud, was a minor at the time of Newton Cloud's death.

Newton Cloud was a farmer for a long number of years and owned many horses and hogs. Even after his death his stock caused the estate trouble for we learned that Mr. F. M. Reading made a claim against his estate for \$15.00 for "damage done to growing corn by the stock of the deceased." This claim was allowed and paid by the administrator. Newton Cloud was a member of the Methodist Church at Appolonia and his subscription of \$6.40 was paid to Margaret Turner, Treasurer. G. H. Thayer of Waverly was the undertaker, and while Newton Cloud was a prominent and well-to-do citizen the prices of articles in his expense accounts show a great difference from prices of 1930. His burial case, box and hearse were only \$31.00. His funeral was said to be the largest ever held in this part of the state. He was greatly beloved and held the confidence of a vast number of persons. The account of his death and burial as given in the Jacksonville Journal of Wednesday, July 25, 1877, is as follows:

HON. NEWTON CLOUD

DEATH OF THIS WELL KNOWN CITIZEN.

Few in Morgan County are better known or more honored than Rev. Newton Cloud and his many friends will be pained to hear of his death on last Sabbath. Mr. Cloud became a local Methodist preacher in 1827 and was among the pioneer clergymen of this section. He was born in Stokes County, North Carolina, November, 1804. He afterwards resided in Kentucky and removed to Morgan County, Illinois, in 1827, and settled on a farm which he occupied as his homestead until the day of his death. He was married in 1825 to Miss Elizabeth C. Wood in Warren County, Kentucky.

By this marriage there has been nine children, four of whom are deceased. Besides Mr. Cloud's fifty years experience as a preacher he has also been called to represent his fellow citizens in the State Legislature for 16 successive terms, beginning in 1830. He was also Canal Commissioner for two years, and a member of the Convention to revise the State Constitution in 1847. In private and public life he always acted faithfully and honestly.

The funeral occurred yesterday at the family residence, a delegation of brother Masons and friends going down from this city on a special train which left here at 8 A. M. The gathering at the house was a very large one, the crowd being estimated as high as one thousand people. The memorial discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Peter Akers, after this a hymn was sung and prayer offered and then the Masonic fraternity took charge of the remains and laid them to rest with the accustomed honors of the order.

And so we leave our statesman to quiet sleep, he needs no praises nor epitaph graven on stone for the things he lived for and accomplished tell his story and shall pass on to the coming generations. Such a life never sets but "leaves an after glow in the sky far into the night."

In obscure out of the way cemeteries and subject to destruction by the plowman lie other statesmen. As you pass these spots, think of this possibility and serve mankind by bringing their names and graves to our knowledge, that we may pay them tribute and honor them for the truths they have spoken and the things they have done.

Information obtained from Eames' Historic Morgan, the Court Records of Morgan County, files of the Jacksonville Daily Journal, and inscriptions from the Cloud monument.

Sara John English.

CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM WARD ORME—1862-1866.

The following thirty four letters written by Gen. Orme are selected from a collection of some 300 'War' letters preserved by his daughter, Mrs. Lucy Orme Morgan of Bloomington, Illinois. They are selected because of their interest and information on the battles of Prairie Grove, Vicksburg and the capture of Yazoo City. They are produced entire, except in a very few cases where an extended discussion of his children is omitted. They cover the activities of Gen. Orme and the Ninety-Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers; from September to December in 1862 and June to the middle of August 1863. The letters were written to his wife Mrs. Nannie L. Orme at Bloomington, Illinois. There is included one letter to Leonard Swett of Bloomington, and a note from General Herron to General Orme.

William Ward Orme was born at Washington, D. C., February 17, 1832. He was educated at Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmettsburg, Md. He came West in that famous year '49, to Chicago where he worked as a messenger boy in the bank of J. Young Scammon. Coming to Bloomington in 1850, he was admitted to the bar two years later. Entering the circuit clerk's office he remained an efficient worker there until the fall of 1853; then went into partnership with Leonard Swett in the practice of law. They formed an ideal law firm. Mr. Orme was a model office lawyer. Mr. Swett conducted the cases in court in a manner that made him the peer of any in the Northwest. In 1861, Orme was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

He was a great favorite of Judge David Davis and Abraham Lincoln; the latter remarked that Orme was the most promising lawyer of his age in the state.

When the 94th Illinois was raised he was elected Colonel and immediately applied to the President through Mr. Swett,

for active service and President Lincoln gave Mr. Swett the following note, to be handed to General Halleck. "Gen. Halleck, please see the bearer, Mr. Swett, who will tell you truth only about Wm. W. Orme, whom I also know, to be one of the most active, competent, and best men in the world. A. Lincoln." August 2, 1862.

At the battle of Prairie Grove, Colonel Orme was in command of a brigade. Major-General Herron in his report says: "Colonel Orme was in the thickest of the fight, performing his duties with great gallantry." On Nov. 29, 1862 he received his commission as brigadier-general. In the siege of Vicksburg, he again commanded a brigade. It was here that he contracted consumption that caused his death three years later.

November 11, 1863, he was detailed to examine various rebel prisons in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In December, 1863, he was appointed to the command of the responsible post of Chicago, which included Camp Douglas, with several thousand rebel prisoners. Increasing ill health obliged him to resign from the service April 26, 1864. In September he was appointed Supervising Special Agent of the Treasury at Memphis, a position for which his methodical business habits, integrity, and urbanity, admirably fitted him. He resigned this position in November 1865. He went home from Memphis shattered in health, and gradually declined until his death, September 13, 1866.

On October 27, 1853, he married Miss Nannie L. McCullough, daughter of William McCullough, then circuit clerk of the county. They had four children, William born in 1854; Bernadine in 1856; Lucy in 1858; Edward in 1860.

The Ninety-Fourth Illinois Volunteer Infantry was better known as the "McLean County Regiment." It was organized under the President's call for 600,000 men, issued in the summer of 1862. Mr. Orme offered his services as Colonel, and the Board of Supervisors a \$50 bounty to each enlisted man. In two instances a father and four sons joined the same company.

The regiment was mustered in August 20, 1862, and on August 25th entrained for St. Louis where it was quartered, armed and equipped at Benton Barracks. On September 9th it moved by train to Rolla, Missouri.

HARRY E. PRATT.

Camp Mc Lean, Sept. 10-13, 1862
5 Miles S. W. Of Rolla-Mo.--

My dear wife—

This is the first hour of pen ink & paper since I left Benton Barracks— After leaving you on Monday evening I had a very busy time— I got a little sleep, & got up at 3 O'Clock next morning— It was some labor to get the Regiment ready to move— We did not succeed in leaving St. Louis however until about 11 O'Clock Tuesday morning— and reached Rolla in the evening at about 8 O'Clock in a drenching rain storm— I have a good poncho however & kept dry— My men took possession of all the sheds & open buildings & spent the night the best way they could— I got some supper about 9 O'Clock and secured a bed at the hotel—

Rolla is anything but prepossessing— There is no water in the town—and we nearly died of thirst— Yesterday we recd. orders to move out to camp— and here I am with my Regiment encamped in a little Valley— surrounded on all sides with high abrupt hills, a nice little stream-called *little Piney* — circles the camp. I have taken possession of a log cabin for my headquarters—

My black man has captured a pig— which he has already skinned & cleaned ready to roast for dinner— This is our first practical understanding of the Confiscation Act—

Joe's men took a calf last night— and say they bought it— Whether they did so or not is very doubtful— Joe, Charley & Howard are well.—¹

My health has been good— I stand the labor & work so far very well— And with a Regiment you may be sure I have enough to do.— I like the business well.— In ten days I ex-

¹ 'Joe' was Capt. Joseph P. Orme of Company H; 'Charley' was Charles E. Orme, Lieutenant in Company H. Both were younger brothers of Col. Orme. 'Howard', was Howard McCullough, private in Co. H. He was a brother-in-law of Col. Orme.

pect to move down to Springfield Mo.— which will be a march of 120 miles— If I stand that trip I think I'll do.— They are expecting an attack at that point & desire all the forces that can be centred there.— It may be we'll have a fight there— We are under Brig Genl. Herron— and are in his Brigade—² News here we get none. But you may rest assured that Camp life is pleasant— so long as one keeps well—

When I can return to see you is of course an untold matter—I think of you often.—Often did I say, yes all the time.— Yesterday at Rolla I was buying some peaches of an old woman who had a daughter in the wagon with her, and the daughter had three children I remarked to her that I had four beautiful children at home, and I would give a dollar a piece just to see them a minute— Yes, said the old woman you'd give two dollars— Indeed said the girl I know you'd give ten dollars apiece— I told the girl I thought she measured my feelings the best.—

Enjoy yourself, My dear Nannie as much as you can during my absence & I shall feel perfectly happy to think that you are doing so— After the war is over & I shall have returned home either perfectly sound or partially damaged we can remember with pleasure my services to the country— You'll feel prouder of me, and I shall feel better myself— Home will never have had so many charms as then— My absence from home only learns me to enjoy home the more when I reach it—

Remember me to all at home = Kiss the little ones and write me often— Say to Judge Davis³ that I am well, doing well & am well pleased will write him when I have more leisure—

² Herron, Francis Jay (1837-1902). In 1861 he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Iowa regiment. Brigadier-general of volunteers in 1862. Early in 1863 he joined Grant at Vicksburg and commanded the left wing of the besieging forces as major-general (1862) until the capture of the city. He subsequently captured Yazoo City with its boats and supplies; commanded the Thirteenth army corps and broke up the traffic along the Rio Grande.

³ Davis, David (1815-1886). He is referred to in these letters as Judge Davis, as he was completing his fourteenth year on the "Eighth Judicial Circuit" in Illinois. He was appointed in October, 1862 to the United States Supreme Court. He was a close friend of the Orme family and took care of the estate of Gen. Orme upon his death in 1866.

Don't fail to write me often— I will write whenever I can— Remember on the march it is difficult to write letters =

As ever affectionately

Wm. W. Orme

Here is a picture of my Head-Quarters
(rough sketch of log cabin)

P.S. In honor of old McLean where we have left the loved ones I have named this camp "*Camp McLean*"

Camp Herron=

on Little Piney—

Sept 17th 1862

My dear Nannie:

Mr. Isaac Funk¹ has just reached our camp with our Regimental flags—was received with three hearty cheers; and I immediately thought it a good chance to send you back by him a short letter—

We struck our tents at Camp McLean yesterday morning— My orders were to be ready to march at six O'Clock— I was up at four O'Clock and everything ready to move at the hour; but received no orders to march until 9 O'Clock. Genl. Herron rode up to me and complimented me on being the only Colonel whose regiment was ready to move at the time ordered. There were four other regiments besides mine— We marched to this place— 10 miles — reached here last evening at 3 O'Clock.— We did not pitch our tents, but bivouacked in the woods by the side of a little spring— where we are now. The commandg. officer has named the Brigade camp, Camp Herron.— Our march yesterday was thro' a rough country and the day was very hot — but we got thro' pretty well.—

We move from here to day and will march some eight or ten miles — and we will camp to-night on the Big Piney—

The streams thro' here are very pretty— running on Rocky bottoms— the water as clear as can be. On my ar-

¹ Funk, Isaac, (1797-1865). State Senator, 1862-1866, in Illinois, large land owner, stock raiser and public benefactor of McLean County.

rival here yesterday, I went to the Gasconade River for a swim— I found it a beautiful stream about a 100 yards wide— and the water some eight feet deep— thus affording me a fine chance to exercise my swimming powers.

Last night while sleeping under the trees on my cot I was waked up by a shower of rain at about 2 O'Clock A. M.— I immediately got up had my tent pitched and finished my sleep under cover — I slept nicely last night— I am feeling well and so far I stand the rough times well — I think I can go thro' all right,— but of course I can't say.— I am prepared for anything that may turn up. I lack no enjoyment save the presence of home and all its endearing charms.— Just one sight of your dear self— Nannie — and our sweet children would be the pleasantest comfort imaginable—

Let me repeat to you that the assurance of your personal comfort & enjoyment will make me feel much better in the lonely solitude of camp life—

Remember me to everybody at home— interested in my welfare— Tell Judge Davis & Mr. Swett² that I am well and doing finely and enjoy myself in my present life.—

Everything so far moves off pleasantly— Ask the Judge to write me often— Say to him that my opportunities for letter writing are few, and that a letter to you must always receive the first chance —

Kiss the little ones — talk to them about me Keep them at school and write me often.

Good bye until I get another chance to write you— Write me often— direct to St. Louis thus: Col. Wm. W. Orme — 94th Ills. Vols., Genl. Herron's Brigade— and your letters will follow us

Affectionately Your husband
Wm. W. Orme

² See next letter.

Head Quarters 94th Ills.

Near Springfield Mo.

Oct 1 1862

My dear Swett—

Your letter of the 27th reached me here this morning— I am comfortably encamped one mile west of Springfield. We have heretofore been busily engaged in drill; but a detail of 250 men each day for work on forts has broken into my Battalion Drills. I am so far well satisfied — a great deal more so than I would be at home under the present condition of the country— Were I at home on the list of the enrolled militia, I think I should feel rather queer.

I have stood the labor and fatigue of my new life very well— Am hearty, sleep and eat finely. I have plenty of fresh air day and night— I occupy my tent altogether, and have not slept in a house since I left St. Louis.—

Many of men have been sick— Diarrhea, fever, pneumonia flux &c. Our march from Rolla to this point was very rough— I can scarcely suppose a harder trip in store for us— We were all fresh, unused to marching and accustomed to regular hours.— Our daily marches were controlled by the distance to water.— The sun was powerfully hot, and the nights cool; roads dusty and water scarce— I marched my Regiment one day 25 miles; and I don't think I had much over 600 men when I got into camp, but they came straggling in during the night— I had to make that march in order to get water for the regiment. You have no idea of the scarcity of water in this country.

The desolation of war is more visible in this immediate vicinity than elsewhere on the route. Fine farms laid waste and good stone residences razed to the ground— It does look as if an army of vandals had passed thro' here. You can have no adequate idea of the utter desolation of a country by war, unless you have seen a country ravaged as this has been.—

Genl. Schofield is here in command in person.—¹ I am

¹ Schofield, Brig. Gen. John McAllister, (1831-1906). At this time he commanded the Missouri troops and the District of St. Louis.

under the immediate command of Genl. Herron.² He is a young man from Iowa— He cannot be much over 30 or 35 years of age. I am rather pleased with him. =

I cannot think you will have much trouble in securing me the place I have written about. Illinois will be entitled to some 15 Genls. and of course some of them will be from the new Regiments.— The command of a Brigadier is a very nice one, not very laborious and not requiring much ability; if I may judge from a great many I have seen.—

I should like very much for you to move a little in that direction— I am confident it can be brought about. And as soon as your campaign³ is over — say first week in November— if you are elected as you will be— you will have the thing almost your own way— And with yourself and Judge Davis (especially if he is on the Supreme Bench) a nomination in my favor would be confirmed in the Senate.— I desire this place for several reasons; some of which are, a natural desire to be as high as possible in the business in which I engage; the importance of the position, the greater liberty and freedom of command it would give; and chief of all, I would be in much better condition to go thro' the winter.— I have no fear of anything, except sickness and altho' I am now as hearty as a brick, and feel better than I have in a long time, I cannot guess the effect of a winter campaign— and as a matter of choice I would prefer, of course, to be in that position where I would have easier opportunities for personal care & comfort— You can see the difference when I tell you that a Brigadier has some five teams for himself and staff, while a Colonel only has about one & a half for the field & staff officers— However I will leave the matter with you, feeling assured that if there can be anything done, you will do it—

² Herron, Francis J., (1837-1902). He served in Iowa volunteer regiments becoming brigadier general of volunteers in July 1862, for a time commanding the Army of the Frontier, being made major-general of volunteers in Nov, 1862. He commanded the left wing of the investing forces at Vicksburg.

³ Swett, Leonard, (1825-1889). He was the law partner of Col. Orme, 1853-1865. At this time he was in the midst of a strenuous campaign against John T. Stuart for membership in the 38th. Congress.

I wrote Judge Davis yesterday — I suppose you have seen the letter before this reaches. I have sent my Major to St. Louis on business, and have also requested a leave of absence for him to visit Springfield & Bloomington Ills.— which I have no doubt he will obtain; if so he will call on you and give you full details about the Regiment—

One man Jefferson Kimler, died here this morning. He is from Leroy— He was well cared for, in a private house in the town. I understand he leaves a large family— Joe is well and all others whom you know. —

The President's proclamation meets with universal commendation among the soldiers— Everybody is in favor of it — The tendency of public opinion in the army— or rather the opinion of the army is very radical— They are for confiscation, emancipation & everything else.— You cannot be too ultra for the soldiers. That is the secret of such men as Mc Clerland, Logan, Scates⁴ & others moving forward so rapidly. I am glad you have finally determined to run against Stuart. You will have no difficulty in beating him.— He is a good man an able man, and I think a safe man in the national councils; but he is behind the times, and you will find the people will say so when it comes to voting.—

Be firm and decided upon the leading questions of the day. Take bold ground; the people are way in advance of you— If you can engineer any way to squeeze in the vote of this Regiment, I will send you up a solid vote in any way you want it.— If you desire it for effect I will have the vote of the Regiment taken and forward it to the Pantagraph for publication just time enough before the election to have its effect in the country.— Anything I can do for you at this end of the route if you will name it, I will do.— I should like to be home to aid & vote for you.—

Write to me often— A letter to a soldier in camp is deemed by the recipient a valuable present— Keep me ad-

⁴ McClerland, John A. Resigned from Congress in 1861 to accept a commission as Brig. Gen. of Volunteers from Pres. Lincoln, being promoted to Major General early in 1862.

Logan, John A. In March 1862 he was appointed brigadier general of volunteers and a few months later major general.

Scates, Walter B. In 1862 he received a major's commission and was assigned to the staff of Gen. McClerland, soon made assistant adjutant general.

vised from time to time of everything of interest— It costs you but five minutes times to write a letter, but it is worth two or three hours of pleasant enjoyment to me when it is received.—

My wife writes me frequently and I am thus advised of domestic affairs.—

I think our battles on the Potomac are fruitless victories.— We are expecting here to form part of a column to march on Little Rock— How long we will stay here, I cannot surmise; it may be a month. We have reports of fighting at our outposts most every-day. I sleep soundly however. I believe I can sleep soundly now, on a battle field.

I have enclosed you a brief note as you desire concerning the President's proclamation &c. You may use it as you please. It is only general in terms. Between us, the only thing I fear in the matter is the effect of the proclamation in the Border States. It is doing just what ought to be done— But have we the power to enforce it— Had it have been issued at the beginning of the war when we were in high feather it might have done well; but now when we are driven across the Potomac, and our towns along the Ohio River laid waste, and when we have fallen back at every point, it looks really like a paper threat with no power behind it to enforce it.

After all tho' I am for it— And now Mr. Lincoln shd. draft a 500,000 column of men to help enforce it. There are not men enough in the field to put down the rebellion. We ought to have here an irresistible column that could march to the Gulf— So in Tennessee, so in Virginia. A Draft at once should be the programme. Get out once in the field and you can see the need of men— Don't fail to write me often, and don't forget my claims—

As ever Yr. friend Wm. W. Orme

Head Quarters
Springfield Mo
Oct. 20 1862

My dear wife—

To day is Monday — the sun is about passing below the horizon — the weather fine and everything here is as usual. I am engaged as heretofore work! work! work! I send out parties of cavalry here & there, and instruct men coolly to burn, kill and destroy. The invariable instruction, as against the guerillas who infest this country, is to take no prisoner but shoot them down in their tracks. I find myself talking as flippantly about killing men as I would have done at home upon any trivial subject— And yet it does not astonish me. We easily fall into regular channels of habit. And when a man goes to war as a soldier he soon finds that the duties of war come upon him easily.—

Our army is rapidly approaching a fight. I want to try my hand in a battle. I do like a good fight— There is something in it that seems to thrill & charm me. But I fear this fight will go on in my absence. It will be some 90 miles S.W. of here. I recd. a long letter this morning from Frank¹ He says Lamont² is at work with the President; and that Mr. Lincoln would make the promotion at once if he could say in justification of himself that I had distinguished myself in battle.— I think he could say it if they'd only give me a chance in.—

Frank writes me encouragingly about it anyhow— and I feel sure when Davis & Swett get to W. [Washington] the matter will be fixed.—

I woke this morning with one of my old fashioned colds in the head. I cannot imagine how I got it— It is better however this evening— and by morning I will be all O.K. again.—

Judge Davis is strongly of opinion that if this war is not closed by spring, the civilized world will interfere & stop it.

¹ Orme, Frank D., (1836-1903) a younger brother of Col. Orme.

² Lamont, Ward Hill (1828-1893) was at this time Marshal of the District of Columbia. He was a close friend of the President, and as his personal bodyguard had free access to the White House.

It cannot be closed by spring — By June or July it might be fought out if we had some different men in command

McClellan in Virginia & Buell in Ky. have ruined the country in my opinion. The manner in which they have conducted the war is outrageous; and it would have done better if left to run itself.

There will be a terrible reckoning for them in the future.—

I am truly glad Genl. Oglesby³ was not killed— What delightful obituaries he can read of himself in almost every paper. I like Dick, he is a magnificent fellow. I have nothing more to-night—

Oh yes! Howard got a letter from Fanny⁴ this morning enclosing a very good picture of your father— He gave it to me to keep for him— I will have quite a picture gallery =

Write me often — Kiss our dear children — Admonish them to be good— very good— Remember me to every one enquiring about me— Amos Barnard is yet here— My love to Fanny & yr. Mother, but, dearer than all, my ever fresh love to the darling one who calls me

Husband

Hd. Qrs. Springfield Mo.

In Camp —

Novr. 7 1862

My dear wife —

I neglected writing you yesterday because I was engaged in moving my quarters = Genl. Schofield returned here yesterday — The whole army is on the return here. They have made a long weary march to no good.

What will be the next move I cannot tell. I hope however a “forward to Little Rock” — I have moved out to my tent — and I have fixed up this morning in fine style— I have a nice plank floor, and good fire place in the tent, with

³ Oglesby, Richard J., (1824-1899). He was severely wounded in the lung at Corinth. He was thrice Governor of Illinois, and represented the State in the United States Senate, 1873-79.

⁴ Fanny McCullough, sister-in-law of Col. Orme. Recipient of a fine letter of condolence from President Lincoln, Dec. 1862, on the death of her father, William McCullough, Col. of Fourth Illinois Cavalry.

a huge old chimney stalking up on the outside large enough to do credit to a large log cabin.—

You ought to see our camp with its 300 tents & every tent with a large brick chimney to it.— And then you ought to see the inside of our tents, how nice, clean & snug — My tent is arranged thus: outside view— of the Colonel's tent—

[Rough sketch of hospital type tent with chimney at one end; hitching post back of tent with 'Old Joe' tied to it and figure of guard with gun on his shoulder standing near by.]

Inside view: that will be a little harder to draw but I will try— I will make it on a larger scale — here it is just as I am in it now —

[Interior shows fireplace; figure of the Colonel at his desk writing 'this letter'. On one side is pictured 'my cot', on the other a saddle rack with saddle and sword hanging on it; underneath is a valise and nearby a washbasin on a stool. The colonel's overcoat hangs on the tent pole.]

There I believe I have given you an accurate and rather a life like and well drawn sketch of my present head quarters, inside & out = I only wish you were here to see them— I am sure you would say it was very comfortable.—

I recd. a nice long letter from Judge Davis this morn- ing= I enclose it to you for perusal and to keep for me. It does me good to get such a letter.—

Your letter enclosing the stamps reached me safely.— The Paymaster has not yet come— I wish you would ascertain from Mr. Prince¹ for me who paid the \$33. which you recd. so that I may know. I am glad you recd. it. =

Everything continues quiet & dull here. "No leaves of absence except by permission of the Secty of War" is the order now. I have a slight notion of writing to Washington and making application for leave of absence to visit Illinois in December— Were it not for my men, who cannot get away on any pretext I would not hesitate = As it is I don't like to do it, but if we remain here all winter I will try & get back, because I can just as well be absent as not, but I hope

¹ Prince, Ezra M. Began the practice of law in Bloomington, Illinois in 1856. Prince and Clifton H. Moore, of Clinton, Ill. took care of the law business of the firm of Swett & Orme in their absence.

before long we will march for Little Rock.— I think we can just as well take that place & winter there as not.— I vote for it decidedly— I don't know what sort of a general I'd make or what sort of a fight I'd make, but it seems to me I would move, and keep moving. The army of the Potomac is not doing much. And as if to make matters worse, I see that Mrs McClellan has gone to war with her husband— Only think of that! I have no hope at all now. It does seem to me as if the wives of officers & men ought to keep out of camps & garrisons in time of war— Several officers in this army have taken their wives trudging along in this last march— It almost made me mad to see it— It is as much as a man can do to take care of himself without having also to take care of his wife on such a campaign.—

Swett's beaten! The Democracy have carried everything, and I think the Country is ruined.— The result of these elections will palsy the arm of the president & make him too feeble to act energetically— Poor Swett I am sorry for him— But I was prepared for his defeat, as I feared it some time— I rejoice that I am not at home to share the disgrace of the defeat.— And I feel proud to know that I have been engaged in the field for my Country, and not dabbling in this last dirty political mess.— I can scarcely foresee the effects of this election. It will nerve the rebels to redoubled energy.— Only think! James C. Allen² the member elect for the State at large promised that the war shd. end in 6 months if he was elected. Josh Allen³ in the South part of the State is almost an armed secessionist & has been in Ft. Lafayette in prison. Jno Stuart has no heart in this contest, and so with all the Democracy = But stop! I should not write you such a letter— Nannie. Excuse me for doing so, However it wont hurt. It is all true— But you don't care about politics, and hereafter neither will I. If I am

² Allen, James C. of Palestine, Illinois was a Representative for the State at Large in the Thirty-Eighth Congress, 1863-1865.

³ William Joshua Allen (1829-1901) had openly proposed to John A. Logan to divide Illinois so that 'Egypt' might consider the possibility of joining the Southern Confederacy. He was arrested along with a half dozen other prominent Illinoisans in August, 1862 and held prisoner for some months at Cairo and in the 'Old Capitol Prison' at Washington.

only suffered to live quietly in my own dear home I shall hereafter pay no regard to political contests.— Still there is a charm about the bitter political contest that it is hard to resist— But with your aid I will resist it. Good bye— Write me often — Kiss the dear ones— Kiss them many many times for me. Remember me to all enquiring friends & continue to enjoy and amuse yourself until once more you may rest in the embrace of your affectionate husband —

Wm. W. O.

Camp Curtis — Mo. 12 miles S of
Springfield—Nov 28 1862

Dearest wife—

Yesterday was Thanksgiving day, and was so kept & observed by our Regiment— In the forenoon we had religious services by our Chaplain Guthrie—¹ We had a Thanksgiving dinner at 3 O'Clock in the afternoon— The Bill of fare was:

Cove oyster Soup—with crackers

Pickles—Salt & Pepper

& dried apple sauce

Stewed Squirrels—

with dried apple sauce

Roast Turkey—without stuffing

but with dried apple sauce—

Hot *Yellow* biscuit— Soda Crackers— Butter— Molasses
and dried apple sauce

Dessert—Dried apple pie —

Fresh apple pie —

Stewed dried apples —

Coffee — Tea —

No milk

So you see we had a fine dinner, altho we are out in the woods.— . . . I am getting along very well — Sometimes I get very tired of the monotony of camp life — Then again I like it. — I prefer to be moving.—

¹ Guthrie, Robert E. Enlisted in Bloomington, August 14, 1862; resigned June 29, 1863.

I have no news here— How long we will remain here I cannot tell— or where we may go when we move I cannot surmise.

I learn of a change in this Department by the removal of Genl. Curtis and placing Genl. Pope in his stead— If this is true² it will cause some delay in our movements of course— It may occasion a reorganization of this army and a change in my position.— Army movements are so changeable that when a man goes to sleep at night he does not know what shape he'll be in in the morning. Last night Col. McNulta received a serenade on the strength of the news received in camp that he was a father.³ The weather is threatening a change— For two or three days it has been very cloudy— and the wind blows cool.=

I suppose soon we will have winter on us in earnest. Joe, Charley & Howard are very well =

. . . The boys here have a song called 'Home again!' which they often sing and you may be sure I enter fully into the spirit of it — How I would now love to see you and be "Home again!" Good bye dearest wife—

Your affectionate husband
Wm. W. O.

Camp Curtis — Mo.
Nov. 29 1862

Dearest wife —

It is now half past seven O'Clock Saturday night— The band is now playing the regular evening tattoo, and everything has the sound of martial life; but it is nothing unusual.—

By the way did you know that in our camp life we move by the music of the band — We rise in the morning by the

² Pope, John (1822-1892). This was only a rumor as Pope following his defeat at the second Battle of Bull Run was sent to the northwest to carry on the war against the Sioux Indians.

Curtis, Samuel R., (1807-1866). Major General Curtis commanded the Department of Missouri, 1862-1863.

³ Mc Nulta, John, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 94th. On August 20, 1862; he took command of the regiment a few days after it was mustered in, Col. Orme taking command of the Brigade. He was promoted to Colonel, and afterwards brevetted brigadier-general. The occasion for rejoicing was the birth of Herbert, the eldest of his four children.

tune the band plays at Reveille, and we go to bed by the martial music at tattoo and taps.

There are some things delightfully pleasant in camp life, and some things terribly monotonous.—

This morning I rode out to the Wilson Creek battle ground, and saw the spot where Lyon¹ fell.— The trees were once full of bullets, but they (the bullets) have been cut out & carried off as keepsakes. I have no particular fancy for such mementoes; I desire to leave all bullets behind & bring none home with me — I hope I may be so fortunate.

I recd your dear letter of the 24th last evening— I regret to hear of old Mrs. Hill's illness; but she is now quite an old lady, and considering the labor & exposure she has endured the measure of her life must be nearly full.—

I am glad to hear you have determined to be happy as you can during my absence; that does one more good than anything else.—I will be home safe and sound, dearest, and we will live the happier after my return on account of this necessary absence. Do then enjoy yourself as much as possible, be happy & make the children happy— Live for the future before us—all will be bright & cheerful when I return— We will both be the prouder of each other, and absence will only increase our loves.— I shall feel the more a man, and look on you as a true heroine— And when again I appear at the head of my dear dear household, you can throw off a load of care that will make you feel, fresh, boyant & young as ever. Nothing, my love, would have induced me to part from you, from our dear little ones, from that happy home I have been proud to call mine, except the terrible state of the Country. Of this you are well aware. I could scarcely have felt myself a man in the future had I not as I have done sacrificed all and shown my desire at least to aid my country in this death struggle for her existence. And I know that you must feel in this respect as I do.— Life is worth but little dearest, where self respect is lost.—

¹ Lyon, Nathaniel, (1818-1861). Prominent leader in the contest between the Unionist and Secessionists in Missouri. He was instantly killed while leading a charge on August 10, 1861 at the battle of Wilson's Creek, in southwestern Missouri.

Now, the future may come whatever may be its cast, whatever fate it may bring to our unfortunate country! I shall feel that I have done my duty, or at least what I conceived to be my duty.

You ask me about myself; well! I'll tell you how I live now. I go to bed when I feel like it; sometimes at 7, sometimes at 9, sometimes later — There being no limit to the hours of an officer. My bed consists of my cot laid on the ground flat for the purposes of warmth; it being warmer on the ground than if raised on the legs. I have two blankets and my buffalo robe under me, and three blankets over me— If the night is very cool I throw my overcoat over my feet.— I sleep very soundly— I am not troubled with much undressing or dressing as I only take off my coat, vest and boots. I rise in the morning at various hours from 6 to 8 O'Clk. Ike, (or Zach. is his proper name— Zachariah Lawson —) comes into my tent about daylight and starts a fire in my little camp stove— brings me water to wash in, blacks my boots &c.— My camp stove is a little round sheet iron drum, set flat on the ground with a little stove pipe running out of the side of the tent.— Ike has spread a piece of bagging by the side of my cot for a carpet. So you see I live in fine style.— Breakfast is announced at about 8 O'Clk. Dinner about 1, and supper about 6— Sometimes we have a plenty to eat and sometimes we dont.— To night we had mush and milk.— The ordinary routine of camp duties, such as business drill &c. occupies the day; & so day after day whiles away—while we wonder each succeeding day when and where we'll march. I take a ride every day; pay my respects to the general, trot around the camp &c. & back to my quarters—

It is now after 8' O'clock— I am getting sleepy— We are all well and hearty— There is nothing new— Kiss the dear ones Tell me if Willy & Berny read their letters themselves— My love to all at home— And as for yourself you possess me entirely my constant love & thoughts —

As ever devotedly yours Wm.

Camp near Cassville Mo.

Decr 4 1862

My dear wife —

After a hard & rough days march of 27 miles and being tired to my fingers ends, I have only time to say to you that we are moving into Arkansas—

Yesterday at 2 P. M., we struck our tents at Camp Curtis & marched 17 miles —getting into camp about 9 O'Clock at night— By the time we got supper it was midnight— Of course I was busy all the time with camp matters— At midnight marching orders were issued to move at 4 O'Clk this morning— In order to do so we had to be up at 2 O'Clock in the morning—

At about 1 O'Clock I laid down on the side of a Rocky Hill, my feet to a rousing fire, & without tent or shelter except my blankets took a right good nap— It froze ice about half inch thick— & the frost was very heavy. My little moustache was quite frosty when I got up— I would not have believed I could have slept so well out doors in such a cold night— I eat breakfast at 3 O'Clk this morning, took my saddle at 3½ O Clk & have been in it all day— so you may imagine I am tired. It is now about 7 O Clk & I am waiting supper— We are near the little town of Cassville & will march at 5 O Clk in the morning— This will necessitate our rising at 3— I am feeling well— only tired— The march to-day has been very hard on the men— We will reach Elkhorn Tavern to- morrow night— Love to all— Kiss the dear little ones, Remember & pray for me—

As ever devotedly, Nannie your husband

Camp on Illinois Creek

10 Miles South of Fayetteville
Arkansas

Decr. 9 1862

My dear wife—

This morning's sun arises in splendor and finds me to some extent rested & refreshed after a very fatiguing march and hard fought battle.

We left Cassville on the Morning of the 5th at 5 O'Clock and marched from there to Sugar Creek this side of the old Pea Ridge battle ground¹ where Lt. Dolloff was wounded— on the morning of the 6th of Decr. we started from Sugar Creek and marched to Fayetteville which place we reached about midnight, and left at 4 the next morning— We marched about 6 miles from Fayetteville going South when our advance guard of cavalry was attacked by a large number of the enemy and scattered— Word was sent me to hurry up my infantry and artillery— I came forward as rapidly as possible— The artillery was posted ready for action, and the infantry moved up along the road.— After some skirmishing the enemy retired— We marched on two miles farther to Illinois Creek, and found the enemy 20 000 strong under Gen. Hindman² strongly placed on the hills across the creek.— I was ordered to move my infantry across the creek and place them under the bluffs so as to protect them from the enemy's artillery.— I moved the 94th across the Creek to the left of the road, and the 19th Iowa to the right of the road— The artillery of my Brigade was then brought across the creek and well posted. I rode up on the hill & could plainly see the enemy's artillery and infantry. Our batteries opened on them, and then commenced the music— The battle had begun. The artillery roared, the shell whistled through the air, and the timber crashed as it was struck by the huge balls.— My bay horse (not the one I brought from home) stood perfectly unconcerned, and I confess I felt much less apprehension than I expected— About the second or third round a cannon ball or shell passed so close to my side as to knock off my hat and throw me from my saddle.— The boys thought I was struck— but I was unharmed, nothing but the wind of the ball reaching me.— The ball passed on and cut in two a large tree standing almost behind me. But our artillery soon silenced theirs— Then the infantry

¹ A battle fought in northwest Arkansas, March 7 and 8, 1862. The result of this first battle west of the Mississippi saved Missouri to the Union cause. This Lt. Dolloff was probably Samuel F. Dolloff of Co. I, First Cavalry of Illinois.

² Hindman, Thomas C., (1818-1868). Promoted to a Major General at the Battle of Shiloh; he was transferred to Arkansas.

was moved up and the musketry began— Oh! but it was a hard fight— I was in nearly every part of the field— I had four mounted orderlies with me— The bullets whistled around us thick, and one of my orderlies who was right by my side was shot through the arm.— I did not receive a scratch nor did Burr³ who was with me all the time = About 4 O’Clock I thought things looked blue. You must remember we did not have but about 4 000 effective infantry troops. But Genl. Blunt⁴ who was below us at Cane Hill 8 miles off and to whose relief we were going came in about 4 and pitched in with us and we flaxed them out nicely— Night rested on the battle undecided— We slept on our arms— or rather did not sleep, but laid out without camp fires or any comforts— The boys had nothing to eat but hard crackers— My wagon did not come up but by invitation of the General, Herron I took supper & breakfast with him, & thus got along very well— I slept two or three hours on the bare ground with my feet to the General’s camp fire— At three O’Clock in the morning we were awakened by the sound of a bugle which announced the arrival of a flag of truce from the rebels under General Marmaduke⁵, one of the rebel Generals.— We were all up at once— The regiments were placed in line, ready for action, and so continued until noon.— At that time it was announced as the result of the flag of truce, that the rebels acknowledged their defeat, and had left the field, leaving us in full possession— Our men were all so foot sore & weary from heavy marches & want of rest that we could not follow them— And we are now camped on the battle ground.— I rode all over the ground and viewed the result of the fight— Oh but it was a hard sight— Rebels and union men laid together promiscuously— The rebels were all dressed in butternut colored clothes— Many of them had

³ Burr, Hudson, (1830-1891). Adjutant of 94th. Enlisted at Bloomington, Illinois, August 18, 1862.

⁴ Blunt, James G., (1826-1881). In November 1862 he was made a major-general and placed in command of the Department of Kansas. His victory at Prairie Grove checked the advance of the Confederates into Missouri.

⁵ Marmaduke, John S., (1833-1887). Colonel of an Arkansas regiment at Shiloh. Wounded there and while recovering promoted to brigadier-general. Commanded the cavalry at Price’s defense of Little Rock. Major General in 1864; and captured in General Price’s Missouri raid.

only ears of corn in their haversacks.— The woods were full of hogs, and during the night they had terribly mangled many of the bodies.— I have been so incessantly in the saddle, and so long without proper rest, that I am very tired indeed— There has never been a harder time soldiering, or a much harder battle than we have had during the past five or six days. The battle was fought on Sunday Decr. 7th; but the rebels made the attack on us. This is a beautiful country— none to excel it— and it has everything in it good. Plenty of sheep, hogs, and cattle & plenty of corn & wheat.— We will have no difficulty in subsisting here.— How long we may remain here I cannot now say.— Our Regiment only lost one man killed, and 32 wounded— with one man missing— All the field officers behaved well & came off unharmed Burr is all right— Joe, Charley & Howard are uninjured. Joe & Charley behaved well =

You can see by my writing that I am very much tired— I am trying to get you a dispatch through— Whether I will succeed or not I cannot now tell—

Good bye— I have not heard from you for a week or two— but I have no doubt you are all well. I have great faith that your prayers for my safety have turned from me many bullets and preserved me so far— I would not have missed the battle for anything— Remember me to all my friends— Say to them that the 94th behaved gallantly— and gloriously sustained the honor of old McLean and the reputation of the State. Kiss the dear, dear children— & for yourself be assured of my constant love & remembrance— Even in the heat of battle I thought of you—

Devotedly dearest Your husband

Camp — Prairie Grove
10 miles S. of Fayetteville Arks.
Dec. 10th 1862 —

My dear wife =

I telegraphed & wrote you yesterday— You doubtless had news of the battle before you recd. my dispatch— and of

course you were in some suspense to learn my fate— However I am in hopes that to-day my telegram has relieved your suspense. —

Last night I recd. your letter of Nov. 30th & this morning your good long letter of the 2d Decr. reached me— So you see our mail facilities are pretty good after all— I will therefore revoke the instructions I sent you to write not oftener than once a week, and say: write as often as you choose— I will do the same, which will be as often as I can, considering the circumstances surrounding me =

This is beautiful weather— I am to-day having no fire— the sun is so warm— At night however we have heavy frosts.—

Our battle is called the battle of “Prairie Grove”¹ and was much more severe in its results than at first supposed— Our loss in killed & wounded will amount to at least 1000. The rebels have lost twice as many

Wednesday — Decr. 11

While writing the above I was stopped by other matters, and this morning I resume the labor of love and affection of communing with you by letter. Today the prospect is good for a storm The wind blows hard, and the sky is overcast with clouds. I am feeling tolerably well— much, very much better than I had dared hope after the fatiguing march & severe battle we have had. = I believe I wrote you that from the time I left Wilson’s Creek — Camp Curtis — until the next night after the battle making six days and nights I did not take off even my spurs or overcoat; but whenever I got a chance to sleep I laid down with all my harness on.— If any one had told me I could have endured so much I would have doubted it, and I know you, dearest, would not have credited it;— especially after my recent illness— I am very glad to hear that you are bearing up so well under my absence— You are indeed, dearest, a noble & true woman— And our future life will be the happier and

¹ Sometimes called Fayetteville, and Illinois Creek.

pleasanter by our now temporary absence from each other on the occasion demanding it.—

I do not know what you will do about your help — Look around & see if you can find some one to suit you. A man & his wife will do better for you than a girl. They can divide the labors & suit you better. I should think you would have no difficulty in obtaining the necessary help. They all like to live with you.=

There is nothing of especial importance here since the battle— All the wounded have been sent back to Fayetteville The dead are not yet all buried.— Joe visited some of the rebel hospitals day before yesterday and met a Rebel Surgeon who was an old college classmate of his at Georgetown—² They recognized each other immediately. The rebels are reported to have fallen back to VanBuren in Arkansas some 30 miles from here— They were badly whipped— And I don't think they will like soon to fight us again.— I enclose you a genuine copy of Genl' Hindman's address to his troops before the battle— It was taken from a rebel soldier. After you read it send it over with my compliments to the Editors of the *Pantagraph* for publication—

Write me fully what reports come home about the battle— What is said about who distinguished themselves &c &c. Send me all extracts from the papers speaking of the battle— I mean our home papers & the *Chicago Tribune*— I have a curiosity to know what is said &c.

Joe, Charley & Howard are well — This is a nice country through here. We get everything we want; except butter, which is scarce—

We have mutton, pork, honey, flour, corn meal, dried apples in abundance Yesterday I got some potatoes and onions.— These things cost but little, as we send out foraging parties to take them.

The boys have a great deal of confederate money, printed in St. Louis, which they use to purchase things The natives here prefer confederate money to Green backs and as the

² Georgetown College, Washington, D. C.

confederate money costs nothing to the boys they get what they want without expense.

Which way we will go I cannot say— But I presume we will get ready to follow up the rebels— We can chase them out of Arkansas if the weather keeps good. We have a gallant little army gathered here, and we can whip the rebel army in front of us at any time they will give us a chance—

I have had a great longing to see a battle as you are aware— Now I have had my curiosity gratified We have had one of the hardest fights and most brilliant victories of the war.— I think when you read the accounts you will concede the fact that we have had a “big fight”.—

Remember me to all friends at home. My love to Fanny & your mother— Kiss all the children the dear little ones for me— Kiss them many many times— I am so sorry to learn that they are even slightly sick. Did Berny read her letter by herself.—

Tell little Fanny her brother Jimmy is safe.— And as for yourself dearest wife, be of good cheer & strong spirits— Enjoy yourself & be as happy as you can— Rest in the assurance of my constant love and remembrance of you. My life without you to fasten my thoughts upon would be indeed dark but as long as I can turn my mind homeward and see your dear face and almost at this distance hear your warm cheerful voice, I can still feel strong & happy, though absent from you.—

Write me whenever opportunity presents. Give me all the gossip.— In your prayers thank God for my preservation and command your husband to his safe keeping— The prayers of so good and pure a wife are heard by him who has us all in his keeping—

Good bye, dearest. I long for the day when I may turn my steps homeward, again to meet you and our dear little children—

Good bye—

Your devoted husband—

[The 94th lay in camp in the beautiful valley where the battle of Prairie Grove was fought until the 27th of December. A raid was made forty miles to the southwest against

the town of Van Buren, Arkansas. Early in January the regiment moved up to Lake Spring, Mo., twelve miles from Rolla.]

[During the next three months there was little activity except of a social nature as relatives and friends came down from McLean County for visits. On June 3rd the regiment began its ten day journey to Vicksburg to help Grant, who, "finding he couldn't take it without the Ninety-Fourth" asked for reenforcements.]

Head Quarters, Army of the Frontier

Rolla — June 3 1863

My dear wife—

Last night at 8 O'Clk I recd. marching orders to move for Vicksburg = After being up all night I marched into town this morning, and we are now making arrangements to take the cars for St. Louis where boats will be ready to move us immediately South —

I snatch this hurried moment to drop you this line — If time permits I will write you from St. Louis. I would telegraph you to come down to St. Louis, but my movements are so rapid & uncertain that I may not have an hour's time in the City—

I feel well & in good spirits, and am glad of the opportunity to take part in the grand struggle for opening the Mississippi & ending the Rebellion = I shall try to bear myself so that whatever may be my fate you and our dear little ones shall only have reason to be proud of me.— I saw Genl. Herron & first learned from him that you did not stay over in St. Louis as you anticipated—

Good bye for the present— Write me— I will write you from St. Louis surely— Love to all—

As ever your
devoted husband
Wm. W. O.

June 6 1863

On Board Steamer Minnehaha

8 — P.M.

My dear wife—

We have been steaming down the River all day— Last night about ten O'Clock we laid by, on account of the shoal water— and to-night we do the same thing.

The water is so low that the pilots think it unsafe to run at night—

To morrow we will reach Cairo — so you see we travel very slowly— After leaving Cairo we will have less difficulties to encounter and will run night & day.=

I dont think we can reach Vicksburg for at least four days after leaving Cairo— Our boat is very heavily loaded and runs slowly =

I should like very much to have you along; and indeed you might just as well be along as not— Our boat will stop at Cairo some hours to take on coal; and if you were along you could get off there, and take the [Illinois] Central road home.— But then it would be a long tiresome ride for you on the Central road, and it may be the best as it is.— I have already caused you to travel so much that I know you must need rest and quiet. =

I would like very much now to have my map of the Mississippi River— it is a fine map & I could use it to much advantage.=

Direct your letter to me thus

“Brig. Genl. Wm. W. Orme

Care of Maj. Genl. Herron

Haines Bluff

Mississippi ”

Via Cairo—”

I have no news my dear at all— I enclose to you the Photograph of Aunt Jane Boone. (now Haswell)= When my cards reach you send me a few of each kind. = Also send one to Mrs Davies¹ at Rolla with your compliments— Send a few to Frank, one to Mrs Littleton of course, and give my friends in Bloomington a copy— Judge Davis should have one = Send one to Mrs Col. Laughlin² with your regards, and request one of her husband's = If you run short get some copies made.—Call on Col. Roe,³ and say to him for me,

¹ Mrs. Davies with whom Col. Orme boarded when stationed near Rolla, Mo.

² Mrs. Col. Laughlin was the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Rankin G. Laughlin of the 94th. He enlisted from Heyworth, Illinois.

³ Roe, Edward R. Dr. Lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-Third Illinois regiment, was severely wounded in the assault upon Vicksburg on May 22, 1863, which caused his discharge.

that I sympathize with him in his suffering & he has my best wishes for speedy recovery. Give my love to all at home— and to the Judge & Mrs Davis.— Present Judge Scott⁴ a copy of my photograph.

Kiss the little ones often for me— I have now been away two months, and I long to see them— And for your dear self Nannie, live comfortably and happily. Remember that the chances of my return are very largely in my favor, and the future will compensate us both for our present separation. Receive my best & all my love and write often to your husband who ever dreams & thinks of you— Good Night—

Wm.W.O.

On Board Steamer Minnehaha

30 Miles above Memphis

Monday night — June 8 /63

8 P. M. —

Dearest Nannie —

Our near approach to Memphis reminds me of the still increasing distance between us, and of the opportunity there to mail you a letter.

I expect to reach the City in about three hours— it will be an unseasonable hour when we arrive but I suppose we will lay-to there all night, for the purpose of taking on coal &c.— We are going along very slowly. It was Friday night when we left St Louis about 7 P.M. and now it is Monday night, and we are not yet at Memphis—

Our men are all in pretty good shape;— and we have thus far had no serious accident.— You remember that I consider Friday a lucky day in my calendar; I therefore augur success in our expedition from the fact that we embarked on Friday. =

But, my dear wife, as the distance increases between us and the long winding line of the River is left behind me, my affection for, and sweet memories of you, seem to draw you nearer to me.—

⁴ Scott, John M. Judge on the Eighth Judicial Circuit in Illinois, 1862-1867. Member of the Supreme Court of Illinois, 1870-1888.

This is my first trip down the Mississippi below Cairo— And altho' in days past I had often to myself planned a trip Southward on this river and perhaps often suggested it to you, yet in my wildest roams of fancy I never dreamed that the occasion of my travel would be what it now is.— The future had promised me means and leisure for the fullest indulgences of pleasure and comfort on a visit South in company with you— and in imagination the Banks of this grand old river were but changing scenes of beautiful landscape where wealth & taste had joined their efforts to produce and create all that could charm or please.— That future had seemingly arrived— I had the means and the leisure to enjoy such a trip in your company and I am now on the “Father of Waters—” but you are absent.— The beautiful scenery is changed into thick coverts for an unseen foe; and in lieu of watching closely for the picturesque and the beautiful we scan the shore closely to discover if aught be there to do us harm.—

Below Memphis I learn that the boats are frequently fired into from the Arkansas shore— but I fear no harm.— The same kind Providence who has held me thus far thro' life in the hollow of his hand and not only protected me but showered almost every blessing upon me, (and none greater than the bestowal of so pure, good and kind a wife as her I love and esteem to care for and protect) still has my life in his keeping.— And I am satisfied to bide his will in all things— My life will be spared until God ordains it to cease— But I shall ever pray that he may restore me to your embrace that we may enjoy life together until our cup shall be full, and we sink down together in death—

On the river I can get no news.— If I hear anything at Memphis I will write you.— Write me often— Remember also that we are now so far apart that we cannot expect to be in as close communication as heretofore.— You must not then think to chide me for not writing you as often as I would were we nearer, & under different circumstances.

Dont fail to enjoy yourself & be happy and comfortable— Believe no reports concerning me until you receive reliable and authentic information— If aught happens to me and I still live I will have full particulars written you.— So that you will know the worst long before any one else.— False reports will only grieve you without cause — My love to all— Kiss the dear little ones—

Your affectionate husband
Wm.W.O.

In sight of Vicksburg
Friday 6 A.M.
June 12 [1863]

My dear wife —

While our boat is unloading I have barely time to say I am well— We reached here last night at about 6 O'Clock— Had a fine view of the City from 6 O'Clock till midnight by the mortar boats— We could see the shells from the time they left the guns until they fell in the City — There! another shell has just been thrown and the sound just reached me— It is a grand scene— Oh! how I wish you could witness it =

To day we take up our line of march from Young's Point¹ to a place opposite Warrenton and there we'll be ferried across to Warrenton,² where we will form the extreme left of the Grand line of investment— During our march to-day we pass in range of some of the Vicksburg Batteries— But I fear no harm nor must you—

Rumors of all sorts are current here— among others that Jeff Davis is in Vicksburg— If so he is gone up— The City proper, I mean the citizens have requested Genl. Pemberton³ to surrender, but he refuses— There is no telling how long things will be as they are—

My love to all— I would not miss this occasion for anything— I am well & feel well. Howard & Charley are

¹ Young's Point is about five miles up the river from Vicksburg, though nearly due west because of bends in the Mississippi River.

² Warrenton—a small town ten miles down the river, southwest of Vicksburg, Miss.

³ Pemberton, John C. (1814-1881). Lieutenant-General in command of defense of Vicksburg.

well— I can't say when this letter will reach you, or how soon I can write again— But remember that I am with you in all the ardent emotions of your heart—

With many hopes that we shall soon meet again never to part in life I am my dear wife as ever your devoted husband.

Wm. W. O.

Head Quarters Orme's Brigade — Herron's Divn.

Camp 2½ Miles S. of Vicksburg

June 15 1863

Monday — 7 — A.M.

My dear wife—

Since writing you on the boat in front of Vicksburg I have had very continuous and hard work—

We reached Young's Point on Thursday night and disembarked on Friday morning. (My Friday) At noon Friday we had to march across Young's Point to pass Vicksburg and its batteries which command the River— It was six miles across the point— to a point opposite Warrenton— I enclose you a rough map showing our route which by comparison with a good map at home you can see where we are exactly— That Mississippi River map will give you a clear idea of the matter—

We have marched into position on the left of the line which places us South of the City— The City is very closely invested and the rebels have all been driven within their fortifications.— I never saw a point so naturally adapted for a strong defense as this— Every hill and ravine could be held against great odds; but as it now is we have all of the advantages—

The sun is scorching hot, but my old white hat is a great protection— I have thus far kept very well, and feel very well.— Yesterday in company with General Herron & Genl. Lauman,¹ I went to the front line of our outposts— There is warm work all along the line— We were fired at as soon

¹ Brig. Gen. J. G. Lauman was removed from command of the Fourth Division, Sixteenth Army Corps and assigned to Thirteenth Corps, to report to Gen. Grant at Vicksburg, July 12, 1863. War of the Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. 22, part 2.

as we got out to the front and the balls whistled closely around us, but no harm was done==

Our camps here are all in the Ravines and on the side of the Hills which afford the most protection against the enemy's shells— They fired but little however and do no damage— From all I can learn the Rebel soldiers have everything necessary except percussion caps, to obtain which they resort to every device— Nine men were captured a day or two ago endeavoring to go into the rebel lines with 180,000 gun caps.— In the city the people all live in caves in the earth to avoid injury from our shells— I have heard that many women & children have been killed there. It is their fault however. When Gen Grant first invested the city he sent in word that the women and children might be sent out before he commenced bombarding, but they scornfully refused to leave the City— After some days bombarding the rebels sent out asking permission to send out their women & children, but Gen. Grant rightfully refused to let them come out. =

It seems to me that in a week or ten days they must surrender— The water here is very poor— I have to send off nearly a mile to get water that I can drink.— While I am writing you the bombardment is going on very briskly all around the line— And I have got so that I scarcely notice the sound of the cannon.— I have heard nothing from home for eight or ten days— I expect some letters at Haines Bluff² to-day & I will send over for them—

My love to all of our family— Your mother and Fanny. Howard is well & doing well = Kiss all the dear one's, our sweet little children & keep me perpetually in their remembrance— Your own dear affection keeps me in good spirits, and I only hope that my ardent love for you may at least serve to make my absence tolerable = The day is rapidly arriving, when I shall be able again to return to our happy home; and I hope to bring back honors which will compensate you & me for this painful absence from you = You

² Haines Bluff is some fifteen miles above Vicksburg, where the bluff abuts on the Yazoo River.

Know, my dear Nannie, that life is burdensome to me unless I can take my share in the duties, responsibilities and honors of the country— I seek no political honor, nor will I have any— But it is an honor to be able to say that in her hour of need I have served my country — There are so many things I have to write you about concerning this country & what I have seen here that I must defer them for another hour when times does not press me.—

My regards to all my friends who enquire after me.— I have seen many Bloomington men here— Wickizer³ is 16 miles away from me but I have sent him word to come over & see me.— He is stationed on a boat on the Yazoo River—

You may show this letter to Judge Davis as I cannot for a day or two write another.— Write me often & give me full news.— My dear wife, good bye until I write again.

Devotedly yours

Wm. W.O.

Head Quarters Herron's Division

Orme's Brigade

Camp 2½ miles S. of Vicksburg

June 18 1863

My dearest Nannie—

I have been so busy for two or three days past as to be unable to devote the time necessary to the pleasure of writing you.— Day before yesterday I recd. your letter of June 2d. which was written the day before you met me at St. Louis— However it was a great pleasure to me to read it.— Last night I slept soundly— Night before that I was up all night, and the night before that still I had but little sleep. However I am quite well. But the heat is very oppressive to me. I perspire very freely and so much that it makes me feel very weak sometimes—

³ Wickizer, (Capt.) John H. A lawyer of Bloomington, Illinois. Assistant Quartermaster, Nov. 4, 1861—July 28, 1865.

Yesterday I recd. a call from Captain Wickizer who took breakfast with me, and later in the day Col. Giles A. Smith¹ called to see me and took dinner with me.— They were both very well— I have not seen a newspaper since I have been here—

My camp is 2½ miles from the Vicksburg Court house— and about one mile from the enemy's batteries. They throw shells among us occasionally but do no damage— We camp close under the hills so that their missiles cannot reach us.

Night before last I moved my front line of skirmishers forward some distance, and it is now within 200 yards of the enemy's works.— The 94th in the night time took one of the enemy's rifle pits and captured four prisoners. =

Firing goes on continually along the front— I visit the front about twice a day, exercising great care however in my movements, as the balls of the enemy whistle through the trees very lively all the time. It seems to be the prevailing opinion here that the City will surrender before many days.— But there is no way of guessing at it very closely. The water around here is very poor; the inhabitants use cistern water mostly— Every house is provided with a very large cistern.— The variety of bugs here would astonish you, at night my tent is full of all kinds of bugs, insects, spiders &c. I am covered all over my body with large red lumps occasioned by the bite of some kind of a bug— said to be the "jigger". The bumps itch me very much & make me feel very uncomfortably— But it is nothing when you get used to it. =

I have no news of interest— All sorts of rumors are prevalent, but nothing reliable is known to me. Gen. Grant said yesterday that the City would surrender in three days— so I heard— But I am sure there is no means of making a sure guess. I hope to receive some mail from you in a day or two.— I have written this not knowing exactly when it will reach you, but will send it by first opportunity. Howard is

¹ Smith, Giles A. (1829-1876) of Bloomington, Illinois. In his report of July 6, 1863 General Sherman said; "In making special mention of Col. Giles A. Smith, commanding First brigade, I but repeat former expressions of praise." He was promoted to Brigadier-General, August 4, 1863; Major-General, November 24, 1865.

well— so is Charley & Jimmy. Love to all at home— Kiss our little children for me— & write me, my dear wife, as often as you can— for the only pleasant moments of my absence are when I receive letters from you, and the pleasant recollections of home & the loved ones there cluster strongly around me— Good bye dearest one— & remember & pray for constantly

Yr devoted husband
Wm. W.O.

Brigade Headquarters
Camp 2½ Miles S. of Vicksburg
June 20th 1863—
Saturday night

My dear good wife—

On account of the delay in forwarding letters from here I have not written for two days— Since I wrote you the other day I received your nice letter of the 9th— How glad I was to hear from you & of your safe arrival at home;— that home at which before very long I hope to arrive safe & sound myself— Once more there, my dear Nannie, I pledge you never again to leave you, our dear sweet children and our happy happy homestead.—O! for its cool recesses and shady trees, now! for its comforts & luxuries—

This is an awful hot country here full of bugs of all sorts.— The heat is very oppressive indeed— Yesterday morning I was taken with a slight attack of bilious diarrhea, but it wore off without proving serious; and this evening I am as well as usual. We have blackberries here in abundance; they are nice & ripe.— Peaches will be ripe in four or five days.

I am now suffering terribly from the effects of mosquitos & other bugs— I am full of bites all over. There is a small insect about the size of a pin's point which bites its way into the flesh & makes a very sore place— This insect is called a "chicker" or "jigger".— We are all suffering from its depredations. They are much worse than the "wood tick"—

I have to stop after every sentence I write to scratch myself & drive off the bugs. =

I have had no letters since my arrival here except from you— but an old one which reached me last night from Frank—

I have written Judge Davis, Scott & Frank.—Charley is very well & so is Howard— The latter is doing very well.— I have thought some of writing Gov. Yates & asking him to give Howard a commission as 2d. Lieut. & then get him discharged as a private to accept his commission. The commission of course would be one that would draw no pay, but it is one I think ought to be given by the State in honor of Col. Mc Cullough. I have made up my mind to try it any way.— Write Howard occasionally it would do him much good to receive a letter from you— And impress upon Fanny the necessity of writing him & me often, very often tell her. She has not much else to do.

. . . I have no news to send you from here. We are still closely investing the city and digging our way nearer to the enemy's forts every night.— This morning at four O'Clock a general cannonade opened all around the line; and the enemy replied throwing their shell in every direction, but doing no damage to us— Our cannonade was kept up for about four hours.— I don't know what the prospect of a surrender is— The rebels hold out well, & it may be a month before they give up, or it may be a week.— So you see there is nothing new & everything is comparatively quiet & dull.=

Kiss the children for me very often— Tell Willy & Berny they each owe me a letter— I think I wrote them last. Lucy's letter will come soon tell her. Remember me to all friends & much love to Fanny & your mother.—

Keep me in constant remembrance & be assured dear Nannie of my increasing love for you & home—

Your devoted husband

Wm. W. O.

Brigade Head Quarters Left Division
Army of Investment
Camp below Vicksburg June 22 1863
8 A.M.— Monday morning

Dearest Nannie =

This is a beautiful Monday morning and the air is pure and cool, and while sitting under the shade of a tree in an easy rocking chair (obtained from the neighboring houses by some of the boys) I was just thinking of you and home.— I was indulging in the pleasant dream that you were gaily and happily pursuing your morning duties in the household while the merry birds were singing in our trees and our happy children, full of innocence and love and scarcely less merry than the birds, were enjoying themselves in the garden .—

I hope it is so, my dear wife; for there is nothing so pleasant to me as to know that you are really happy. You may rest assured my dear Nannie that there is nothing in my camp life of which you would disapprove were you here — And for your dear sake, I shall endeavor to preserve myself until I can once more return under your happy influence. How much I would give to be once more at home, where I could enjoy its peace and quiet, and your pure and ardent love—

I have received no letters from you but the two I have named and I am continually looking for one. We have no news here— Nothing of interest in our army movements. Firing is constantly going on in the front— both musketry and artillery— I have had several narrow escapes but I am very careful.— A day or two ago I was out to the front with several of my officers and after remaining in a position several minutes I remarked to them that I thought it was not prudent to remain longer there; and we walked back some 15 or 20 feet; and just as we reached a large tree a shell exploded just exactly where we stood, but we found safe cover behind the tree. Yesterday afternoon I was again out and took a fine position for observation behind a large tree on a

hill but within reach of the enemy's sharpshooters, and remained there some ten minutes examining their works with my glass—I had scarcely left there when some soldiers came & occupied the same place & one of them was immediately shot.—

I mention these things to show you what the character of the fighting is, and not to alarm you— Because I assure you I am quite prudent and cautious; and I firmly believe that a Divine and overruling Providence carries my life safely along through all these trials to bring me back again to the loved ones at home.— I feel the influence of your prayers, hopes & wishes all the time, my dear Nannie =

I am as well as usual this morning, and am now awaiting a visit from Genl. Herron.— I don't admire this country as much as I did Missouri.— The pure water of Missouri is worth all of this State I have yet seen— Don't be surprised if Vicksburg is not taken for a month or two.— I can't see any good reason why it may not be at least a month before the city is surrendered.

My love to all at home— Here is a big (Kiss) for Lucy and a smaller one (Kiss) for Eddy.— Tell Lucy she is larger than Eddy.— Give Berny & Willy some large kisses for me.— Love to Fanny & yr. Mother. Howard is well— so is Charley. Write me often my dear— And take to yourself the constant and abundant love of one who is happy & proud in being a devoted husband to so excellent and good a wife as my dearest Nannie—

As ever

Wm. W. O.

Brigade Headquarters Left Division
Army of Investment
Camp below Vicksburg June 24, 1863

My dear wife —

Lt. McClun¹ is at my quarters now & is en route for Bloomington — This gives me the happy opportunity of dropping you this short note.

¹ Probably, Lieut. Thomas J. McClung, Co. K Eighth Illinois Infantry.

I am very well, and we are getting along comfortably. The heat is intense for the season & I am in a continual state of perspiration. I have recd. nothing from you later than June 9th. but am in daily expectation of a letter from you— I want one very badly. I hope and pray that you are well and happy— I know you are comfortable, because you have everything around you that can give comfort—

I should like very much to see our dear little children— I live very comfortably here We have young chickens frequently & what is more we have milk for our coffee & milk to drink. We have captured a very nice cow that gives us three or four quarts at a milking —

We have just heard this morning of the capture of Port Hudson below us on the River, by Genl. Banks—² There is nothing then to obstruct the river except the place we are besieging, and Vicksburg too will soon fall—

News is old by the time it reaches us.— I have heard of the rebel raids into Pennsylvania— & have seen St. Louis papers of date 19th.—

But I care for no news, except the cheering words I find in your letters— which give me hope & are full of promise of a happy future—

I enclose this note in a “Secesh” envelope,³ of the kind sold in Vicksburg = Everything moves off quietly along the lines, and the rebels are keeping very quiet in our front =

All of your acquaintances are well — Capt. Bradley enquired after you the other day— He an Littleton⁴ are sent down to Warrenton on duty there; that place is some five miles below our Camp.—Give my love to your Mother and Fanny— Kiss the dear little ones who bind us together by ties stronger if possible than our loves & affections. I enclose a big kiss for Lucy and Eddy— Tell Willy to be a very good

² Banks, Nathaniel P., (1816-1894). This was only a rumor as Port Hudson was finally surrendered July 9, 1863, on the receipt of the news that Vicksburg, farther up the river, had been taken by General Grant.

³ This envelope is of ordinary size, but has the appearance of being made of a poor grade of wrapping paper. The ink today is clear and unfaded. In his letter of July 1, 1863 to Wm. Shaffer of Bloomington, he says, “sold in Vicksburg at 5 cents each.”

⁴ Henry A. Littleton was detailed to report to Gen. Herron at Springfield, Mo., from Headquarters Third Division of Army of Frontier. War of the Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. 22, part 2.

boy; and that I was glad to hear from you that he was behaving like a little man— Kiss Berny for me many times— I know she is a nice young lady— Tell them both to write me— Kind regards to all friends— Love to little Fanny & all the family— And remember me only as a devoted & good husband (forgetting all my faults & overlooking my carelessness) which I desire to be indeed to one whose love I sometimes think I am unworthy of = Write me often my dear wife, & pray for your husband—

Wm. W. O.

Brigade Headquarters Left Division
Army of the Tennessee
June 25 — 1863

My dear wife—

I wrote you yesterday & sent the letter by Lt. Mc Clun. I trust this one by the mail— I am still without the good fortune of a letter from you of later date than June 9th— I hope there is a large lot of letters from your dear pen on the way to me.—

Don't fail to write me very often & give me full details of home & its happy surroundings—

Yesterday after writing you, my pickets were advanced & had quite an affair with the rebels. I was present on the ground witnessing the movement— Our boys the 94th— took a rifle pit & got eight prisoners.— One of our men — Fred Schlagel,¹ who used to butcher for Mr. White— was killed by a shell which nearly cut him in two through the bowels; and another man was seriously but I think not mortally wounded.— It was quite a gallant little affair and the boys behaved finely—

There is nothing specially new around us here—It is still very warm, altho' a pleasant breeze blows this morning—

It seems to me I never was so hot as I was yesterday— I was out to the front 3 hours from 4½ O'Clock to 7½, and when I got to my tent I was perfectly wet to the skin—

¹ Schlagel, Frederick. He enlisted as a private on August 8, 1862 in Co. A of the 94th Illinois volunteer infantry.

I feel very well however this morning— I am comfortably camped on top of a high hill to get all the breeze I can— My tent is just as comfortably arranged as when you were with me at Lake Springs, Mo.— The only alteration is I have a nice rocking chair; and I— have had a mosquito bar fixed over my cot= Everything else around me is just as comfortable. I keep a big stone jug with a corn cob stopple to keep drinking water in— In this way the water keeps cooler & the flies & bugs cannot get in to it— Howard is not well this morning— He complains of headache & want of appetite; he is walking about however, and I dont think is seriously indisposed— He is taking medicine from Dr Chapman whom you may remember to have met in my mess at Lake Spring— Mo.= I will take care of him & try to get him all right speedily—

My love to Fanny & Mother & kind remembrances to all enquiring friends— As for our dear circle at home I cannot so express myself as to say in words my ardent affection & ever increasing love for it— My whole hope of happiness for the future is to be with my dear little ones & their dear good mother. Be happy & enjoy yourself my dear wife & thus comfort my remembrance of home in my absence— Pray for me constantly & always remember

Your devoted husband

Wm. W. Orme

Brigade Headquarters Left Division

Army of the Tennessee

Camp below Vicksburg June 29 — 1863

My dear wife—

Last night after I had rolled into my blankets for a sleep, a messenger called me & handed me a letter which upon close scrutiny in the moonlight proved to be from “her I love”— I immediately got up, lit a candle and commenced reading the letter with as much zeal as a hungry man voraciously devours a long looked for meal— Your letter bore date the 17th and reached me the 28th, so you see we are eleven days

apart. I thought at Prairie Grove we were far enough apart but now it seems to me we are almost out of reach of each other.— I was indeed my dear Nannie truly glad to be the recipient of your good letter, and I hope hereafter to receive them oftener. The photograph of your husband which you sent me is a very good one, and impressed me with the idea that he is a tolerably fair looking individual— Why did you not send me one of the full sized photographs.— I wish you would send me several of each kind as I can use them here.—

I am still well—though I suffer from the heat very much.— The weather depresses me & renders me almost lazy.— If you could see me you would scarcely recognize me from my dress— I wear, no collar, a loose linen coat & my old white hat— This is my regular dress; and no one could guess that I was an officer by seeing me riding along or in the discharge of my ordinary duties. However, I must be comfortable even at the expense of my military etiquette.—

. . . Tell Willy to be a very good boy & learn fast, that I am very proud of him and love him very much.— Tell him that Genl. Grant has his little boy about twelve years old down here with him, and he is quite a nice little soldier.—¹

. . . There are no changes of note since my last letter— Everything around here is the same. From the best information however that we can get, I am inclined to think that Vicksburg cannot hold out many days longer. They are now reduced to short rations, and in a few days longer, say a week or two, they must surrender, unless our information is very incorrect. = We get deserters and prisoners almost every day.— I should like very much to have them surrender before the 4th of July so that we could have a grand military celebration on that day.= But the 4th is now so near at hand that I do not expect the surrender by that time. There is but little diversity in our daily duties— We are firing away at the enemy's works with heavy guns most all the time—

¹ This boy was Frederick Dent Grant (1850-1912). He was with his father during several battles and was wounded at Vicksburg. He graduated at West Point in 1871. He served with distinction under Sherman against the Indians, from 1873-1879. In 1898 he was appointed brigadier-general U. S. Volunteers, and during the war served in Porto Rico and in the Philippine Islands. He became a major-general in 1906.

Sometimes he fires back at us & some times he does not. At night we dig away with shovels and picks to get nearer to the enemy's line of works— I will have a vast amount to tell you about this seige which it would be improper for me to commit to paper now, on account of the uncertainty about my letter reaching you.— I have had ripe peaches here, and a peach cobbler for dinner yesterday.= Figs grow here & will soon be ripe.= The unhealthy season here I am told is in August and September— Give my love to Fanny & your Mother & all at home— Howard is well, but I cannot get him to write; some way or other he dislikes it— Write me often. Give me all details about home; for you must know there can be nothing so interesting as the news from you & our dear ones for your

Affectionate & devoted husband
Wm. W. O.

Vicksburg — Mississippi
July 4th 1863

My dear wife—

With great pride and pleasure I announce my arrival at this celebrated point.— The rebel garrison surrendered at 10 A.M. to-day; and our army with drums beating and banners flying marched in and occupied the rebel works. And here we are—

Oh! what a glorious 4th of July— What a proud day for those of us who are so fortunate as to have taken part in this seige= I do not now know what the number of prisoners is; but it is variously estimated at from 18 to 32 000 rebel count—

We have been very — very busy — marching and moving; securing the rebel arms and properly guarding and picketing our lines— This is a proud day, Nannie, and I would not have missed it for anything.— Only think of it! To march proudly over the great works of the rebels, from which have poured upon us constantly for three weeks their heavy guns, and victoriously to view what before we were combating! —

I am well— I have rode much to-day in the boiling hot sun, until my clothes were soaking wet— My saddle was wet from the heavy perspiration of my body; but I feel well to-night—and hope I shall feel equally as well in the morning.—

I am now in camp in the beautiful door yard of a British subject— a man who has a fine house, a British flag on it, and no sympathy for the loyal North, but a great respect for the suffering South. =

The rebels surrendered from sheer want of something to eat— But why they should have done it on this— the great day above all others to us— 4th July, I cant divine— The people and rebel soldiers I have met here are very bitter on General Pemberton, their commanding officer— They denounce him as a traitor and as everything else despicable & mean = It is now 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ P.M. — I am very tired & will try to sleep a little— as I shall have much to do to-morrow— You must therefore, my dear good wife, excuse this hasty & brief letter—

I don't know where we will go now— But it is surmised that we may be sent down to Port Hudson to help Genl. Banks along. Port Hudson is 250 miles further down the River & is besieged just as this place was.— When we go down, the place must come. If you should not receive another letter shortly after this, you may then know that I am on the move— and I suppose if I get down to Port Hudson, the safest way for me to come home will be to go to New Orleans and ship around to New York by steamer. Port Hudson you will see on the map, just a little above Baton Rouge, Louisiana.—

I am uneasy at not hearing from you— Have had nothing later than the 17th from you— Had a letter from Judge Davis to-day dated 22d. Show him this when he comes around and say to him if I had time I would write him full details, but I cannot now.— Howard, Charley & Jimmy McC. are well— Give my love to Mother & Fanny— Kiss our dear—dear— little ones often & over for me. And for yourself rest happy & contented, & believe me ever more ardent-

ly and devotedly loving & longing for you, and that sweet time when we shall meet again to part no more on earth.— Oh! for one day of our happy & peaceful home.— When I do get back my dear wife, you may rest assured that no idle dream or vain illusion—no hope of honor or renown—no ambition will lure me away.— My only aim and ambition in the future will be to live peacefully and unknown in my happy home circle.— But I shall not now return until time presents the proper opportunity & I can quit the service with credit— Be happy & contented for my sake— Do write often—

Devotedly your husband
Wm. W. O.

Vicksburg — Miss. — [1863]
July 5 —

My dear wife—

This evening I am happy at having recd, your two good letters of dates June 24 & 26— I also recd. one from Judge Scott of date 27th and one from Frank of the 14th.— So you see I had a pleasant time with letters— But can you guess which of the lot were most acceptable to me? — I am so glad Eddy has recovered, take good care of him & he will soon entirely recover his usual health. I wrote you yesterday, saying I expected to be ordered to Port Hudson —But I have heard nothing of it to-day, and I rather surmise from some movements that have been made to-day that we will remain here for a short time any how.— Uncertainty, however, you know is the rule in military life as to movements.—

I rode through Vicksburg to-day The town is literally Knocked to pieces by our shells— I met Capt. Wickizer who looked as usual and felt very good indeed— There are vast numbers of rebel sick & wounded soldiers all through the town.— The officers & soldiers I have met feel as if the capture of Vicksburg was a sore blow to the Confederacy.— I cannot give you the number of prisoners we have taken as I have no official information— But the number is variously estimated at 25 to 32 000 . =

I met a rebel lady here at the house where I have my Headquarters, who wears a small dagger at her side, and carries a pistol in her trunk.— She talks fierce.— Her husband is a captain in the Rebel Army & they have two children = I didn't like her & she saw it— They have moved from here to-day. Last night I sent her & her Mother a slice of nice cold wheat bread from my table & she was very glad to get it & enjoyed it very much— In turn she sent me a specimen of her bread, made of cornmeal and rice— She is evidently a woman of wealth & fine education. Flour has been selling here at \$5.00 per pound, she told me; and a common straw broom at \$4. What do you think of that.—

These people are terribly reduced here.— This morning one of this lady's children came out to me & said he would like some Yankee bread; he was a little weakly boy, about the same age as our dear little Eddy— I sent Howard to get him some & he brought him four nice rolls left from breakfast and the little fellow enjoyed it hugely— It pleased me to be able to make him happy— and I thought of my own darling children at home as I looked at him enjoying the pure white bread which he had not had for a long while before— He had been taught to say (as children are learned such things you know) that Yankee soldiers were bad; but this morning after refreshing himself on the bread, he told his Ma "that Yankee soldiers were not bad, they were good."

My health, my darling wife, continues good; but I suffer very much from the heat.— I go dressed in my woolen under clothes, as I think it best but I perspire so freely that it seems to me there will be nothing left of me. I don't think the last photograph you sent me— the full length— is as good as the other do you? You can tell Frank to say to his beautiful lady friend, that she may be a good judge of a brave man by his picture, but she is a poor judge of beauty =

I had ripe tomatoes for dinner & supper to-day— They were very fine. We always have good bread now from our Cook Shelby— And as we keep a cow we have an abundance of bread & milk. =

You may say to Mrs Eddy¹ that I recd. a letter from her son Ulysses & will be able to act definitely in a few days,— I preferred Dell Eddy—

Howard & Charley are well.= You must keep yourself in good spirits, my dear wife, and be happy.— I will endeavor to return to you this fall— at least for a visit if nothing else.— But I am much inclined, if everything in the West is settled to return home to stay.— It seems to me now as if we had a clear field before us in this region of country— and I shall remain in the service no longer than I think duty requires me to do so— I am more desirous than ever to return again to my quiet and happy home, where I may rest in peace with my dear family— Continue to write me often, for you have no idea Nannie how my heart yearns to you, and is made happy only by loving you.—

Kiss the little ones— My love to all— and wait patiently the happy moment when I may once more clasp you in my arms.— Don't fail to write—

Devotedly Your husband
Wm. W. O.

Brigade Headquarters Herron's Division
Vicksburg — Miss. July 7 1863.

My darling wife—

Time speeds on slowly, and I am yet here in the famous city of Vicksburg.— This morning I arose at half past four O'Clock, ordered a contraband carriage which we are using & drove off to view the town. I took the early hours of the morning in order to escape the heat of the sun. I was accompanied by Capt. Routt Capt. Stephens & Lt. Foster¹— We drove all through the town, up one street and down another to witness the great destruction made by the shells from our Mortar boats.— The town in its best days contains a population of only 6 000 people. But there is every evidence of much taste & wealth in the residences.— Nearly every house

¹ The two sons of Mrs. Eddy were Adelbert S. Eddy, Captain of Co. B in the New York Heavy Artillery and Ulysses D. Eddy, Lieutenant in the same company.

¹ Routt, John L. Captain of Company E of the 94th I. V. I.

has recd. some damage. The Court house, which is a fine building costing about \$150,000 was struck in the roof and the shell descended through the building tearing up the inside very badly— Many houses have been completely knocked down while others stand showing their gaping wounds. =

From the best information I can gather we have taken very nearly 30 000 prisoners, 50 000 stand of small arms and 110 cannon, besides a large amount of ammunition— News reached here last evening that Genl. Sherman had attacked Joe Johnston the rebel General out at Big Black River, and defeated him very badly capturing some 6000 prisoners.— This news however is not yet positively confirmed but is received as true.—²

We have intelligence from Port Hudson that it cannot hold out much longer than three or four days— and we will get there some 10,000 prisoners. = So you will readily discover that in this region of the country this wicked rebellion is being rapidly crushed out. = I am very well this morning my dear Nannie, and really stand the weather much better than I anticipated— You may rest assured if anything befalls me I will give you immediate notice of it; and if I get seriously sick I will turn my face homeward very speedily—

Do you keep well? Oh what would I not give to meet you now.— If I see that we are going to remain here I will extend you an invitation to come down & see me— What do you think of that— There is nothing certain about our movements, and I may remain here or may be ordered off— The weather is too hot to move troops on the march very actively— If Port Hudson falls speedily we will not go there— And the prospect now is we may be sent across the River into Southern Arkansas, to hunt up Gen. Price who is running loose over there somewhere— I will keep you fully advised however of whatever may transpire.—

Last evening I went up stairs to call on Col. Hall, a wounded rebel officer— He was severely wounded in the leg;

² This was only a rumor.

& his wife & four children are here with him— They are from Louisiana & he is Colonel of the 26th La. Regt.— I found him a polite gentleman, & his wife a polished dignified and modest lady.— He was formerly of Chicago having lived there from 1855 to 1860 and then returned to his old home Louisiana.— He asked me if I knew a Lawyer by the name of Orme of Bloomington Ills., who was of the firm of Swett & Orme; I told him I was the person— and then he remarked that I had done some legal business for his firm while he lived in Chicago.— The name of his firm was Hall, Honore, & Co.³— I recognized the name & remembered the business— He knew all the men in Chicago that I did. = I knew that he must be in destitute circumstances from his long & close confinement in this place & I told him & his wife as I left them not to let anything prevent them from informing me of their wants and I would have them supplied from the Commissariat with provisions = They are proud people though, I guess; and do not like to appear asking for anything— But, Nannie, I remembered my own dear wife & little ones as I looked upon Mrs Hall & her four pretty children, and memory called to mind the golden rule “Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.” — And I know I should feel grateful to any one who in the hour of my misfortune proffered kind words and acts to my darling wife & children. — What do you think of it? The rebel officers and soldiers are very much surprised at the kind and humane treatment they are receiving at our hands; and their minds are being relieved from the false impressions they have received as to our real characters and intentions. I really think that the mingling together of our troops with the rebel soldiers is having a decided and good effect in our favor =

A rebel Genl. Reynolds⁴ of Va. called on me this morning— He was a pleasant old gentleman, and was astonished to see so young a man as myself wearing stars— I had a

³ Wholesale Hardware and Cutlery, 51 Lake St.

⁴ Probably Col. Alex W. Reynolds of 50th Virginia Regiment. Acting brigadier general of Fourth Brigade, Stevenson's Division before his capture and again after his exchange in August, 1863.

pleasant conversation with him— He told me of a Major Orme in his army & promised to send him over to see me.— It may be he is related to me in some way. = Howard recd. a letter last evening from Fanny— He is well so is Charley. = I hope you are well & happy this morning, and as I suppose for the first time hearing the news of the capture of Vicksburg— Keep in good heart, & of good cheer; time will roll around rapidly & I will soon again return to your embrace to be happy & undisturbed forever on earth— Write me often— Kiss our loved & darling children & enjoy yourself on my account at least—

Good bye dearest one— Remember constantly & lovingly
Your devoted husband
Wm. W.O.

Vicksburgh — July 10 — [1863]
9 A. M.

My dear wife—

I have been made so happy by the receipt of your letter of the 30th June which I just rec. = Its tone is cheerful & pleasant— Always be so on my account—

I am well to-day— And I have just learned that we are under orders for Port Hudson — 250 miles below here. Only think of that— When we get down there however, the place must fall.— I have no particulars about Genl. Banks' position there but I conceive he finds it a heavier job than he expected. The next time I start for home I guess it will be by way of New Orleans to New York—

I am pleased at the order to move, because I have been here long enough— I only regret the extreme hot weather in which we are moving about in this country.—

Show this letter to Judge Davis & say to him I would write but I have no time—

After this I cannot say when you may look for another letter from me— I will write as often as I can, but what chance the letters will have to reach you I cannot say.— I think now is the crisis of the war— Success all around now

will bring a speedy end to this wicked rebellion, peace to our country, and an anxious husband to his loving wife & happy family—

You might send a note to the [Bloomington] Pantagraph stating that I have written you we are going to Port Hudson— so that the people may know where we are.— I think you had better keep the position they have given you in Dr. Reed's College— It won't hurt you any, nor require any unnecessary time— and it is intended as a mark of respect to you— I would advise you to let it remain as it is— But do as you think best— You have good judgment, and you know I rely upon it—

Excuse this hasty scrawl— Love to all— Kiss our dear little ones often & often for me— Remember & pray for me & rest assured I am as ever most devotedly & affectionately

Your husband

Wm. W. O.

Don't fail to write me often as heretofore—direct to this point (care of Genl. Herron) & they will reach me some time or other—

July 10 — 2 P.M. [1863]

Dearest Nannie—

Since writing the other sheet & sealing it &c ready to mail I have learned we will not leave here until to-morrow at 8 A.M. We will then (unless some news reaches us from below that will relieve us from the trip) start down the river on transports to take part in the siege of Port Hudson— We will only remain there during the siege, and will return here again— It is expected that we will not be needed longer than a week or ten days— When the siege is over we are expected to be returned here & placed on garrison duty for a while.—

I am pleased at the prospect of the trip down the river & will enjoy it I think— It cannot be much warmer at Port Hudson than here.— Dr. Major¹ of Bloomington reached here this morning— Also Mr. Richardson—²

¹ Major, Dr. John M. of Bloomington, Illinois. He was a practising physician and landowner.

² He was on a visit to see his son John W. Richardson, Private in Co. B of the 94th.

I read this morning a letter from Frank, one from Davis, & one from Prince besides the one from yourself & one from Mr. Shaffer³ = The letters from Davis & Prince each contained a letter from Mr. Swett, written May 30 & June 9th—I am in receipt of news as last as July 4th from St. Louis in reference to movements in the East, & I hope & pray that Gen. Meade's success is as great as the dispatches indicate.— I never fancied Hooker— simply because he boasted too much of himself.— I don't care who defeats the rebels so it is done— My only aim is to look for success; the man who wins it for our armies shall receive my praise, irrespective of his birthplace, his education or his color.— I want the rebellion crushed & the man who succeeds in that is the man for the country— Gen. Halleck I think is a complete failure— and the sooner he gets out of the way of his country's success the better.—

I will write Judge Davis a line this evening— indicating my movements. = I have no special news We are all as well as usual— Howard & Charley are well. Mosquitos & hot weather are our Chief troubles— Write me often— Love to yr. Mother & Fanny. Howard recd. a letter from Fanny yesterday written at some place in Indiana.— What do the people say about the fall of Vicksburg? It is a great victory— There are some of the details of the surrender I do not approve of— But I will write more fully when more time presents itself—

As ever devotedly
Yours Wm.

Vicksburg — July 11 [1863]
6 A.M.

Dearest Nannie—

We are off this morning— to go farther down into Dixie— Will reach Port Hudson at about 8 O'Clock to-morrow morning—

³ Shaffer, Wm. L. He took care of Gen Orme's business affairs in Bloomington during the war.

We embark on the Steamboats Tecumseh and Meteor.=
I do not know yet which boat I shall take for my Hd. Qrs.—

We will return here before many days, where I hope to
receive a large lot of nice long letters from my darling wife—

Love to all— Kiss the little ones—

Devotedly Your husband

Wm. W. O.

On Board Transport Meteor

Vicksburg— Miss—

July 11—1863—

Saturday night

My dear wife—

I wrote you this morning at 6 A.M., and afterwards wrote a short note about 9 O'Clk & sent it by Wm. P. Withers,¹ whom I found quite sick on board the Steamer Luminary, en route for home. = We laid here all day to-day, until about 4 O'Clock this afternoon a boat came up the river from Port Hudson bringing the glorious news that the place had surrendered to Gen. Banks with 5000 prisoners, and 60 pieces of cannon= This of course relieved us of the necessity of going down there.— I recd. orders to retain my command on the Transports & await further instructions; and to night I am under orders to move up the Yazoo River to Yazoo City at 8 O'Clock to-morrow morning (Sunday) Yazoo City is about 60 miles from here— Our whole Division will go up. =

I therefore drop you this line to-night to keep you posted as to my movements. —

What change in the programme may be made to-night, I cannot surmise— But I would much prefer not to make that trip— My only reason is that I fear the Country may be unhealthy there.— We have received news here of what seems to be a glorious victory achieved by Gen. Meade— I do hope this news is true— If it be true I can begin to see through the difficulties— In this section of the Country, the Rebels have been rather thoroughly cleaned out; and a

¹ Wm. P. Withers was Captain of Co. C, Fifth Illinois Cavalry.

great victory in Virginia or Pennsylvania, will demoralize the whole rebel army.

Gen. Meade has made himself a great hero if he has whipped Lee; hasn't he?

Oh! that all this news may be true, and our bleeding country soon have peace and rest again. The results of the campaigns down here during the past 30 days have been the capture of 50 000 prisoners, and nearly 300 pieces of artillery, and vast amounts of ammunition and small arms— This of itself is a terrible— almost a death-blow to the rebellion; saying nothing of their complete loss of the Mississippi River which cuts their states in two & severs their Confederacy.—

I am anxiously looking for some letters from you & hope to receive some before leaving here. I will write as often as I can & endeavor to keep you fully advised of all my movements— Don't fail to write me often, because your letters will find me somewhere— Direct to care of Gen. Herron as heretofore.—

Be easy and comfortable and as happy as you can be,— during my absence.— Good spirits will keep up good health—

Kiss the little ones often for me, and pray for & remember Nannie.

Your devoted husband

Wm. W. Orme

Sunday 12th July

7 A. M.

We are now ready to move & will get off by 8 O'Clk.— There is nothing special to do at Yazoo City, except to clean out a small rebel nest there. We will return here—

Transport Meteor-
at Sartartia— Miss
on Yazoo River

July 13 1863

My dear wife =

Altho' I have no immediate chance of mailing a letter, the great pleasure I derive even from writing to you has in-

duced me to begin this and hold it open until I have an opportunity of mails.—

We left Vicksburg yesterday morning at 8 A.M. and steamed up the Mississippi to the Yazoo then up the Yazoo to the Chickasaw Bayou where we waited three or four hours for the balance of the fleet— At Chickasaw Bayou we recd. a mail from which two letters were handed me— one of them of date July 3d. from Frank and one of date July 2d signed “Your devoted wife, Nannie,—” The latter afforded me much pleasure and I read it, re-read, and read it the third time before I laid it away. The knowledge that you were all well at that time makes me feel comfortable.==

We remained at Chickasaw Bayou until the boats arrived & then continued up the River to Haines Bluff where in company with Genls. Herron & Vandever¹, I called on Maj. Genl. Washburne.² About 5½ P.M. we started again up the River and tied up for the night at the Mouth of the Little Sunflower river.— At 3½ A.M. of to-day we pushed out and reached Sartartia at 8 O’Clock A.M.; and after laying there up to the time I commenced this letter we are now at a quarter to nine O’Clk. pushing off again up the Yazoo— We are now some 30 miles from Yazoo City which is our point of destination— There are four gunboats and 8 transports in the fleet== We expect to meet an enemy at Yazoo City, but it is not certainly known that there is a rebel force there— The rebels have some fortifications on the River at that point with seven heavy guns mounted, as we learn.— We will soon know however what there is up there. The Yazoo is a very crooked and deep river, but very narrow— Where we are now it is not wide enough to turn a steamboat around in it— By an examination of a map you can see our line of movements== We have no transportation aboard with us, and I do not suppose we will remain here or rather up the Country many days.—

¹ Vandever, Brig. Gen. William. He assumed command, April 9, 1863, of the Second Division of the Army of the Frontier.

² Washburn, Cadwallader C., (1818-1882). In November, 1862 he was promoted to Major General and was given a division in the Army of the Tennessee. He was Governor of Wisconsin, 1872-1874.

However our movements will be determined by the future turn of events. —

I saw a St. Louis Democrat yesterday of date 7th July.— The news from the Army of the Potomac was glorious— Our loss however must have been very heavy indeed— Many very fine officers have fallen there.=

July 15. — Well, dearest, a longer time has elapsed than I supposed when I commenced this letter before I have returned to it to conclude it.— We reached Yazoo City about 3 O'Clock of the 13th; the gunboat DeKalb advanced up the River to the City when she was fired on by the Batteries & was driven back— Our fleet then dropped down the River about one mile where I was ordered to disembark one Regiment & send it forward to the City in the rear— I ordered forward the 94th and accompanied it myself— It was near 6½ P.M. when we started; I accompanied the Regiment in person— We marched about three miles, and it was as dark as pitch. We had to advance very cautiously not knowing the road, nor what we should have to contend with = At 8 O'Clock however, groping thro' the darkness we entered the city.— The enemy had fled on our approach. I immediately took possession of the Batteries placed guards over them, and sent out forces on the road I learned the enemy had taken— We captured during the night about 100 prisoners, but could not catch up with the main force of the enemy.— I occupied the town & now hold it. We built signal lights on the river bank to signal the Boats to come up. The De Kalb— the finest gun boat on the River— started up and about ½ mile from the landing struck a torpedo and was blown up.— And none of the other Boats dared to venture up the River.— I remained in town all night; slept none during the night, and moved up the balance of my Brigade; and we are now comfortably located in the City.— The soldiers in spite of all my efforts have done a great deal of pillaging in the place.—

So that all you may see in the newspapers about the work done here you may give me credit for.= This is a very pleasant little town of some 3 or 4,000 people = It was

once a large business point, but the war has dried up its sources of Revenue.—

There are some beautiful residences here. We are now luxuriating on plenty of fresh vegetables of all kinds & fruit—Young chickens in abundance.—

I have taken my quarters in a very comfortable place where I have nice clean beds of fine style and well arranged with mosquito bars.— Last night I slept magnificently.— You may suppose that I was quite sleepy when I first laid down— and the bed was so nice that I had to be called three times this morning before I got ready for breakfast =

I have no idea how long we shall stay here— But apprehend it will only be a few days. =

I am quite well, and do not suffer so much from the heat here— I think it is cooler here than at Vicksburg.— I have no news in the world. It seems that we are isolated from the world. A boat will probably be up to-day which will bring our mails and then I hope to have several good letters from you.— You have no idea of the great pleasure your letters afford me.= While here I can write you but seldom as we have no regular mail facilities. So you must be prepared to do without your usual supply of letters until I reach some point where our communication is more perfect.— I shall write however at every chance.—

I know that long before this you know of the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson— Oh! how the country has cause for gladness. The people here are tired of the war, and think the fall of Vicksburg is a death blow to the Confederacy. There can be no doubt of that in my opinion, and I should not be surprised at any time to hear of the cessation of hostilities and a restoration of peace. I send a Yazoo City paper by to-day's mail to the Echo.—⁴

My love to all— Kiss the jewels of our happy home— our dear children— and let the brightest jewel of my household— my darling wife—patiently await the hour when she

⁴ The 'McLean County Echo' was a daily edited and published by C. P. Merriman in Bloomington, Illinois from June 12, 1863-1864.

may hang upon the neck, the pride, and source of happiness, comfort and pleasure, of her devoted husband— The hour is not very far distant= Love to your mother— Keep her at your house as long as you can— Write often— I am interrupted so much that I must close = Show this to Judge Davis, so that he may know where I am —

As ever Yr. husband

Wm. W. O.

The following note was enclosed in Gen. Orme's letter of Aug. 6, 1863 but it chronologically belongs here. In the letter of Aug. 6 it is described thus; "It was written to me at Yazoo City and reached me about 9 O'Clock of the evening I took possession of the town. [Aug. 13]"

General

I have just heard that you occupy the town. Picket the roads well to prevent ingress or egress, and have the town thoroughly searched tonight for officers or men left behind. The 20th Wis has marched by the rear to meet you. I started up on the Benton¹ and when opposite the navy yard, the Boat was blown up by a torpedo. She sank in fifteen minutes, and we had a very narrow escape. I will see you at a very early hour in the morning.

Respectfully

F. J. Herron

Maj Gen

Brig Genl Orme

P.S. Send two companies at 4 o'clock in the morning, out on the Benton road to pick up deserters or stragglers, as I understand there are many out that way. Let them go out five miles.

¹Commander Isaac N. Brown of the Confederate Navy reported, "We have sunk by torpedoes, in sight of Yazoo City, the iron-clad DeKalb, of thirteen guns." War of the Rebellion Naval Records, Series I, Vol. 24, Part III.

Gen. Herron probably had Benton, Mississippi in mind, a small town a few miles east of Yazoo City.

Yazoo City— Miss.

July 21 1863

Tuesday 8 A.M.

My dear wife—

Our troops have all re-embarked and the prows of our fleet turned down stream for Vicksburgh— As we were the first to enter the place so now I am the last to leave it— My Boat the “Meteor” is the last in the order of sailing— I have had no opportunity since mailing a letter from Yazoo City last week to send you another— We have had no communication down the River since our arrival here— This will account for my week’s silence, and for your delay in the usual supply of letters— I have had nothing from home since the letter I recd. on the 12th, but am anxiously awaiting our arrival at Vicksburgh where doubtless a large mail is awaiting us.—

Our mission has been accomplished here— We have driven off the enemy, captured arms &c, and we are now returning with some 3000 bales of cotton, 600 or 800 head of mules horses &c; and 1500 negro slaves men, women and children.— If we had more boats we could have brought off three— yes twenty-times as many bales of cotton, many more mules, and a much larger number of slaves.—

Yazoo City has been a pleasant little town— There is much wealth and elegance here, and the surrounding country is the finest and richest I have ever seen.—

Altho’ excessively warm here, and usually much sickness prevailing, I have enjoyed my ordinary health, and am feeling to-day very well.— I had good quarters while in the City— splendid bed, and good living— Our mess has been supplied with everything in abundance; young chickens, geese turkeys and mutton; vegetables of all kinds and ripe apples.—

While in command I have been visited by all kinds of people; men & women & children, black as well as white; the very rich as well as the very poor; wealthy ladies, bitter and sarcastic in their dispositions and talk; poor ladies quiet and

reserved and almost loyal.— All of them on business; some begging me to leave them a servant or two, some asking to retain a pair of mules, some needing a wagon, a horse, a cow or a calf which our soldiers had taken, and many asking for provisions.— I endeavored to treat them all well; but I scolded the haughty and rebellious, seized their cotton, mules and negroes without any feeling of sympathy, while I encouraged the poor & the loyal and aided them as I could.

I have many notes & letters of all sorts sent me by ladies— I enclose you a few specimens =

I preserved the town from harm— That is the buildings and residences are unharmed. Everything was taken however that we needed in any way.— Many of the prominent citizens, while regretting the loss of their property, complimented me on the quiet and good order preserved in the town— And on the good conduct of my officers and men.— I told them that we wanted to make them feel this war— They were living here rich, proud and haughty and did not feel the consequences of their rebellion; that we intended to carry this war home to them and show them we were in earnest; so that their posterity might take warning from the folly of the present generation in its wicked efforts to overthrow our government. = They all feel conquered now; and the most prominent people acknowledge that the rebellion is about ended.— Oh! that our peace men at home— the Copperheads I mean — were down here; they would be treated with contempt by the very people they are supporting in their rebellious purposes.=

I have seen no paper for ten days; but the people through this section of country have many reports that cause them to feel in very low spirits— It is reported among them, that Stephens, the Rebel Vice President, started to Washington with propositions for peace— And that Genl. Lee has been very badly whipped in Pennsylvania & Maryland.— But all the people here acknowledge whipped. Where we shall go when we reach Vicksburgh I cannot tell— Gen. Herron expects orders to go up the Red River—, but

whether that will be our destination or whether we will be placed to garrison some town or point of prominence I can't guess.

I would just as leave take a run up Red River as not.— To do so, we would have to go much further down the Mississippi—

We are bringing away from Yazoo City some 6 or 8 Union families— There are some little children and babies; one of them being very much like our darling Eddy.—

I forgot to tell you that Yazoo City is only about 100 or 150 miles from Coffeetown, the place where your dear father gave his life like a patriot hero as he was—⁽¹⁾ Coffeetown is Northeast of Yazoo City = I send you in an envelope accompanying this letter a paper published by our boys while we were in Yazoo City—⁽²⁾

Well my dear Nannie, I somehow feel that this war is very nearly over— I think the fall of Vicksburgh is the turning point of the rebellion; and I can almost see my way home to remain there permanently within three or four months— For I assure you just so soon as I can see this war closing up without need of my feeble services or limited influence I shall turn my face homeward, there to remain under our quiet, peaceful and happy roof to live for and enjoy the blessings Kind Providence has thrown around me in my good wife, my beautiful and affectionate children.— Until that hour arrives bear up cheerfully under my absence, so that when I do return we may again be happy in each others society, and indulge a pardonable pride in each other; you of me because I had given my services to my country; and let me feel proud of you for your patient and cheerful endurance of my long and painful absence from you and our children— We will both be more worthy of each other, and the future will bring pleasure to us in our recollections of the past.—

¹ Col. William McCullough; see footnote of letter of October 20, 1862.

² This very interesting paper edited by "Mudsill, Mr. Small-Fisted Farmer, Mr. Greasy Mechanic" was presented to the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois by Mrs. Lucy Orme Morgan of Bloomington, Illinois.

Take good care of our dear little ones, and keep me in their constant remembrance— Be happy and joyful with them so that no cloud of sorrow may pass over their young and innocent minds.— Give my love to Fanny & yr. Mother— Charley & Howard are very well. Remember me to all friends—and rest assured, dearest wife, of my constant love and remembrance = You do not long more anxiously to see me & have me with you, than I to return once more to your affectionate influence—

Show this to Judge Davis— I will write him when I have more leisure— I will write again from Vicksburg. The motion of the boat is so great I cannot write easily = As ever most devotedly and affectionately

Your husband

Wm. W. O.

Vicksburg— Miss.

July 22^d. /63

Dearest wife—

I reached here safely last evening, but remained on the Boats until today— Our troops all disembarked and got fairly in-to camp by 4or5 O'Clock this P.M.— Last night almost as soon as our Boat reached the bank, your letters of the 5th 7th and 9th July, as also letters from Davis, Scott, and Frank were placed in my anxious hands.—

I was much pleased to know that you were all well, and as happy as circumstances permit.— About the buggy that you desire you have my views in a former letter, and I can only now re-assure you that it would much please me if you would suit yourself to a nice one.— I have a very fine one here that I can let you have if you can send down for it.— Ever since I have been down here I have had a buggy & horses (captured of course— or as we say confiscated) in which I do all my riding during the heat of the day.— While at Yazoo City I got a very nice two horse buggy & harness— I find it almost essential to use something of the sort, as the

sun beams down so intensely hot that I can scarcely stand it.—

You have no idea, my dear wife, of the excessive heat here.— It is just as hot as can be. = To night we have had a little shower which has cooled the air and made it much pleasanter. =

Well, Nannie, we are on the move again— I am now under orders to take the Boats to-morrow, and we shall pull out to-morrow night down the River. Our destination is New Orleans—

What do you think of that— It seems as if every step were taking me still farther from that dear spot on which all my thoughts centre.— However I am pleased at the prospect— As long as I am in the service I want to be moving— And I have long desired to visit New Orleans. It certainly cannot be much warmer there than here, and the City has been so well governed for a twelve month that we may expect to find there everything that will tend to our comfort and convenience.— I am taking the best possible care of myself and am enjoying good health, tho' suffering much inconvenience from the extreme heat. I shall continue to care for & protect my health by all means within my reach, and you may rest assured that I shall leave nothing undone necessary to preserve my health,— while I have the opportunity of protecting it. =

Charley & Howard are both well.— We have no news of interest here. I have seen St. Louis papers as late as the 16th, and Chicago, of the 14th. I am glad to see that the government is enforcing the Draft— It has already delayed too long in doing so.— I hope many virulent Copperheads may be drawn and put into the Service— If they could hear rebels talk down here I think they would be better Union men.— You must be of good cheer during my trip down the River— Write me as often as usual, but don't feel uneasy about not receiving letters from me as often as usual, because I shall be on the move for a week and will be much further away from you. But I shall write as often as I can,

and when I get located again will write you at least once a day.— You cannot write me too often; your letters will find me somewhere, and when they do reach me they afford me great pleasure.— If you have no time, simply drop me a short line, saying “all well” or something as short, and sign your dear name to it— Direct your letters as heretofore— thus: “Brig. Genl. Wm. W. Orme, Herron’s Division Vicksburg, Miss.”— My love to all at home— Kiss our dear sweet children often & often. Tell Eddy I will soon be home again, and then I will stay with him all the time.— Tell Willy to be a very good boy and take care of his Ma and little sisters.= I may write you again to-morrow before the Boat leaves.— Be happy and comfortable, take good care of our little ones and I will soon return to our happy home and share its pleasures and its burdens with you— Good night! dear Nannie!

Your devoted husband
Wm. W. Orme

On Transport “Des Arc”
Below Natchez— Miss.
on the River— En Route
July 25 1863
Saturday 7 P. M.

Dearest & best of wives—

Since writing you yesterday, we pulled out from Vicksburg and started down the River about 6½ P.M.— We reached Warrenton (10 miles) and laid to all night— At 4 O’Clock this morning we pulled out again and have been running all day.— At 2½ O’Clock to-day we passed Natchez, but did not stop there— I could not see much of the town, as it is situated back on the bluffs of the River and thus hid from sight— I am told it is a beautiful city and has thus far escaped the ravages of war.=

We will reach Port Hudson at some hour to-night, perhaps about 2 O’Clk in the morning.— I think we shall only remain there a day or so and then push on to New Orleans.—

To-day we have met boats running up the River, with discharged troops from Genl. Bank's command— They are two years men whose term of enlistment has expired and are all Eastern men.— What happy hearts must have been on that Boat— as to them war has ceased and they return as patriot heroes to their homes; homes, made happy perhaps by wife and children as mine is,— And yet they must know & feel that they are passing quietly home over a road that has been cut out for them by Western men.—

Sunday— July 26— p A.M.

I stopped writing last night on account of the shaking movement of the Boat—Last night at 11½ O'Clock we reached Port Hudson and remain here yet— Our troops are all ashore, and the Boats are being cleaned up— We are waiting to receive orders from Gen. Banks who is at New Orleans There is a telegraph from here to New Orleans the distance being 155 miles— I am a good ways from home now— Only take the map and look at the distance— I think when I start home again I shall go round from New Orleans to N. York by steamer and have you meet me at New York City— Then we can run down to Washington together and make a pleasant visit— How would you like that— I am very comfortably fixed on Board of my Boat— Everything is neat & clean and airy— We have ice, so we can keep cool— At Vicksburg we succeeded in getting a Keg of ale, so that at dinner I can have my great relish of a glass of ale & ice.— I am very well— with the exception of a slight diarrhea which set in last night; but I am using remedies which will soon check it up.— This climate is very severe on our men making quite a number of them sick & when they get sick it is very difficult for them to recuperate =

Our regiments are very much reduced in numbers and if the weather does not get cooler we will have a large number of sick men. I have nothing specially new here— I have nearly made up my mind to get back home about the first of October— At any rate I believe the rebellion will be near enough ended to justify my return about that time.— With

a few successes on the coast, the capture of Charleston for instance, there certainly must be an end of the war; it is folly for the rebels to contend longer.—

I shall close now to get this letter mailed here.— I shall write you as often as I find chance to mail a letter to you— But you must expect only a letter semi-occasionally now as I have got so far away from regular mail facilities that it will be only now & then I can send you a letter. Write me often as usual— Your letters will reach me at some time— Kiss our dear little ones many times for me, tell them I will soon again be with them. Love to yr. Mother & Fanny.— Say to your mother that she should not furnish Willy with either money or new clothes; but let him go ragged if he will act the way he does.— Charley is about as usual—Howard is well— Good bye! I will write again tomorrow if we are here

As ever Yr. devoted husband
Wm.W.O.

Head Quarters— Orme's Brigade
Herron's Division—
On Dry Land,
near Port Hudson
Aug. 6, 1863

My dear good wife—

As you will perceive by the head of my letter I am once more ashore.— To-day I moved from the Transport Des Arc into camp on the bluffs of the Mississippi a mile and a half below the, once insignificant but now famous, village of Port Hudson, La.— I have exchanged the small, close & hot state room of the steamboat, for my cool, airy and spacious tent, and I hope too that in the change I have left behind me the vast army of bloodthirsty mosquitoes, which for now nearly one month have annoyed me almost to distraction.— But I can tell better about that in the morning— Oh! I have my fears! for just now one lean looking chap has lit upon my shirt sleeve.— However there is one consolation, they cannot be any worse here than on the Boat.—

I rather suspect we shall be allowed to remain at this point for a short time— I had hoped it would not be so, as I think it is quite sickly here.— We have very much sickness among the troops. So far however I have escaped anything serious, and am doing much better here than I could hope or expect in this climate at this season of the year.— August will soon roll by and then we shall have some cooler weather.— No Boats have gone up the River since I came up from New Orleans until to-day— I sent forward by Capt. Tim Owens,¹ who was going up, two letters for you, the one written at New Orleans and the other written at this point after my return. I intended to have had another ready but I was so busy moving and the boat came by sooner than I expected so that I lost the chance.

Mail facilities are so imperfect hereaway that it is only about once a week I have a chance to forward letters North = We have had no mail down for a week, and my latest dates from home are to the 19th of July only. So you see I am without news from my dear ones for nearly three weeks.— I am informed that there is a large mail at Vicksburg for us, but by somebody's neglect it is not forwarded.—

I have nothing new to say to you. Dullness reigns supreme in this locality— In looking over my papers I came across the enclosed letter from Gen. Herron—² It was written to me at Yazoo City and reached me about 9 O'Clock of the evening I took possession of the town. As a sort of relic of that trip I thought I would send it to you to keep.— It bears neither date nor place of writing.— You will observe the Genl. gives an account of being nearly blown up.— These little papers will be precious relics in after years to us— May we long live in the future to enjoy in each other's affectionate society the many recollections of the rapidly growing past!— Port Hudson is only a place of five or six houses— a short piece of railroad runs out here some 15 miles back into the country.— The bluffs are very high and well cal-

¹ Owen, Timothy of Bloomington, Ill. Captain of Co. D of the 94th.

² This note has been placed in its chronological order following the letter of July 13-15, 1863.

culated for defense; but by no means so strong a point as Vicksburg. Dr. Major who has been down here has been quite sick & put for home to-day. He has been with me even to New Orleans— go & see him— But I fear he will give a distressing account of affairs here— If he does, only remember he was very sick while here & everything looked to him a hundred times worse than it really is.— Then a sick citizen has but little sympathy in the Army. You can see how that is— But I had the opportunity of aiding him some by giving him a quiet berth on my Boat and letting him use our ice, which is a very great deal down here. = Howard is well & Charley is improving— Charley has chills & fevers = Good bye! Kiss our dear children— My love to all at home. Write me often— Remember & pray for your devoted husband who longs anxiously to see you.

= Wm. W. O. =

Carrollton— La—

Aug 14 [1863]

My dear wife—

Here I am with my Brigade in camp in sight of the buildings of the City of New Orleans—

This place is a small town adjoining the City.— I am in a tent, pitched under the orange and the lime tree— The great huge white oak of a century's growth throws its large arms over all & makes a thick cool shade— My tent is about 400 yards from the Bank of the Mississippi = We reached here yesterday afternoon & I have been very busy disembarking and camping my troops— And now at this hour of 3 P.M. to-day everything in order here I am hastily dropping you a notice of my whereabouts, & devoutly wishing for night that I may get a good rest which I so badly need.— I am tolerably well— as well as any body who came down here— We are all used up to a great extent— Only think of being in New Orleans as a visitor in the middle of August. You can have no possible idea of the very great depression of the hot weather—

Charles is much better, tho yet quite ill. He is in good quarters & well fixed— I think he will recover in a week or ten days, but he is not yet out of danger— I write now in a hurry, but will write again to-night— Don't feel uneasy about me I will do the best I can to keep well— I have gained very much since I left Port Hudson—

Love to all— & a Kiss for my wife
As ever devotedly
Yours

Wm. W. O.

New Orleans — La.

Aug. 18 — 1863

Dearest Nannie—

I am about as well as usual to-day.— It is a cool pleasant morning, made so by the rains of yesterday & last night.— We have no news of any interest— Everything is dull and quiet. This afternoon at 3 P. M. I have an engagement with Dr. Kells, a dentist, to fix a tooth for me. = One of my back teeth needs filling badly. I neglected to have it fixed while I was at home.—

This morning a Mr. Cox of Mc Lean County¹ called on me. He is down here after his son who is sick.—

I think the men are improving since they came down here— It is very much pleasanter here than at Port Hudson. And most everything can be had that is needed. Prices are very high tho'.— I paid 50 cents for 6 apples— Butter is 30 to 45cts per pound— Beef & mutton from 40 to 60 cents a pound.— Fish are very high too though quite abundant.— My mess is supplied fresh every morning by a wagon from the City Market.—

Enclosed I send Eddy a little hat. It has his name on it. It is the buckskin from the top of a small bottle of perfumery. It may please the little boy, as it comes from New Orleans. I am expecting letters from you every day, but the mails arrive very slowly some how or another— I have nothing from

¹ Cox, David. He was visiting his son William Marcus Cox, Private in Co. F of 94th.

you later than July 31st— I recd. a letter from Scott of date Aug. 3d.—

Don't fail to write me often. I am all the time anxious about home & frequent letters bringing me tidings of your continued health relieve me very much =

My love to Fanny & yr. Mother— Kiss our dear children for me & rest assured my dear wife of my continued & ardent love & affection—

Good bye —

Your devoted husband

Wm. W. O.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS HOME FOR WOMEN, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

By HARRIET J. WALKER.

The International order of the King's Daughters is a Christian Organization known in every quarter of the globe where human sympathy and personal sacrifice are put to the test for the elevation, happiness, and betterment of the race, being especially interested in the welfare of women and girls.

The order had its first inception in the loving heart of Mrs. Margaret Bottome of New York City.

As she walked the deck of one of the great ocean steamers on her homeward voyage from Europe, just above, amid the rigging of the vessel, swinging to and fro, she saw a small boat in which rested all that was mortal of one who had embarked with them on the homeward bound trip. During the night his summons had come and the young man was anchored in a safe harbor. Mrs. Bottome learned that during the last night of his life, he had moaned piteously for his Mother. Mrs. Bottome wished she were a member of some organization whose badge of service might have permitted her being called to the bedside of this young man, that the sad privilege might have been hers to help him in his last hours, taking a mother's place beside him.

Several months after, this unspoken wish, which had slumbered in her mind, was aroused by meeting Edward Everett Hale, who said to her, "Mrs. Bottome, I have read with interest and pleasure of your successful work in the drawing rooms of the wealthy, why do you not form a sisterhood to help your more humble sisters?" Acting upon his suggestion, on January 13, 1886, she gathered nine other Christian women in her home, true and loyal to the work to which they might be directed, and here was organized The King's Daughters. Adopting the system of Edward Everett

Hale's "Ten Times One Clubs" they constituted themselves a Central Ten around which should crystallize other tens of workers. Of the various names suggested, that of "The King's Daughters" by Mrs. Theodore Irving was adopted. The badge of service the order decided upon, was a small Maltese Cross of silver tied with purple ribbon, the color of royalty. The watchword was "In His name" the initial letters I. H. N. being inscribed on the emblem, and the significant date, 1886. The mottoes for action were, Look forward and not back (Hope) Look out and not in (Charity) Look up and not down (Faith)—Lend a hand (Fraternity).

They decided that the chief aim of the order should be the breaking down of barriers between the rich and the poor; that the membership should include women and girls of all classes and conditions. When first organized the society had no constitution and no code of laws save the one general regulation that whenever any reasonable request should be made "In His Name", it should be granted without question. After the order had grown in membership the Central Ten was constituted an executive committee, or advisory board with Mrs. Bottome as president. It was soon found that the formation of circles on the basis of tens alone, was impracticable and this rule was relinquished.

The order in Springfield, Illinois, owes its beginning largely to Rev. F. W. Clampett, who came to Springfield from New York city to be the rector of Christ Church in January, 1888. Mr. Clampett was conversant with the workings of the order, since members of his church in New York City were connected with the Central Ten; and it was due to his enthusiasm that the first circle was formed in Springfield. On Sunday evening, June 24, 1888, ten Christian women, on bended knee received from their rector the little silver cross tied with the royal purple ribbon, while the choir sang "Thine Forever." The Whatsoever Circle of Christ Church, the first Circle, was pledged to work in accordance with the name chosen, and while the record of accomplished work may not be large, yet the sick in our homes and in the hospitals, those

in trouble or affliction received substantial aid and tender sympathy. The work spread quietly and slowly, but surely. The Bible Class Ten of Christ Church was organized to study the King's message, next came the Pastor's Ten of the Congregational Church, handmaidens at work in the Master's vineyard; the Chautauqua Willing Band followed, the membership being largely the teachers in our public schools, each one of whom was pledged to work In His Name; the Tongue Guard Circle was a class of twenty-six girls in the St. Agatha school, their object being to guard that unruly member, the tongue. The Charitable Ten followed whose motto was to think no evil—the Inasmuch Circle worked among the newsboys and the bootblacks, striving to plant seed in their hearts that might yield a harvest of true and loyal manhood. The Lend-a-Hand Circle was composed of Sabbath School girls; then came the Opportunity Circle, their object being to increase interest in the temperance cause and at the same time to try and cheer the loneliness of strangers coming to our midst. The L-O-A-N-I Circle of young women decided to “Look out and not In”, thereby leading unselfish lives.

On January 27, 1890, these ten circles united for mutual council and sympathetic aid, helping to do great work in the name of Him whom they were pledged to serve. Thus was formed the Sangamon County Union of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons. Mrs. Medora Scales was elected president, Mrs. H. W. Clendenin, vice president, Miss Anna Broadwell, recording secretary, and Miss Lydia Robinson, treasurer. Miss Gertrude Seaman was appointed County Secretary. In April, 1890, a large delegation attended the State meeting held in Bloomington, returning, they were filled with enthusiasm and as a result many circles were formed. Soon the three circles of Sons were disbanded, and the order continued Daughters only.

The Kindergarten Circle was the first to be organized after the Union was formed, which was followed by the Willing Ten, afterwards changed to the Willing Circle whose name has ever been a synonym for active work in the Organ-

ization. The Industrial Circle started a good work for poor girls, training them in the uses of the needle. The Sunset Ten, a band of old ladies interested in any good work. The Quiet Circle tried to do their good deeds without ostentation. The Watchful Circle took as their motto "Speak no evil, and report no unkind remark"—The Earnest Workers, many of them working girls, exemplified their name; this was soon changed to Wayside Gleaners—The Noblesse Oblige circle was composed of young women whose earnest efforts to be living exponents of their name, made brighter the lives of many other girls and women.

The Work Together circle has ever been a band of earnest women, working in harmony for the interests of the order. The Whatsoever Ten of the Second Presbyterian Church Sunday School were interested in working for young girls who were not well provided with the needed things of life as were they. The According to our Power Circle of Grace Lutheran Church gave their pastor needed aid, and later were valuable assistants in the work of the organization. Then followed the Dorcas Circle; the "In Memory of Me" circle of the Christian Church. These named circles were formed in 1891—First in 1892 came the Sunshine Circle; the Morning Star, and the Good Samaritan circle. This completed the number of circles organized before the State Convention held in Springfield in May, 1892, making 26 circles with a membership of 379.

The Union was not organized for any united work, many thinking the reports of work done by the various circles all that was needed. It is possible to insulate a wire, but it is impossible to insulate a woman. The demand for systematic, united effort along some Christian philanthropic lines, seemed imperative. What should it be? Many propositions were advanced, all desirable, yet none meeting the needs of the organization whose active interest must necessarily be confined to some modest charity, since it was the voice of all that the work chosen must be within their financial strength.

After much discussion, the concensus of opinion was that there was a need of a home for women, especially for aged women. Finally, the motion was made by Mrs. Snively that the Union work for such a home, which was carried. A committee was appointed by the President consisting of Mrs. A. L. Ide, Mrs. E. S. Walker, Mrs. S. E. Prather, Mrs. W. F. Herndon, Mrs. Emil Rutz, Mrs. Esther Wood and Mrs. J. L. Powell, to devise ways and means for the united work. Mrs. Walker suggested the Spectacular presentation of Ben Hur. In Oct., 1892, the contract was signed by Mrs. Ide and Mrs. Walker for this entertainment to be given in April, 1893. The proceeds of this entertainment amounted to \$911.08, which was most inspiring. Previous to this date the Inasmuch Circle realized from an entertainment the sum of \$100.00 which was later applied to furnishing a room in the Home which was called "In Memoriam" The Medora Scales Room, thus the money realized from the Ben Hur entertainment was the first raised for the Home proper. It now became necessary to incorporate under the laws of Illinois. This was done on June 6, 1893, and the following women were the incorporators: Harriet J. Walker, Adelaide Ide, Sallie Maxwell, Mabel Cook, Olive A. Eggleston, Emma F. Jones, Anna M. Stanton, Nannie L. Souther, Hattie Herndon, Medora Scales, Elizabeth Brown, Jennie A. Powell, Emily J. Converse, Mary Connelly, Kate G. Weber, Cornelia S. Brinkerhoff and Ida Prather. The legal name for this corporation was "King's Daughters Home for Women", the object being to charitably aid deserving women and to provide a home for aged women. The management was vested in a Board of twelve Directors, to be elected four for each year for terms of three years. The first Board of Directors were Harriet J. Walker, Adelaide Ide, Sallie Maxwell, Mabel Cook, Olive A. Eggleston, Emma F. Jones, Anna M. Stanton, Nannie L. Souther, Hattie Herndon, Kate G. Weber, Cornelia S. Brinkerhoff and Ida Prather. Mrs. Walker was chosen president, Mrs. Ide 1st Vice President, Mrs. Prather, 2d Vice President, Miss Jones, Secretary, and Mrs. Weber, Treasurer. The

Advisory Board consisted of Mr. George Judd, Mr. Clinton L. Conkling and Mr. R. L. McGuire.

The summer of 1893 brought a financial depression and it was deemed wise to postpone active work, but in the autumn renewed energy brought a goodly sum of money for the treasury. A Japanese Tea at the residence of Mrs. C. C. Brown gave over \$80.00; a Cooking School under the auspices of the Willing Circle netted \$188.83; a lecture by Dr. Edward Vincent, the sum of \$165.00; a Bazaar at the State House realized \$646.86. In September, 1893 one thousand jugs were distributed to be opened the following April, these netted \$991.46. New Circles were formed, notably the Grateful Daughters and the Helping Hand, thus adding strength to the Corporation. Mrs. A. L. Ide gave \$500.00; Miss Susan Enos, \$300.00; Mrs. Haynie, \$500.00; Sallie Short's estate \$500.00. This financial strength made possible the purchasing of a Home. Various propositions were considered, resulting in choosing the present location on Black Ave. and 6th Street, which all thought an ideal one. There were two mortgages upon the property, the first held by Mrs. Rachel Hinton Wells; this was purchased by the Corporation, amounting to \$3857.86, which, with accrued taxes of \$224.24 and a paving tax of \$187.00 amounted to the sum of \$4269.10.

The second mortgage was never redeemed, amounting to \$5000.00. In March, 1895 we came into possession of the property known as the Post home where Mr. C. R. Post had lived for many years. Needed repairs upon the home amounting to \$1730.90, with the purchase price made a sum amounting to \$6000.00, the cost of the Home. Mr. Judd generously contributed \$600.00 towards the repairs, and \$1000.00 for an endowment fund. Mrs. Richard Yates realized from an entertainment the sum of \$748.00. Mrs. T. C. Henkle also added to the treasury \$231.70; Miss Haskell of Monticello gave \$200.00; Mr. A. L. Ide contributed all the work for installing the heating plant, amounting to \$162.77; Mrs. Stuart Brown and Miss Mary Coleman made it possible to open the home free of debt. Several gentlemen contributed

towards the heating plant while the various circles of King's Daughters were most loyal in their efforts to aid in the opening of the Home.

October 8, 1895, was a happy day for the King's Daughters of Sangamon County, Illinois, when the Home was formally opened free of debt. Great credit is due to Mr. C. L. Conkling for his unfailing and most useful advice, also of the equally important services of Mr. Judd without which the undertaking of the King's Daughters would have been much more difficult. Appreciation should also be given Mrs. Rheuna D. Lawrence and Mrs. Susan Lawrence Dana for furnishing the hospital room with all necessary requirements.

From October 8, 1895 to May, 1896, eight aged women were admitted to the Home, and at that time the Board of Directors reported to the meeting of the Corporation that the Home was free from debt and that there was an endowment fund amounting to \$1700.00.

Verily, Old Ladies fill a place in life that would be quite bare without them.

"The morning has its delights and its enticements, the noon has its triumphs and satisfactions, but there is a charm and a tranquillity about the close of the day that belongs to neither."

CONTINUED BY MRS. JOHN J. GARDNER, (GEORGIANA POST).

On January 28th. 1902, the Home burned and temporary quarters were secured on Edwards Street back of the Congregational Church. The family were made as comfortable as possible in the crowded quarters and plans for rebuilding were made. Mr. C. W. Post contributed \$5,000 toward the sum which was raised to build, and added \$5,000 to the endowment fund in memory of his mother, Caroline Lathrop Post. The new home contained twenty bed-rooms and was complete and modern in every way.

It was agreed, at this time, to admit residents from adjoining counties upon the payment of \$500. Sangamon

County residents were always to be given preference however, and the fee for them was raised from \$200 to \$250. About this time a lot in Oak Ridge Cemetery was given to the Home and markers for the graves were provided for by the birth of the "Marker Fund." At the thirteenth annual meeting the endowment fund was \$13,950.05 and there were nineteen circles of King's Daughters.

In 1920 the need for a larger Home was recognized and a successful drive for funds for the new addition was launched. \$10,000 of the \$50,000 raised was given by Marjorie Post Hutton, of New York City. This addition made it possible to enlarge the family of the Home to forty and it was completed in 1921 and the endowment fund was then \$58,100. The admission fees paid by members of the family went into this fund, also any money or property turned over by them. However 4% interest on their money was paid to them as long as they lived. The endowment fund had been further enlarged by legacies and gifts from interested friends. The admission fee for residents of Sangamon County was afterward increased to \$300. and \$600. for those from near by Counties.

Circles have been organized from time to time and board members added. Most of the circles assume the care of one of the rooms and take particular interest in its occupant. \$25. is paid for each board member and there is an assessment of one dollar for each circle member. This money with generous donations from circles and friends and the income from the endowment fund takes care of the running expenses of the Home.

In 1930 the executive committee consists of President, three Vice Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, all elected by the board of directors. The Advisory board of five men is elected by the corporation meeting which is held annually early in May. There are thirty circles consisting of over twelve hundred members, and the endowment fund is \$122,540.00.

During these years the following have served as presidents of the board of directors and they, as well as the other officers have been most faithful in their service. Mrs. E. S. Walker, three years; Mrs. Vesta Torrey, one year; Mrs. A. L. Ide, one year; Mrs. John M. Palmer, ten years; Mrs. M. M. Hazlett, one year; Mrs. S. E. Prather, twenty years; and Mrs. Ira B. Blackstock elected in 1930.

It may be truly said that the King's Daughters Home of Springfield is a living monument to the memory of the many faithful women who have served so faithfully through the years, as officers, board members, and loyal members of the circles.



Kühne and Ray Beveridge.

KÜHNE BEVERIDGE,

GRANDDAUGHTER OF GOVERNOR JOHN L. BEVERIDGE, 1873-1877,
BORN IN THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, SPRINGFIELD,
ILLINOIS, SCULPTRESS.

In selecting the women in the history of Illinois for the figurines which were unveiled at the December 3d, 1929, meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, all walks and vocations of life were represented save that of a sculptress. Immediately the name of Kühne Beveridge, granddaughter of Governor John L. Beveridge came to your secretary and research unfolded the following:

Like fiction romance, the story unwound during a search for a figurine. So delicately do its various parts fit that the whole represents the exquisite art of some fabled glassblower in that ancient city.

The tale unfolded under the guidance of Miss Georgia L. Osborne, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, when she sought to add to the one hundred and twenty-nine figurines of famous women in Illinois, one in the only unrepresented field of endeavor—that of sculptress.

Several women were considered but none located until the name of Kühne Beveridge, granddaughter of former Governor John L. Beveridge, was mentioned.

Miss Osborne first wrote to H. J. Patten of Chicago, a member of the board of directors of the Illinois State Historical Society. He referred her to Mrs. Alla Raymond of Hollywood, California, an aunt of Kühne Beveridge.

That was last fall and not until a short time ago did Miss Osborne receive the desired information. Then came this letter from Kühne Beveridge in "Casa Nespolo, Corso Assereto, Rapallo," a resort on the Mediterranean sea near Genoa:

"Dear Miss Osborne:

"My aunt, Mrs. Raymond, sent me your letter of Oct. 9th. I mislaid it or would have written you sooner.

"I will enclose in this letter a short account of my work and a photo of my sister Ray Beveridge and myself. I have been living in Italy for the last year, and should you come to Europe and be in this neighborhood it would give us great pleasure if you would look us up.

"My sister lives with me.

"With kindest regards,

"Sincerely,

"Kühne Beveridge."

Enclosed in this letter was the picture and the story referred to in the beginning of the achievements of two Illinois girls. One of these became a great sculptress and the other a famed actress, author and nurse.

Kühne Beveridge was born in the governor's mansion while her grandfather, John L. Beveridge, was governor of Illinois from January, 1873, to 1877. Her sister, Ray, was born in Evanston, a town founded by the former governor and his friend, General Evans. They are the daughters of Philo J. and Ella M. Rutzler Beveridge. Their mother married a second time and was known as the Baroness Ella von Wrede. Their childhood was spent in Dresden, Germany, while in later life they lived mostly in Paris and London.

Starting her professional career when she was fifteen years of age, Kühne first studied under the well-known New York sculptor, William Rudolf O'Donovan, and later with Rodin in Paris. Among her famous works are: Sarah Bernhardt, Joe Jefferson, President Cleveland, John Drew, William J. Bryan, William Astor Chanler, Buffalo Bill, Richard Croker, King Edward, King Leopold of Belgium, the Queen of Holland, a monument for Costa Rica and many more.

With her mother, Baroness von Wrede, she made a statue called "The Veiled Venus," which won a bronze medal at the Paris Salon and was immediately bought for the museum at Leeds, England.

Kühne Beveridge married Charles Coghlan, the actor, when she was seventeen years of age. She was wed a second time to William Branson of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Ray Beveridge, after her mother's death, went on the stage to produce the five plays her mother had written. She made her debut in London, then appeared in New York. Among other roles she starred as "Beverly of Graustark." When the war broke out she was in Berlin starting on a tour around the world in an original repertoire as diseuse. She nursed in Berlin for five months and then went to America and made a large collection from the German-Americans for the German Red Cross. William R. Hearst then selected her as special correspondent for his papers and she was the only woman journalist at the front in Germany.

JULIA BRACKEN WENDT,

SCULPTRESS, "ILLINOIS WELCOMING THE NATIONS," WORLD'S
FAIR, 1893.

Miss Osborne was also fortunate in a recent trip to California to find another sculptress and learn of her work and accomplishments. She is Julia Bracken Wendt, born in Apple River, Jo Daviess County, Illinois. As Julia Bracken she designed and executed the statue of "Illinois Welcoming the Nations," which stood in front of the Illinois Building at the World's Fair in Chicago, 1893, and which is now placed in the rotunda of our capitol building at Springfield. Julia Bracken was about eighteen years of age when this statue was made. Since then she has become quite noted for her works and accomplishments. One of her more recent contributions being her fine statue of Lincoln, Lincoln Park, Los Angeles, unveiled at the commemoration of Lincoln's birthday in that city. Her husband, William Wendt, is one of California's most noted landscape painters and has a studio at Laguna Beach, among the artist colony. Some of his paintings are in the Chicago Art Institute.

I feel that Illinois has just pride in so honoring her noted women in these figurines which are now placed permanently in the Library, and trust that as time goes on we can still add other names to our list. I will keep a careful record of all such and when the biographies of these women are completed and published, Illinois will have done what to my knowledge no other state has thus far done, honored its women for their noble works and deeds.



Morris Birkbeck.

**DEDICATION OF MEMORIAL TO MORRIS BIRKBECK,
AT ALBION, EDWARDS COUNTY, ON OCTOBER 27,
1929, BY THE DEPARTMENT OF ILLINOIS
WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS, AUXILIARY TO THE
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.**

DEDICATORY ADDRESS BY LOUIS L. EMMERSON, GOVERNOR OF
ILLINOIS.

It is a great privilege to be here today to participate in the dedication of a memorial to Morris Birkbeck, father of the English colony in Edwards county. This event is of special significance to me because it was through Mr. Birkbeck's influence that my grandfather, Alan Emmerson, was induced to leave his home near Princeton, Indiana, in 1817, and cast his lot with the English colonists, who, seeking to escape high taxation in England, selected the country around Albion as a haven. Naturally the memory of the English colony in Edwards county is very dear to me.

Morris Birkbeck left a deep impression not only on Edwards county but on the entire state. An English country gentleman of considerable means, well educated and a writer of some note, he left England in April, 1817, in company with George Flower, to escape oppressive conditions brought on through a long series of wars. After considerable travel the small party came to Edwards county then little more than an outpost of civilization, and selected it as their future home. Birkbeck and his family remained to secure the rights to a large section of land, while Flower returned to England to raise funds and induce others to migrate to the new country. Within two years over 150 persons had joined them, and the English colony rapidly became a powerful factor in Illinois life, with Albion as the center of its activities.

The people of Edwards county are deeply obligated to these early settlers for the sound foundation on which the community was built. However, the state is even more in

debted to Morris Birkbeck for the fight which he made to keep Illinois free from slavery. Named secretary of state by Governor Edward Coles in 1824, Birkbeck was ousted from his position a few months later because the pro-slavery element, which then controlled the legislature, refused to confirm his appointment. Birkbeck retaliated by leading the fight against an amendment to the state constitution which would have allowed slave holding. To him, much of the credit is due, for keeping Illinois a free state.

His untimely death in 1825 in the waters of the Fox river, robbed the state of the benefit of his counsel. He was buried in New Harmony, Indiana, and today not one of his descendants resides in Edwards county.

It is interesting to note that while Birkbeck and Flower expended a fortune of over \$100,000 in settling Edwards county neither profited from the enterprise. The town of Wanborough, founded by Birkbeck, no longer exists, while George Flower, left Albion in 1849, for Indiana, with only \$2.50 in his pocket. The two men purchased large sections of land and held them at a low price for English emigrants. In doing so, they refused offers of huge profits from land speculators in the east. At the same time, they expended their own funds freely for the benefit of their fellow colonists. Untimely death claimed one, while financial misfortune at last drove the other from the home of his choice.

But while reverses met both leaders, they had sown the seeds of industry, right living, social service and good government in a fertile soil. Many other sections of our country were settled by a polyglot mixture from all the nations of Europe. They had to be educated and assimilated into the new country. The English colony was in itself an ideal; others copied its teachings; its influence spread to every section of the state, and is felt even down to the present.

While the spirit of Birkbeck and Flower left its imprint on other sections of the state, it completely dominated Edwards county with the result that through the more than one hundred years of its history, Edwards county has been a

peaceful, law abiding community, marked by its lack of criminality and the complete devotion of its citizens to the best interests of the state and nation.

Loyalty, service and sacrifice are the outstanding characteristics of the founders of the English colony. Their legacy to us is spiritual rather than material and to enrich our own lives we must follow their example.

We need more men and women today fired by the same zeal as that which brought the English colony from the comparative peace of ancestral England to the hardships of a new country.

Government one hundred years ago was a personal matter compared with today but the same unswerving allegiance to ideals that enabled our ancestors to build a great, strong nation is vital to the continued success and growth and well being of our country today.

A widely scattered rural population made local rule essential to any form of government. The state concerned itself only with major problems of public policy which affected all portions of its sparsely settled territory. Each man was almost a law unto himself, each community almost a distinct government, in so long as problems involved were purely local.

While the same ideals still exist, government today is no more like the government of one hundred years ago than the modern home is like the log cabin of the pioneer family.

Social interests have become so involved, commerce and industry so complex, that no man can live for himself alone. He has enjoyed the blessings of organized society, and he must pay his debt in service or, like the thief in the night, sneak through life, untrue to himself, to his loved ones and to the state and nation which protects him and makes his enjoyment of life possible.

Changing tastes, and conditions have brought many changes in government. Many new agencies have been created to administer new laws designed to protect the health, promote the welfare and add to the general comfort of our

citizens. Costs of government have necessarily been increased to meet the many new demands and the responsibilities and opportunities of elected office holders have grown apace.

Those opportunities are either for good or evil. Generally speaking, your government will be what you expect it to be; your officials will render the service which you demand of them; conditions will be little better or little worse than the average of our citizens.

I have pledged myself to the cause of good government. There can be no honor in receiving the highest tribute of one's fellow men, except in deserving that trust. I hope to be found not wanting in meriting the confidence which has been placed in me. To achieve that success, I must have your support.

Illinois has many big problems to solve. I will not take time here to review them. I only ask that, as they arise, you give them the same conscientious study accorded by the members of the English colony to the questions of their day and deal with them unselfishly, honestly and unswervingly for the best interests of the entire state.

The dedication of this memorial here today can be only a small mark of respect to Morris Birkbeck and the settlers of the English colony. Our debt to them is great. May we pay it in constant loyalty to the ideals of service and citizenship which marked their leadership in the settling of Edwards county and the building of the town of Albion.

Tribute and honor, long delayed, were paid to the memory of Morris Birkbeck last Sunday, Oct. 27, 1929, when the highest official of our great State of Illinois, Governor Louis L. Emmerson and a crowd of record-breaking size, gathered in Albion to dedicate a memorial to be placed here in his honor by the Illinois Department of the Woman's Relief Corps. Even Nature joined in the ceremony with a bright blue October day, and the many colored oak leaves, like flowers, softly falling on the throng gathered in the court yard were

a benediction to the occasion. The leaves made a carpet on the court house lawn and their rustling seemed full of whispering stories of those days over a hundred years ago when Morris Birkbeck lived and worked and hoped for the English colony, and by the efforts of his mighty pen helped to keep Illinois a free state, even at a time when powerful interests were abroad in the land, making desperate efforts to enlist the settlers of Illinois in the ranks of what was later the Confederacy. With slavery actually being practised a few counties south of Edwards, it can be seen that Birkbeck was on the firing line of the controversy, and it is little wonder that he was selected as secretary of state in appreciation of his efforts.

After being ignored, officially for over a century, last Sunday he came partly into his own when the Woman's Relief Corps, that band of noble women who are the auxiliary of the G. A. R., culminated a several years' program of education as to his important part in Illinois' history by the ceremony here.

Mrs. Inez J. Bender of Decatur, past president of the Illinois Department of the Woman's Relief Corps, and chairman of the Birkbeck Memorial Committee was master of ceremonies, and to her belongs in a large measure, the success of the program.

Seated on the flag-draped platform which was erected at the south door of the court house were Governor Emmerson, Harry Bower, chairman of the Republican Central Committee, Mrs. Bender, Mrs. Katherine Siems, President of the W. R. C., Mrs. Mary McCauley, Past Department President, members of the W. R. C. from Albion and Mount Carmel, Elijah Jones, Chief of Staff, Dept. Illinois G. A. R., three Civil War veterans, namely Capt. Lee Woods, Morris Harris and John Moody, Rev. C. D. Shumard, pastor of the Albion M. E. Church.

The program was opened by several selections by the high school band which was seated in front of the platform and America was sung by all. Mrs. Bender then read a his-

tory of the memorial and presented it to the Woman's Relief Corps. The memorial was accepted by Mrs. Katherine Siems, Department President, who presented it to the county. States Attorney T. H. Marshall, in a short beautiful speech accepted the memorial in behalf of the county.

After another selection by the band, and a biography of Morris Birkbeck, Governor Emmerson was presented by Chairman Harry Bower, who stressed the fact that Edwards county has given two secretaries of state and a governor to Illinois.

Mr. Emmerson's address, mostly of a historical nature, was a high spot of the afternoon. Speaking, as he was, to a large number of his personal friends of years' standing, the meeting became informal. Mr. Emmerson spoke at length in greeting before he started to read his manuscript and the crowd hung on every word. It was the Governor's first visit "home" since his campaign and everyone was glad to see him looking so well.

After the Governor's address, little Miss Prudence Ann Ford, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Ford, of New Harmony, Ind., and a great-great-great granddaughter of Morris Birkbeck, was introduced, as was Mr. Jones, and Albion members of the G. A. R. "Nearer My God to Thee" was then sung—a special feature of the service in that the hymn was written by Sarah Flower Adams, cousin of George Flower, co-founder of the English colony with Mr. Birkbeck, and the benediction was said by Rev. Shumard.

PROGRAM OF DEDICATION.

March.....Albion Community High School Band
 Patriotic Selections.....By the Band
 America.....The Audience
 Invocation.....Rev. C. D. Shumard
 History of the Memorial and Presentation to the Department President.....Chairman of Committee
 Acceptance of the Memorial and Presentation to Edwards County...Mrs. Katherine Siems, Dept. President

Acceptance of the Memorial.....	
.....States Attorney Thomas H. Marshall	
Music.....Albion Community High School Band	
Biography of Morris Birkbeck.....	
.....L. E. Shoemaker, of Albion	
Dedicatory Address.....	
.....Hon. Louis L. Emmerson, Governor of Illinois	
Unveiling of Memorial.....Prudence Ann Ford,	
of New Harmony, Ind., a great, great, great granddaugh-	
ter of Morris Birkbeck.	
Song, "Nearer My God to Thee".....Audience	
This hymn was written by Mrs. Sarah Flower Adams, a	
cousin of George Flower, who with Mr. Birkbeck, found-	
ed the English settlement.	
Benediction.....Rev. C. D. Shumard	

Mrs Inez J. Bender, Past Department President, pre-
sented the memorial as follows:

Mrs. President, The Governor, Representatives of Ed-
wards County, Members of the Grand Army of the Republic,
and Friends:

As Chairman of the Committee to whom has been en-
trusted the duty of preparing this Memorial to Morris Birk-
beck, I am pleased to welcome you.

Before proceeding to the specific duty before us at this
time and in order that you may see the interest the Woman's
Relief Corps has in Morris Birkbeck and his efforts, I beg
your indulgence of a few moments.

First I desire to remind you that the Grand Army of the
Republic to which the Woman's Relief Corps is auxiliary,
was organized in Decatur, Illinois, April 6, 1866. Its mem-
bership is limited to the men who served in the War of the
Rebellion, at the call of Abraham Lincoln, to preserve the
Union.

The question of slavery as such was not the issue, al-
though so intimately was it concerned with it, that as a result
Emancipation followed.

Being the Auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic, we are greatly interested in all things which have concerned them in the past. That we may keep alive the patriotism and love of country they exhibited we have established a Scholarship Fund from which each year, the winner of the Lincoln Essay contest will receive \$150.00 to be used by him or her in any school in Illinois meeting the approval of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. A few years ago, before we had made the subject of the essay permanent as it is today, the pupils wrote on the subject, Morris Birkbeck. The Committee of Scholarship at that time recommended that at the proper time, we the Department of Illinois, erect a Memorial to Morris Birkbeck "in respect and gratitude for the decided part he took against the introduction of slavery in Illinois."

Two years ago the committee was appointed for this purpose. Owing to the illness and death of the Department President, and other things unexpected, it was thought wise to defer it until this year.

We desire to acknowledge the obligation we owe to Morris Birkbeck believing that had he not been untiring and so successful in his efforts to prevent the calling of the Convention to amend the Constitution of the State the history of our country would probably have been written in another way and Lincoln might not have been.

Because we are thus closely related to that struggle in 1824 we are desirous that others now and in the future should know what manner of man he was we are pleased to come to Albion to the Original English Settlement and leave with you this evidence of our interest.

Mrs. President, on behalf of the Committee, it gives me great pleasure to present to you, this Memorial to Morris Birkbeck.

ACCEPTANCE BY MRS. KATHERINE SIEMS, DEPARTMENT
PRESIDENT.

The Governor, Mrs. Bender and Friends:

I am pleased to accept this Memorial to the fine scholarly English gentleman and American citizen, Morris Birkbeck. I am glad that our Organization thus realizes its hopes of several years. I accept it as an evidence of our appreciation of his fine and noble efforts for the welfare of Illinois and the Nation. For his efforts affected the whole nation.

And having accepted it as well done, it gives me much joy to present the Memorial to Edwards County in behalf of the Department of Illinois, Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEMORIAL ON BEHALF OF EDWARDS COUNTY
BY T. H. MARSHALL, STATE'S ATTORNEY.

The citizens of Edwards County are justly proud of the many historical places that exist, and incidents that have occurred in this County. But I believe I am right in saying, that more than anything else, we are proud of the high standard of citizenship of the founders of this Town and the early settlers of this County, and of their descendants. They came from the middle class of Englishmen, whom Wendell Phillips said "were the best blood of the Island." Of the founders of this community, none was more worthy of our admiration than Morris Birkbeck, the man to whose memory we today pay tribute; of their descendants, the most illustrious is the present Governor of the State of Illinois.

When the original town of Albion was laid out this square was reserved for the use of the public; one acre in the southwest corner being dedicated to Edwards County, and the remainder to the inhabitants of Albion as a public recreation ground. The spot on which the memorial in honor of Morris Birkbeck is erected is within that portion dedicated to the County of Edwards. It is with pleasure, Madam Chairman, that I accept this memorial on behalf of the Board of

County Commissioners of Edwards County, and extend to you and the Woman's Relief Corps our sincere thanks for your thoughtful and generous gift.

A BIOGRAPHY OF MORRIS BIRKBECK.

L. E. SHOEMAKER, Albion.

Had Morris Birkbeck lived a generation or so later, and under the towering roofs of the city, instead of in a country home on the rolling prairies of Illinois, his name might now be linked with those great exponents of personal journalism such as Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana, for, although not an editor himself, as Illinois boasted of only five printing presses in the entire state in his day, it is probable that no greater editorial writer ever lived, at least none ever lived whose written messages had a greater power and influence.

Today, little is known of Morris Birkbeck and his works, due either to the carelessness or the neglect on the part of the historians of Illinois. Eighth grade pupils who read of the stormy times during the administration of Edward Coles, Illinois' second governor, and his efforts toward keeping the young state in the ranks of the free states, cannot find even the slightest mention of Morris Birkbeck's name, whose powerful pen made it possible to defeat an election held for the purpose of calling together a Convention to change the constitution of Illinois to permit slavery. Without Morris Birkbeck, Illinois might have been a part of the Confederacy, and the legal introduction of slaves into this state would have meant more trouble, more guerilla warfare, more loss of life, destruction of homes and property than did occur during the dark hours of the Civil War.

The name of Morris Birkbeck belongs with that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, Alton's martyred Abolitionist editor, for the two worked for a common cause which, due to the influence of a few mighty pens on the level headed open minded majority, won out to the everlasting credit of Illinois.

Morris Birkbeck, son of an eminent Quaker preacher, who was also named Morris, was born in Wanborough, Eng-

land, in 1763. The senior Birkbeck, though poor in this world's goods, had a wealth of learning, which he imparted to his son in lieu of riches. As a result the boy had a much better education than usually fell to the lot of the children of poor Friends. He received a thorough knowledge of Latin and a slight knowledge of Greek. Later in life he mastered French so as to read it with facility. While yet a mere youth, he was appointed clerk of the Friends' meeting and this training made him a ready writer and a systematic arranger of documents and papers.

Very early in life he was placed on a farm to learn the trade, as we would say in this day. He learned by experience farming and farm work. When a young man, he rented a farm with borrowed capital as he had no money. This farm he worked with his own hands and with the help of such labor as his limited means could command. A contemporary tells us that he watched his progress, or rather his position, with great solicitude and often times after taking inventory, even to counting his clothing and books, he found himself worse than broke.

But by perseverance, he eventually was able to lease the farm of Wanborough, comprising 1,500 acres and here by careful study and adoption of the latest equipment, constantly improving the quality of his livestock, he acquired a competence, or in other words became independent. He raised a family of four sons and three daughters, to whom he gave a liberal education and to whom he was ever a kind and indulgent parent.

But Morris Birkbeck's life really began after he was fifty years old. He is described in appearance at this time as being below middle stature, small, spare, but muscular and wiry. With a constitution not the strongest, he had made himself a strong and active man. His complexion was bronzed from exposure; his face was marked with many lines; he was sharp featured, had a quick twinkling eye and a rapid utterance. He was originally endowed with something of a hair-trigger temper, which his Quaker training most times

kept in leash. He was a total abstainer, as far as liquor was concerned.

After the downfall of Napoleon, Mr. Birkbeck and George Flower, later to be his partner in founding the English settlement here, made an extended visit in France. While in London on their way home, Mr. Birkbeck was introduced to Edward Coles of Virginia who was to be his life long friend in America. Mr. Coles at that time was returning from a diplomatic mission to Russia.

The trip through France occasioned Mr. Birkbeck's debut in literary circles as his first book "Notes on a Journey Through France" was published after his return to England. His literary works with the exception of his writings during the slavery agitation in Illinois are exclusively of travel. "Notes on a Journey To America" was published after he came to the United States and was widely read in this country and England as well. French and German editions were printed later for the benefit of the many people of other lands in Europe who were interested in America. Mr. Birkbeck was also the author of a number of pamphlets containing advice to immigrants.

It was shortly after his return from his trip through France that Mr. Birkbeck began to entertain notions of leaving England. He was discontented because of agricultural conditions and experienced in common with other farmers the depression that followed the long French wars. Finally in 1817 he decided to break loose from the homeland and with his sons and daughters (his wife having died previously) he set sail and came eventually to the virgin prairies of Illinois, settling in what is now Edwards county because of its topographic similarity to his native land. Here with George Flower, he founded the English colony and named his settlement Wanborough in honor of his farm in Surrey. Mr. Birkbeck imported blooded cattle, sheep and hogs to his farm here and in 1821 operated two dairies milking sixty cows and using the milk in the manufacture of cheese. Mr. Birkbeck,

in 1819, a year after founding his settlement was the first to apply for naturalization papers from Edwards county.

Why Albion flourished, and why Wanborough decayed until now only a cemetery marks its proximity is a matter for economists to decide. But in its young heyday, Birkbeck lived and prospered and daily saw his beloved new homeland edging toward the slavery which he had detested ever since setting foot in America.

Through his friend Governor Coles, who had left his native Virginia to emigrate to Illinois and become its second governor, he kept himself informed of affairs, and finally unable to keep out of the vital struggle he began to contribute articles to the newspapers, eventually taking the nom de plume of Jonathan Freeman. The Jonathan Freeman letters written in plain but captivating style, full of facts and arguments and embellished by homely but apt illustrations were a powerful factor in defeating the hopes of the Conventionists. It was soon learned that Birkbeck was Jonathan Freeman and he was bitterly assailed. Denounced as a "foreign emissary," "an exile," sneered at as a Quaker and charged with being an infidel, it was all to no purpose. The more he was attacked, the more his letters were read and the greater became his fame.

But this most important epoch of Birkbeck's life, from history's viewpoint at least is all too brief. As a fitting reward for his efforts in defeating the Convention which proposed to legalize slavery if it had materialized, Mr. Birkbeck was offered the position of Secretary of State, his appointment to be confirmed by the State Senate. In his offer of the place, Governor Coles wrote: "it affords me great pleasure to have it in my power to give you so strong a proof of the high estimation in which I hold your character, and to gratify the deep rooted attachment of your friend."

Mr. Birkbeck accepted the appointment and his simple, yet dignified acceptance of the position was in keeping with the character of the man throughout his life. He took office October 15, 1824, and served only until January 15, 1825

(three months) when the Senate which by a quirk of politics was pro-Slavery in majority even though the Convention measure had been defeated, showed their respect for his editorial prowess, and at the same time their hatred by refusing to confirm his appointment.

During his short period in office however, Mr. Birkbeck reduced the chaotic condition of the office at the Capitol in Vandalia to one of perfect order and arrangement to the admiration of even so important a personage as Governor Duncan, who as chief administrator following Governor Coles had little use for his predecessors—a custom that prevails to this day.

But it was not permitted Morris Birkbeck to live to see the development of the great state he had helped to found. In the same year, the 4th of June, 1825, he was drowned while crossing the Fox river on a return trip from a visit to New Harmony. His son, who was with him, nearly lost his life in an effort to save his father.

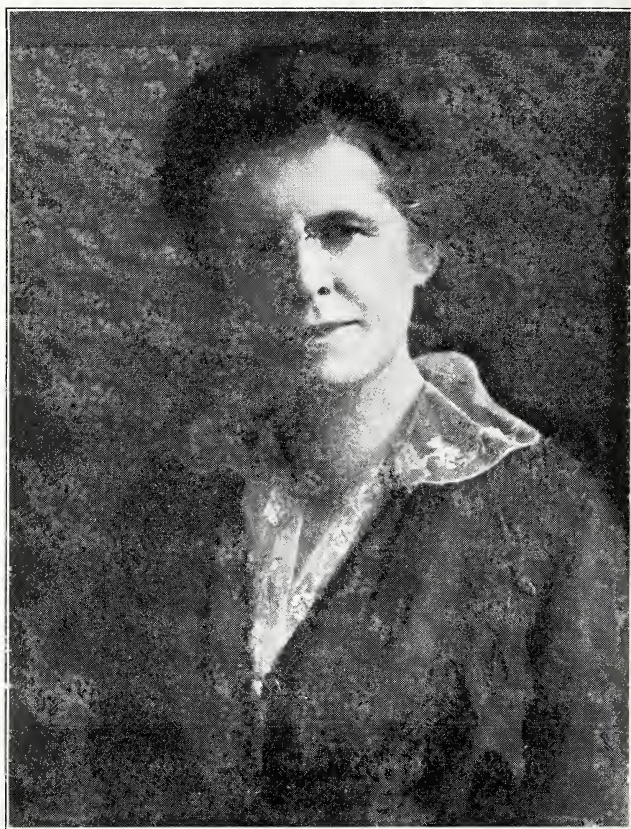
His body, and incidentally the body of his horse which drowned with him was recovered two days later and he was buried at New Harmony with every mark of respect and affection.

So perished, at the age of 62, Morris Birkbeck one of the ablest and most cultivated men of his time in Illinois, whose influence wielded in the cause of freedom and humanity, should always be remembered.

None of his family remained in Illinois after his death, some of them going to Mexico and other members to England and eventually Australia. One son, Richard, moved to Indiana, and his descendants, a number of whom are in attendance today are living at New Harmony, Indiana. The town he founded dwindled to nothingness; even a stream west of Albion known to our grandfathers as Birkbeck's creek is today nameless and only a few old books that have somehow survived this age of literary trash, live to tell of Morris Birkbeck, the first literary man of Illinois.

NECROLOGY





Belle Short Lambert (Mrs. Edward Lambert).

MRS. BELLE SHORT LAMBERT—AN APPRECIATION.
1855-1930.

By JOSEPH R. HARKER

The story of Jacksonville, Illinois, in its first one hundred years, is remarkable for its long list of men and women of noble character and high ability, who gave their lives in full measure of devotion to the highest interests of the city. Their work and their influence have been permanent; they have not alone left an ineffaceable impress in the high character of the local community; but their beneficent influence has extended beyond the state of Illinois, throughout the Nation, and may be clearly traced over all the earth, in every continent, and on the islands of the seas.

The Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and one of the judges of the World Court, once said:

“The patent of nobility in America is not the fiat of a king; it is worth of character, distinction in attainment, and pre-eminence in service.”

Judged by this standard, Jacksonville has the distinguished honor of being the mother of a long list of sons and daughters of the highest rank in the nobility of America.

Among the Jacksonville women in this noble list of peers, none ranks higher than Mrs. Belle Short Lambert, whose recent death saddens all our hearts. She was not only greatly honored by all in the community; she was greatly beloved. The blessings of hundreds followed her as she went

*“Beneath that low green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings”*

Thousands of loving hearts will learn of her passing with a feeling of personal bereavement.

Born at Jackson, Mo., October 29, 1855, she early came to Jacksonville, entered the Illinois Female College in 1869,

and graduated with the class of 1873 under President De-Motte. Jacksonville was her home till she reached the allotted age of three score and ten; since when, in failing health, she made her home with her son, Laning Lambert, of St. Paul, Minnesota, who ministered to her with loving care. She died January 19, 1930, in her seventy-fifth year. The remains were brought to Jacksonville and laid to rest in Diamond Grove Cemetery, after a tender and beautiful service in Grace Church, of which she had been a member for many decades.

Mrs. Lambert was a woman of unusual intellectual ability and charm of personality. She was a recognized leader in the literary circles of the city, and the state, a member of the Sorosis Society, was prominent in the organization of the Woman's Club, took an active interest in the Jacksonville Art Association, frequently represented Jacksonville in the state meetings of these societies, and served for many years as a member of the Ladies' Education Society, the oldest women's society in Illinois, which has made possible the higher education of hundreds of poor but worthy young women. She was a ready and interesting speaker, especially capable and charming as a presiding officer, fertile in resources, and unusually successful in securing harmonious cooperation.

She was a devoted and self-sacrificing daughter. While her parents were in charge of the Illinois Female College, she was their most active and efficient assistant; and after they retired by reason of years and physical disability, she gave herself to their care and comfort in complete self-forgetfulness to the last.

She was a loving and companionable wife and mother, always giving her best to her home, which was still her chief interest while she was also devoting herself so largely to literary and church and college activities. "Her children rise up and call her blessed." "Her husband also, and he praised her."

She loved the Church, and was most helpful in all its activities. She was a member of all the women's societies; for

many years president of the Ladies' Aid Society, and always greatly interested in, and holding important offices in the missionary societies, both of the local church and of the district and conference organizations. She was especially resourceful and successful in raising funds for church and missionary enterprises.

But most of all she was interested in the Illinois Woman's College. I have spoken of her efficient helpfulness while her father was president. But after Dr. Short resigned, and I became president in 1893, her interest not only did not decline, but if anything she became more helpful and cooperative than before.

In all the more than thirty years since then, while hundreds of loyal alumnae "have done excellently, she has excelled them all." She entered at once into all the plans for college advancement; she was most eager in raising the standard from that of academy to full college rank. She did fine service in visiting high schools, where, by her charm of person and ability in inspirational address she won favor for the College and persuaded many of the best girls to enroll as our students. We had letters from many superintendents testifying to her personal acceptability as the College representative, and to their pleasure and profit in her visits.

She was alumnae secretary and college field representative for many years and rendered invaluable service. The records of the trustee meetings show many resolutions of appreciation of her work. She was most active in organizing societies of alumnae and former students, wherever she found a nucleus of college women, as in Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New York. Everywhere alumnae and former students welcomed her, enjoyed her, and rallied about her in college loyalty.

In 1907, together with Mrs. Marietta Mathers Rowe, Mrs. Jennie Kinman Ward, and others, she organized the Alumnae Endowment Fund; which, from a timid beginning to secure a memorial scholarship of \$1000 for President Adams, resulted by 1926 in a total paid in by alumnae and former

students, of \$107,000; endowing memorial scholarships of \$5000 for all the presidents, and memorial professorships of \$40,000 each for President Short and President Harker.

In her work as field secretary, she was especially successful. Here her interest and ability, her enthusiasm and charm of manner helped greatly to make friends wherever she went. She not only brought back many small gifts of from \$5 to \$100; but she occasionally found larger gifts of from \$5,000 to \$10,000. She also interested many friends to make gifts on the annuity plan, and to remember the College in their wills. The sum total of all that Mrs. Lambert did in these ways through many years of devoted service can never be fully computed.

In all these movements to secure endowment and funds for building and improvement, she was herself one of the most willing and liberal givers, always out of her own small means foremost with a sacrificial subscription.

I count it a great privilege to pay this tribute of grateful appreciation to Mrs. Lambert's memory. In all, she was a noble woman, of rare gifts and unusual ability, who lived a life greatly illustrative of the Christian graces of gentleness, kindness, generosity, and helpfulness. Wherever she went she radiated the social graces of sweetness and light. The name of Mrs. Belle Short Lambert should be forever held in high esteem as one of Jacksonville's best citizens.

Especially the Illinois Woman's College should see that her name is enrolled among the highest and best beloved of those who will be forever known as "Illinois Woman's College Builders."

Mrs. Lambert was an interested and enthusiastic member of the Illinois State Historical Society and contributed to its publications. Her article on "The Woman's Club Movement in Illinois" published in Vol. 9, 1904, of the publications of the library has been of great value to the women of the State who work along this line.

HARRY AINSWORTH.

1862-1930.

Harry Ainsworth was born in Geneseo, Illinois, on May 9, 1862, the son of Henry A. and Sarah Andrews Ainsworth. The Ainsworth family moved to Moline in 1870, where Mr. Ainsworth attended school. He entered Oberlin College at Oberlin, Ohio, when he was eighteen and was graduated from Oberlin in 1884. On completing his course at Oberlin he entered the law school at Harvard University and was graduated in 1887. Mr. Ainsworth was admitted to the practice of law in Illinois soon after he was graduated from Harvard but he did not practice, associating himself instead with his father in the management of Williams, White and Company, of which the elder Mr. Ainsworth was president. When his father died in October, 1914, he became the president of this company.

Mr. Ainsworth was a man of unusual strength, taking an active interest in the life of his community, in his business and in athletics of various kinds. For a score or more of years he was a member of the board of directors of the Moline Public Library. He was president of the library for some time, as well as being chairman of the book committee.

Mr. Ainsworth was a member of the board of directors of the Moline State Trust and Savings bank. He was a deacon in the First Congregational Church. Mr. Ainsworth was the first secretary of the Tri-City Manufacturers' Association. He was also an interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Mr. Ainsworth married Stella Davidson, whom he met while both were attending Oberlin College, at Elgin on May 26, 1889. Mr. Ainsworth died in the University Hospital at Iowa City, February 6th, 1930. He was sixty-seven years old and had been associated with Williams, White and Company for more than forty years. He is survived by his

widow, two daughters, Mrs. Harry W. Getz of Moline and Miss Dorothy Ainsworth, head of the department of physical education of Smith College of Northampton, Massachusetts, and nine grandchildren. A daughter, Mrs. Howard Rogers, died in 1920.

The funeral was held in the First Congregational Church in Moline on Sunday afternoon, February 9th. At the conclusion of the service the remains were taken to Geneseo, where Mr. Ainsworth was laid to rest beside his father and daughter in Oakwood cemetery.

EDWARD F. CARRY.

1867-1930.

Edward Francis Carry, since 1922 president of the Pullman Company and head of the group of corporations comprising the Pullman system, died at his home, 199 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, on April 24, of cerebral embolism. He was nearly 62 years old. The funeral was held April 27 from Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago.

Mr. Carry's death removes from the Pullman business an executive who had handled its complex interests with distinguished skill and success; while it takes from the great organizations of some 40,000 people a leader who had won the rating of a real friend to all who counted themselves among his followers. Genuinely devoted alike to the welfare of patrons, employes and owners, he had gained repute as a notable type of the modern business chief who gives full recognition to the human element, the personal values, involved in the conduct of great affairs.

Mr. Carry's career was exclusively the product of his own abilities, character and energy. Covering 41 years of active business life, it saw him rise from the post of a stenographer to be the head of one of the country's largest and most wide-flung business concerns. But nowhere on that long road did he ever for a day lose touch with the common man or sympathetic understanding of his problems. With a fine dignity of bearing and polish of manner, he combined a sincere democracy of attitude which made all his contacts and relationships easy and simple. Strikingly modest and devoid of affectation, he had a faculty for friends and friendships that seemed to know no limitations, and was largely responsible for the fine loyalty that permeates the organization. He was truly one of those who could

Walk with kings, nor lose the common touch.

Himself the soul of courtesy, kindness and consideration, it

was inevitable that he should especially esteem those qualities in such a service as that through which the Pullman organization comes daily into intimate contact with multitudes of people. Compounded of so many of these finer parts, his character was tempered with the qualities of ambition, force, confidence and firmness in just the right proportion to make him a beloved friend, a respected associate, a dominating executive and a successful man of affairs.

Mr. Carry was born at Fort Wayne, Ind., on May 16, 1867. His parents were Joseph J. Carry, an iron founder at Fort Wayne, and Margaret Stoops Carry. He was educated in the public schools of his native town, but throughout his life supplemented that equipment by much study and wide reading, through which he developed a strong bent for artistic and cultural interests. Proud of his Irish ancestry and devoted to the cause of the country which had given his forbears to America, he took a life-long interest in the history, literature and traditions of Ireland, and gave far more than mere sympathy and sentiment to help solve the vexed problems of the Irish people.

During his boyhood and youth Mr. Carry saw much of life along the Mississippi river and in various parts of the Middle-West; he was distinctively a product of that region, and always maintained a keen interest in its people and affairs. In 1888 he located in Chicago and entered upon the business course which he followed to the end. His first position was that of stenographer with the old Wells & French Company, car builders; and here began the training as result of which it was said in later life, "if it runs on wheels, Carry can build it." Here he developed managerial capacities which under the urge of ambition and supported by his genius for enlisting loyalties, early compelled the attention of his superiors. In 1899 on the absorption of the Wells & French company by the American Car & Foundry company, he joined the latter organization as district manager. He rose steadily until in 1915 he became its first vice president and general manager. The following year he was again

drafted to larger responsibilities, being elected president of the Haskell & Barker Car Company of Michigan City, Ind. There he remained until 1922 when it was absorbed into the Pullman organization. At that time Mr. John S. Runnells, who had ably and faithfully served the Pullman Company for many years as general counsel and later president, wished to lighten his responsibilities by relinquishing the presidency and assuming the chairmanship. It is one of the traditions of the Pullman organization that the purchase of Haskell & Barker was in large part motivated by the desire to secure the services of Mr. Carry. With the consolidation, the Pullman interests acquired the leadership of the man they wanted and at the same time added the excellent plant and organization of the Haskell & Barker Company.

When Mr. Carry assumed the presidency he confronted the complex of difficulties which all the carriers faced as a result of the war and government operation. The properties of the Pullman Company, like those of the railroads, had been returned to the management of the corporate organization; but the myriad issues between government and company were still in process of adjustment. Extraordinary wartime demands upon carriers, together with the curtailment of maintenance, had left many difficulties to be solved. Further, there were the hard necessities of readjustment following the war-time inflation and the subsequent disastrous deflation. To the Pullman organization, as to other carriers, their rates subject to public control, these readjustments presented peculiar difficulties. In dealing with them Mr. Carry was compelled to grapple with endless problems that were quite beyond his earlier experience; for he had been a manufacturer rather than an expert in transportation, and the Pullman organization was both a great manufacturer and an important factor in the transportation fabric.

In dealing with all these problems, unique in transportation history, Mr. Carry was fortunate by reason of experience gained during his wartime service with the government. When the war began he volunteered his services in whatever

capacity they might be useful, and was shortly called to be director of operations under the United States Shipping Board, which had commandeered the shipping of the country. The task demanded the utmost of tact, firmness and discrimination. He assumed it at the very moment when all the world realized that the war's outcome might easily be determined according as the Allies made or failed to make the most effective use of their ships. During this period he also served as chairman of the Shipping Board's Port and Harbor Facilities Commission, and as trustee of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. In these various and exacting capacities he gained an intimate knowledge of government business methods, and of the wider aspects of transportation, which was destined to serve him well when he later assumed responsibility for the Pullman company's after-war affairs.

By reason of the dual character of the Pullman business, as both a common carrier and a manufacturer, it became necessary to reorganize the Company so as to separate the properties used in transportation from those otherwise employed. To this Mr. Carry early addressed himself. The manufacturing properties were segregated in one group of corporations, and the transportation interests were left with the old Pullman Company; while a new corporation, Pullman, Inc., was created as a holding company for the entire group. Thus the properties devoted to transportation and therefore subject to laws dealing with common carriers, were separated from the other interests.

The demands imposed by these manifold activities and responsibilities made heavy draft upon the chief executive; but though he wished to lighten the burden, the time never quite arrived when it seemed feasible. He continued in harness to the end, even attending a meeting of his directors in New York within the week before he died.

Mr. Carry is survived by his widow, Mabel D. Underwood Carry, and two daughters, Mrs. W. F. Nicholson, and Mrs. E. A. Cudahy, Jr., both of Chicago, and by two brothers, Messrs. Joseph C. and Otto M. Carry, also of Chicago. In un-

ostentatious and modest fashion he was always devoted to charities and benevolences. A statement of his gifts to all manner of public and philanthropic causes would reach a surprising total. But it will never be known, for the excellent reason that in such matters he faithfully followed the admonition to let not the left hand know what the right hand doeth. He was particularly interested in establishing the most cordial and cooperative relations among the army of Pullman workers, and between them and the employing companies. Death benefit and other insurance systems were developed under his inspiration and guidance. The pension plan was broadened and strengthened; and all were administered with a humane liberality that invariably brushed technicalities aside in the interest of employes.

Aside from his charities and benevolences, Mr. Carry's two hobbies were Irish history and transportation history. In the course of many years of reading and study he had brought together remarkable collections of books, manuscripts, art work and the general memorabilia of both subjects. He served as director of a half score of great business and financial corporations, and was a member of many clubs, benevolent and learned societies throughout the country. In religion a devout Catholic, he came to rank among the church's foremost laymen. Twice he was honored by the Pope. At the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago in 1926 he was made a Knight of Malta, and later a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great. Mr. Carry was an early and interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The funeral services, held at the Holy Name Cathedral with Cardinal Mundelein heading the list of officiating clergy, afforded occasion for a remarkable tribute. Leaders in the business and transportation world came from all parts of the country. Masters of finance, leaders in public affairs, directors of great industries, vied with a multitude from all ranks of life, in and out of the Pullman service, in rendering the last testimony of affection for one all regarded as a true friend.

MRS. STELLA PENDLETON LYLES.

1871-1930.

By ISABEL SNYDER.

Stella Lee Pendleton was born November 18th, 1871, near Tallula in Menard County, Illinois, a daughter of Arthur Menefee Pendleton, born near Madison, Missouri, and Hester Hewitt Pendleton, a native of Cape May Court House, New Jersey. The family removed to Chandlerville, Illinois, when Stella was a young child and she graduated from the Chandlerville high school at the age of fifteen years. Talented musically, she studied piano for a number of years at the Illinois Conservatory of Music in Jacksonville, Illinois, and became a very proficient pianist. Desiring to take up teaching as a profession, preparation for the work was made by a thorough course at the Normal School in Lewistown, in the historic 'Spoon River' district.

As a teacher in the Chandlerville public school from 1889 to '93, thence to Virginia, Illinois, for a period of two years in the city schools, and in 1895 to Beardstown, Illinois, accepting a position as Principal of the Second Ward school, she made a remarkable record, pupils and patrons of the various schools testifying to her rare ability as an instructor. While a resident of Beardstown, she became a member of the Eastern Star, lending willing assistance in the activities of the Order.

On June 22nd, 1898, her marriage to Albert Rufus Lyles, M. D., a rising young physician of Beardstown took place and the first six months of their wedded life were spent in Chicago. In 1899, Dr. and Mrs. Lyles came to Virginia, in Cass County, where they built a beautiful home and established a permanent residence. Two daughters were born to them—Miriam Eunice (Mrs. R. W. Dunn) and Pauline Lavinia (Mrs. C. R. Lyman), both of whom are now living in Chicago.



Stella Pendleton Lyles (Mrs. A. R. Lyles).



Mrs Lyles always devoted much time to reading and study and her influence on the literary life of the town was noteworthy. She was a charter member of both the Travelers' Club, organized for the study of people and customs of all lands, and the Dickens Reading Circle. In 1919, she was active in founding the Virginia Delphian Chapter, and, serving as its presiding officer, for many years successfully encouraged the membership in research for wider knowledge, until failing health forced her resignation. She was also deeply interested in the literary work of the local Book Fellows and was a prominent member of the Woman's Club while her health permitted.

Mrs. Lyles had joined the Congregational church in Chandlerville at a very early age, and, upon removal to Virginia, transferred her allegiance to the Presbyterian church, in which she was a devout and earnest worker, teaching in the Sunday school with marked success.

Among her hobbies were genealogical research and all forms of history and she was the author of numerous brilliant articles along these lines. Due to her interest in genealogy, she enjoyed affiliation with the Daughters of the American Revolution and it was her special pride that she could trace, through written records, her family history back to the time of William the Conqueror. In 1929, she was honored by admission to the "Magna Charta Dames," an organization in which membership can be attained only through lineal descent from the Barons who signed the Magna Charta in England in 1215, and she could boast of lineal descent from five of the sixteen Barons who left issue.

While Mrs. Lyles' chief interests were her family, her home and her books, she was a true and loyal friend and those who knew her best, loved her most. Her philosophy of life, as exemplified by high ideals and rigid principles, is well expressed in the words of her favorite poem, "Thanatopsis"

"So live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan which moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take

His chamber in the silent halls of death—
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.”

Mrs. Lyles passed away on Sunday, May 11th, 1930, at her home. As a token of community respect and sympathy, business houses were closed on Tuesday afternoon during the funeral. Services were held at the residence, in charge of Rev. J. C. Shull of the Presbyterian church, assisted by Rev. D. F. Nelson of the Methodist Episcopal church and every available space was filled with flowers—mute tribute of love and friendship. The remains were taken to Springfield, the cortege furnished a motorcycle escort through the courtesy of the State Highway Department and interment was made in the Abbey at Oak Ridge cemetery.

**RESOLUTIONS OF THE SPRINGFIELD CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
IN MEMORY OF STELLA PENDLETON LYLES.**

At the close of a beautiful Sabbath day,—when the shadows began to lengthen and there stole over the earth the brooding quiet of an eventide,—the still small voice of the Divine Master was heard by our beloved Daughter, Mrs. Stella Pendleton Lyles, and she was bidden into the light and joy of the Heavenly Life.

It is with true sorrow that we chronicle her passing on May 11, 1930, for we realize the strength emanating from her courageous patriotic spirit what it meant in the Chapter's development, and the weakening in power that results from the removal of the vital force of a staunch member.

With her trained mind, intelligent outlook upon the world events, keenness of perception regarding cause and effect in our Nation's Life and intense loyalty to America and the principles of our Organization,—Mrs. Lyle's influence was far reaching and she was indeed a valuable asset not only to our local group, but to the society as a whole. It is upon the women of such character that our Nation must depend for the promotion of education relative to, and the upholding of the fundamentals of its Origin.

It was a distinct loss to her associates when increasing ill health extending over many years prevented Mrs. Lyles' regular attendance and her active participation in the Chapter Meetings. Thoroughness of preparation and execution had always characterized her handling of an assigned task, and she ever radiated a sense of the rare privilege accorded the Daughters in furthering through their innumerable avenues of work the Ideals of true Americanism and the significance of loyal Citizenship.

In 1929, Mrs. Lyles attended the National Conference in Washington and it is to be doubted if a single delegate in that

vast throng derived more real benefit or real pleasure from the proceedings than did she. Her enthusiastic ambitious attitude toward all the functionings of the Convention, her shrewd insight of proposed measures, quick acceptance of movements in accord with, but her firm rejection of schemes contrary to the avowed purposes of the Organization, made her a representative of which the Chapter could well be proud. The companionship enjoyed with her at that time will always be a happy memory to the Daughters accompanying her.

Mrs. Lyles possessed exceptional ability along many lines; she thought and spoke in terms of Service through the School, the Home, the Church, the Community and State.

To her, there was ever the urge Onward. She felt Life held so much, the time for compassing even a few of its truths was so short, that constant reading, studying and thinking upon the part of the individual was imperative to an intelligent response for the action in connection with the important issues of the Present.

To the family deprived of this strong personality is extended sincere sympathy, and our Chapter pays tender tribute to this loved Daughter of high standards, who wore worthily her garment of American Citizenship.

HELEN L. ALLEN,
Chairman of Resolutions.

DR. A. R. CROOK, CURATOR OF ILLINOIS MUSEUM.
1864-1930.

Funeral services for Dr. A. R. Crook, 66, curator of the Illinois State Museum for the past 24 years, were held at 3 p. m. Monday, May 31, at the First Methodist church, with burial in Roselawn cemetery.

Dr. Crook died Memorial day afternoon at his home, 1412 Bates avenue, after several weeks' illness. Recently he had been unable to take solid foods.

Twenty-four years ago Dr. Crook came to Springfield with an appointment from Gov. Charles S. Deneen as curator of the state museum, then a small institution housed in one room in the state arsenal. He developed the museum until now it occupies considerable space in the Centennial building and at the State fair grounds. Besides traveling extensively, Dr. Crook has written many scientific articles and papers.

Dr. Crook is survived by his widow, formerly Florence Wayne Purdum of Chillicothe, Ohio; five children, Elinor, William, Robert, Frederick and Richard; two sisters, Mrs. William R. Huneke of Spokane, Wash., and Miss Corinth L. Crook of Bay Ocean, Ore.

Born in Circleville, Ohio, on June 17, 1864, Dr. Crook was the son of Rev. Isaac Crook, a Methodist minister. After graduating from Ohio Wesleyan university in 1887, he studied in London, Paris, Berlin, Zurich and Munich, receiving his Ph. D. degree at the latter institution in 1892. He was professor of natural history at Wheaton college for a year and professor of mineralogy and economic geology at Northwestern university from 1893 to 1906.

Dr. Crook was a member of the First Methodist church; a former president of the Springfield Christian Laymen's federation; former vice president of the Illinois Sunday School association; president of the Illinois conference of the Methodist Episcopal Laymen's association; a charter mem-

ber and first president of the Mid-day Luncheon club; fellow in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Geological society of America; a member of the Deutschen Geologischen Gesellschaft, the American Association of Museums and Sigma XI fraternity; and president of the Illinois Academy of Science, 1914-15.

The curator left unfinished a large chart showing the formation of the earth's crust for which Dr. Crook obtained samples of rock from various parts of the world. He also was making a collection of Illinois art.

One of his last tasks a few days ago was the preparation of exhibits for county fairs this summer.

The scientist was the author of "The Guide to Mineral Collection," used as a text in colleges and as a guide in museums, as well as other writings.

In his earlier years, Dr. Crook enjoyed mountain climbing.

—"Register," May 31, 1930.

Well-rounded lives such as that of Dr. A. R. Crook, head of the Illinois state museum for twenty-four years, are all too few.

A comprehensive review of his career elsewhere in this issue of The State Register leaves no doubt as to his ability, energy, courage and multiplicity of useful activities. He was scientist and scholar. He had done much to interest his fellow citizens in the better things of life. He was an educator—a leader in constructive thought. He was the ideal husband and father.

As citizen he met his responsibilities with a fine idealism, aiding Springfield in many ways and always interesting himself in worthwhile things. A scientist of great skill, he was none the less a devout churchman—a Christian who found in science the proof rather than the contradiction of the faith which filled his soul and led him along the pathways of life which he beautified with blossoms of kindness, usefulness, honor and humility.

The death of Dr. Crook marks the passing of a great and good man. This community extends most profound sympathy to members of his family who will find solace in the thought that he richly deserves the everlasting reward of virtue which he believed awaits all who interpret life in fullest measure of devotion to duty.

Editorial—Register, May 31, 1930.

JOSEPH BENJAMIN OAKLEAF.

1858-1930.

Joseph Benjamin Oakleaf of Moline, Illinois, nationally recognized as an authority on the life of Abraham Lincoln, and who was recently appointed by Governor L. L. Emmerson as a member of the Lincoln Memorial Highway Commission, dropped dead in his office shortly after four o'clock on Monday afternoon, June 2, 1930. His death was due to cerebral hemorrhage. As he was walking from one room of his suite of offices to another, he suddenly cried out and fell to the floor. His son, who was only a few feet away, rushed to his father, saw that he was unconscious, and called for physicians, but he was gone when they reached him.

Mr. Oakleaf's last day was an exceptionally happy one. He felt well, and in the morning he conducted his business as usual. At noon he lunched with a number of friends at the LeClaire hotel. In the afternoon he went to the courthouse on business, and spent the time between three and four o'clock with his son, J. L. Oakleaf. They discussed some of Mr. Oakleaf's experiences as a student of Lincoln, and reminisced about a number of other subjects.

J. B., as he was familiarly known, was a figure in Moline life, and he will be missed by many. To meet him with his giant dog, King, was a daily pleasure to scores of people. During the funeral services, King, who had been lying down in the room, gave a moan which sounded like a dirge to those outside the house, then arose and walked majestically past the casket in which his beloved master lay.

Mr. Oakleaf was active in many walks of life. He was frequently called upon to write or give orations on Lincoln's life. His bibliography on Lincoln is nationally recognized as authoritative, and his library on Lincoln one of the most complete in the world.

Judge Oakleaf was prominent in his profession of law. Some years ago he served the city of Moline as City Attorney.



Joseph B. Oakleaf.

During this time he won a case in a unique way for the city against the railroads. He was active in the city library and the city hospital, being a member on the Boards of both institutions. He was a director of the Moline Furniture works and of the Moline State Bank. As a Mason he was prominent, being a member of the Rock Island Commandery, Knights Templar. He was also a member of Swedish Olive lodge of Odd Fellows. He was president of the Rock Island County Historical Society; a director of the Illinois State Historical Society; member of the Chicago Historical Society, Kansas Historical Society and the Mississippi Valley Historical Society. He was also past president of the Old Settlers' Association of Rock Island county and of the John Ericsson Republican League of Illinois.

As a student of Illinois history and the early history of Moline, he was equalled by few. When the Moline Dispatch published the fiftieth anniversary edition, Mr. Oakleaf was the one called upon to write a history of the city of Moline. That history was one of the main features of the edition.

Joseph Benjamin Oakleaf was born in Moline, Illinois, on October 1, 1858. His parents were Peter B. and Mary Oakleaf, who emigrated from Sweden, arriving in Moline in July, 1854. He was one of a family of five boys and five girls, all of whom, with his parents, preceded him in death. He moved with his family to Kansas in the fall of 1869. He was educated in the country school and in a Mercantile college in Keokuk, Iowa, and also studied strenuously at home. Later, he returned to Moline, and was bookkeeper for E. A. Peterson and Company. He studied law with the firm of Browning and Entrikin, and was admitted to the bar on June 8, 1886. He opened his own law office in the spring of 1888. In the fall of 1879 he was married to Josephine Anderson, who passed away on December 23, 1916. He is survived by one son, J. L. Oakleaf, two grandsons and one granddaughter.

Mr. B. J. Palmer, president of the Central Broadcasting company, said of Mr. Oakleaf: "He has not died, but passed into another world. His spirit, his kindness and loving thoughtfulness will go on living in this world for many years."

Funeral services were held at the family residence, 1011 Fifteenth Street, at 2 P. M., June 5, with the Rev. Walter Tillberg, Pastor of the Trinity Lutheran church, of which Judge Oakleaf was a member, officiating. Burial was in Riverside Cemetery.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

- No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.
- No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.
- No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.
- No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.
- No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber, 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.
- Nos. 6-36. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1929. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.
- *Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.
- *Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

* Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime. 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles, by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

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*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I., No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

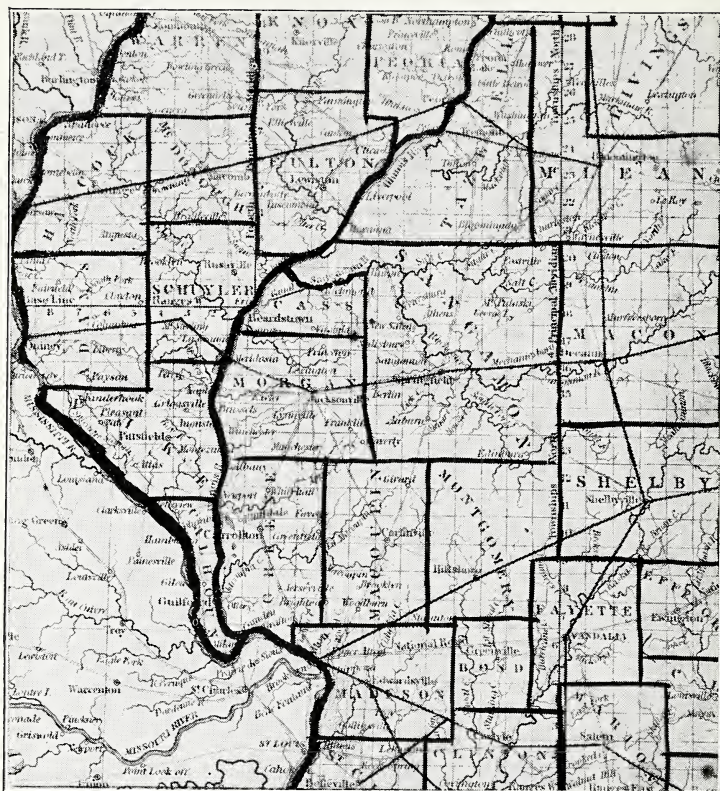
*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I., No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIII, No. 2, July, 1930.

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* Out of print.



THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS COUNTRY

From Map Published by
S. A. Mitchell, 1838

About one-half of the population of Illinois in 1830 was located in the portion of Illinois shown. Counties in it with a population of more than 2,000 were: Sangamon 12,960, Morgan 12,714, Greene 7,674, St. Clair 7,078, Madison 6,221, Tazewell 4,716, Bond 3,124, Montgomery 2,953, Fayette 2,704, Pike 2,386, Clinton 2,330, Adams 2,186, and Marion 2,125. Seventeen other counties in Illinois had more than 2,000 people only three of which, Gallatin with 7,405, White with 6,091, and Vermilion with 5,836, had more than 5,000.

Lincoln came to Macon County in 1830, and located at New Salem in 1831. He was first elected to the legislature, in 1834, while a resident of New Salem. He removed to Springfield in 1837.

Douglas came to Jacksonville in 1833. While residing there he was elected to the legislature, in 1836. Later, he moved to Springfield and Quincy.

The Jacksonville-Springfield congressional district elected Lincoln to Congress in 1846. The Quincy congressional district elected Douglas to Congress in 1843.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS COUNTRY, 1831-1832.

By FRANK J. HEINL.

The charge account book of the postmaster at Jacksonville, Illinois, for the years 1831 and 1832 discloses the names of 133 publications received by 271 residents of Morgan County. At that time, addressees paid the postage on the mail they received. Postage stamps were not adopted by the Post Office Department until 1847 and prepayment of postage was not made compulsory until 1855.

Abraham Lincoln located at New Salem in Sangamon County, which adjoins Morgan County on the east, in 1831. New Salem was but eight miles from the Morgan County line and was twenty-seven miles from Jacksonville. Lincoln's later home, Springfield, is thirty-three miles from Jacksonville. Stephen Arnold Douglas came to Jacksonville in 1833. Morgan County gave him his first elective office in 1836, when it sent him to the Legislature. Douglas lived in Jacksonville, Springfield, and Quincy until after he became a United States Senator in 1847, when he located in Chicago.

The publications distributed through the Jacksonville postoffice in 1831 and 1832 were those which influenced public opinion in the Lincoln and Douglas country at the time of the opening of the careers of the two men. The same publications circulated throughout the region, although they had a larger circulation through the Jacksonville postoffice than any other in it.

At that time, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, fifty-five years had elapsed since the Declaration of Independence, forty-two years since the government under the Constitution had begun, twenty-eight years since the Louisiana Purchase, and sixteen years since the ratification of peace

after the War of 1812 and the battles of New Orleans and Waterloo. Washington had been dead thirty-three years and Adams and Jefferson, the second and third Presidents, five years.

At the time, Jacksonville with two or three thousand people was the largest town in Illinois, the center of population in the commonwealth, and in many respects the most important town in the State. It had already taken that leadership in the educational, religious, social, and political life of the State which it held for many years.

At the time, the overwhelming majority of the people in Morgan County were of Southern origin and bore names indicating their connection with the pioneers in Virginia and with that stream of immigrants which had poured into the back country of Virginia and the Carolinas. About 1830 there had come to Jacksonville enough New England Congregationalists to give the frontier village on the western fringe of American civilization a decidedly Puritan cast which it retains to this day. The migration which settled Morgan County started in the mountain regions of Virginia and the Carolinas, coursed through Kentucky, or tarried there awhile, and then broke over the Ohio River and worked northward into Central Illinois. After the defeat of the attempt to legalize slavery in Illinois in 1824, there commenced a movement of Easterners into the northern part of the State which began to run at full tide after the Black Hawk War, continued for many years, and made the northern part of the State as overwhelmingly northern in sentiment as the southern part was Southern. Out of this situation came a sectionalism which still exists. Central Illinois was the common ground of both the Cavalier and the Puritan. Jacksonville early became and long continued a storm center for the antagonisms of the men from the Cotton States and those from the East and North. South of the town were Southerners, north of it were Easterners, it became a veritable melting pot for conflicting social, religious, and political ideas, and in it Puritan and Cavalier contended for the ideals and traditions of their ancestors. Both Lincoln and Douglas were observers of this conflict.

The American occupation of Illinois began with the advent of traders during the British regime, 1765 to 1778. Clark's conquest during the Revolutionary War introduced a new American element as a number of his troops became permanent settlers, but Americans came slowly. At the commencement of the War of 1812, there were about ten thousand Americans in Illinois. For several decades after the close of that war the growth of the region was phenomenal. When Illinois became a State, in 1818, the frontier of the Indian country was approximately a line running eastward from the mouth of the Illinois River. With few exceptions the whites in the State were south of this line and were mostly along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. North of the line were Indians, military posts, and traders. It was not until after the Kickapoo Indians ceded their claim to Central Illinois, July 20, 1819, that white men came into what is now Morgan County. No record remains of the name of any white man whose foot touched the soil of the county prior to the Kickapoo cession notwithstanding that Joliet and Marquette canoed along its western border in 1673, that LaSalle followed their trail in 1680 and later, that French *courriers du bois*, fur traders, and transients to and from Canada and the French towns in the American Bottom used the Illinois River along its western limits as a highway for a century, that war expeditions passed over that river in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812, and that overland expeditions passed near the county in the latter war. Immediately after the Kickapoo cession, prospectors and settlers rushed into the Kickapoo country from Southern Illinois and Kentucky. Within a few months, Colonel Seymour Kellogg and Captain Elisha Kellogg, veterans of the War of 1812, and descendants of an old New England Puritan family, their families, and Charles Collins became the first white settlers near Jacksonville. The next spring, began an inrush of settlers from the South. The population near the present Jacksonville jumped from about 100 in 1820 to about 1,000 in 1823, and on January, 31, 1823, Morgan County was erected and included the territory of the

present counties of Cass, Morgan and Scott. Jacksonville was laid out as the county seat of the county by authority of the Legislature on April 26, 1825. Immigrants were rushing into the Prairie State. The population of the county was about 4,000 in 1826, about 6,000 in 1828, and was 12,714 in 1830, it being the second county in population in the State. In 1840, with its 19,547 people, it was the most populous county in Illinois. Jacksonville had 446 people in 1830 and by the close of 1833 had 2,500 or 3,000.

The population of Illinois had increased to 157,445 in 1830. Settlements had spread north to Peoria, principally along the rivers and creeks, and there were scattered settlers along the Mississippi River to the lead mines at Galena. The country of the Sangamon and Mauvaiseterre rivers was settled as was also the interior of the southern part of the State, but a third of the State extending from Chicago to Galena, far down into the interior, was still a trackless waste overrun by wandering Indians and fur-traders.

Francis Grierson in his "The Valley of Shadows" writing of a somewhat later period said, "The settlers were hard at work with axe and plough; yet, in spite of material preoccupation, all felt the unnameable influence of unfolding destiny. The social cycle, which began with the Declaration of Independence, was drawing to a close. . . . It was impossible to tell what a day might bring forth. . . . The prairie was a region of expectant watchfulness, and life a perpetual contrast of work and idleness, hope, and misgiving. . . . Swiftly and silently came the mighty influences. Thousands labored on in silence, thousands were acting under an imperative, spiritual impulse without knowing it."

In the early thirties, a great change was in process all over America and in Europe, too. History and destiny were in the air. A continuous and rapid change was going on as the old order passed. For forty years before 1815, the whole world had been at war, and the French Revolution was the greatest wrecker of complacency that had occurred in modern times,—before 1914. In the years after 1815, men threw off

the shackles of the past, they exalted the position of the individual in society, burst the bonds of education and religion, experimented with schemes of better human life, sought the abolition of slavery, and the reformation of drunkards and criminals. After 1815, the American mind which had concerned itself only with political organization, suddenly turned to other problems of human experience. The time was favorable for the discussion of moral questions. Just a few years earlier, the Protestant churches in America were taken possession of by an unquiet spirit. Religious papers were extending their sphere and the political press was entering a new stage of development.

The democratic upheaval in the life of the people of the United States in the twenties and thirties may be regarded as a transformation of American society that manifested itself in every phase of thought and endeavor. The elevation of the backwoodsman, Andrew Jackson, to the presidency in 1829 was a dramatic symbol of the success of the disintegrating forces of the time. Andrew Jackson was the product rather than the creator of the new democratic spirit. The growth of the West affords one vital approach to an understanding of the democratic outlook of America. The democracy of the frontier grew out of the hardy experiences of the pioneers. The West with all its crudeness and virtues came to play a large part in American life in the twenties and thirties, deepening the channels of democracy and driving them in a roaring tide.

In the early thirties, both politics and religion in America were muddled and confused and both were in process of transformation. Morgan County was settled during that Era of Good Feeling in American politics which followed the War of 1812 and terminated the year in which Jacksonville was founded. During those years partisanship in American politics was rather dormant. The Democratic-Republican party which was first known as the Republican party and later as the Democratic was in control and had little opposition. John Quincy Adams was elected President by the Congress in 1825.

Out of the ill-feeling over his election came party division which showed itself first in the curious Anti-Masonic party which rose during his administration and which was promoted to a considerable extent by the opposition to Andrew Jackson. During the Adams administration, Andrew Jackson's followers assumed the name of Jackson men to distinguish themselves from the supporters of Adams and Henry Clay who took the name of National Republican and who about 1834 went into the emerging Whig party.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson who gloried in the name of Democrat defeated John Quincy Adams, the leader of the National Republicans, for the presidency and in 1832 he defeated Henry Clay behind whom had gathered most of the opposition to Jackson. Jackson's first victory was a triumph for the West. Both candidates in 1832 were from the West. William Henry Harrison, Whig, a western man, was defeated in 1836 by Martin Van Buren, Jackson's political legatee, but in 1840 Harrison defeated Van Buren.

The War of 1812 brought out conspicuously the solidarity of interest of the West. This sectional solidarity on the part of the trans-Appalachian communities is a factor often overlooked in relating the political history of the earlier part of the last century. It was this strong sectional feeling that drew the Cavalier and Puritan together on the prairies of Illinois and enabled them to work in harmony in public and social affairs which were not too closely entangled with the slavery question.

In the presidential election of 1824 Illinois chose three electors. Morgan County voted for four candidates and gave an Adams elector the largest vote, a Jackson and Clay elector the second largest vote, and a Jackson elector and a Clay elector ran close together as the third. In 1828 the county gave Jackson 702 votes to 279 for Adams. In 1832 Jackson received 1,226 and Clay 1,003. The large increase in the anti-Jackson vote surprised and greatly disturbed the "Whole-Hog" Jackson men in the county. The county sent two Jackson men to the Legislature in 1828 and again in 1830, but in

1832 it elected two Jackson men and two others who later became Whigs. Political lines in Illinois in 1832 were loose and badly crossed.

When Lincoln went to Vandalia, to enter upon his second term in the Illinois House of Representatives as one of the "Long Nine" from Sangamon County, he found as colleagues Stephen A. Douglas and John J. Hardin who were two of the nine members of the General Assembly from Morgan County. The three were actively engaged in politics. By 1840, Douglas had established himself as the leader of his party in Illinois and, meanwhile, Hardin had not been idle and had become the acknowledged Whig leader of the State while Lincoln was the leader of the Whigs in the General Assembly.

Morgan and Sangamon counties, the home counties of Douglas and Lincoln, became Whig strongholds and their congressional district for a decade was the only one in Illinois which elected Whig congressmen. It sent Stuart, Hardin, Baker, Lincoln, and Yates to Congress. Douglas saw that the Whig strength in the district would thwart his political ambitions, removed to Quincy, and was elected to Congress in 1843. In 1847 he went into the United States Senate and in the same year Hardin lost his life while leading his regiment at Buena Vista.

In spite of the efforts of churchmen after the close of the Revolutionary War, there was no considerable religious awakening until the close of the century. The Great Revival of 1800 in Eastern Kentucky spread through the older states and large numbers of members were added to the leading denominations. About this time, were held in Kentucky the first camp meetings. Every settlement along the Green and Cumberland rivers soon filled with religious fervor. The meeting at Cane Ridge where Barton W. Stone was the Presbyterian minister is said to have had an attendance of twenty thousand. The Kentucky revivals contributed much to the astounding growth of the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in the newer parts of the country and out of them came several sects including Barton W. Stone's New Lights or Christians

who later amalgamated with Alexander Campbell's Disciples. In the Great Awakening of 1800 originated the revivalist and itinerant preacher to contribute one of the most picturesque chapters in American history. Peter Cartwright introduced camp meetings into Illinois, both he and Barton W. Stone became famous itinerants, and both lived near Jacksonville. Many of the revivalists tried to preach the Word in their own tongues and according to their own lights, consequently the sects began breaking up after the Great Awakening.

The only religious organization in Illinois until after Clark's conquest was the Roman Catholic. Organized Protestantism in the region began with the incoming of Baptist families from Kentucky. Methodism followed soon after and Presbyterianism came after the War of 1812. The pioneer Southern settlers in Morgan County had all felt the influence of the Great Awakening. Most of them came Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. There was a Methodist preacher in the region in 1821 and the next year two classes were formed which grew into Centenary and Mt. Zion churches. The Baptists probably organized the first church in the section in 1821. Several Baptist preachers were working in the county at its organization. The Diamond Grove Church (Missionary Baptist) was organized April 26, 1823. Primitive and Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptist preachers gathered congregations in the twenties, but it was not until 1841 that Jacksonville had a Baptist church. Cumberland Presbyterians had a camp ground on the north fork of the Mauvaiseterre as early as 1824. Elbridge Gerry Howe, a New England Congregationalist, came to Diamond Grove in 1825 or 1826 and worked there awhile, but for financial reasons went to another field. John Brich, an itinerant English Presbyterian missionary, came into the county in 1824, probably from the South. He organized the first Presbyterian church in the county on June 30, 1827. In 1828, John Millot Ellis became pastor of this church and remained with it until 1832. A New England Congregationalist, Ellis promoted the organization of Illinois College and was the first church pas-

tor in Jacksonville. Most of the New Englanders who came to Jacksonville prior to the organization of the Congregational church became members of or associated with the Presbyterian church. Trinity church, the oldest Protestant Episcopal church in Illinois, was organized August 11, 1832. The Church of Christ, the Christian Church, was organized October 31, 1832. It was the first Christian church in Illinois to gather within its fold several elements which had been independent. The origin of three of these groups traced back to the Cane Ridge revival of 1800, the other group were Disciples, called Reformers, followers of Alexander Campbell. Barton W. Stone left the Presbyterian church a few years after the Great Awakening and headed the Christians, called Stoneites or New Lights. He sent Harrison W. Osborne whom he had baptized and ordained to Jacksonville in 1830 and bought real estate near it in 1830, 1831, and 1832. He removed his family and his paper, the *Christian Messenger*, to it in 1834. Josephus Hewett, a Disciple preacher, located near Jacksonville in 1831. Both Osborne and Hewett were trying to gather churches of their sects. Early in 1832, Stone and most of his followers in Kentucky fused with the Disciples. Fresh from his success in Kentucky, Stone came to Jacksonville and induced the Disciples, his own followers, Cumberland Presbyterians, and, perhaps, others to unite in one church organization which took the name Christian.

After the organization of the Yale Divinity School in 1822, there came a great denominational awakening among the Congregationalists of western New England, especially among those in the shadow of Yale. The Congregationalists of western Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Presbyterians of New York, and the Dutch Reformed Church had been prosecuting missionary work in the West under the Plan of Union of 1801. The plan, itself, was eminently fair to all concerned, but it resulted in the organization of Presbyterian churches only. The Congregational laymen in Jacksonville in the early thirties were mostly from Connecticut, had experienced the denominational awakening there, were opposed to the results

of the operation of the Plan of Union, and, determined to have a church like those they had left in their boyhood homes, were in 1832 planning the organization of a Congregational church which was formally organized on December 15, 1833. The founding of their church was an ecclesiastical revolution against the Plan of Union which in due course brought most important results to their denomination.

In the early thirties, the schism in the Presbyterian Church which materialized in 1837 was casting its shadow before. While the split in the Methodist Church was a full decade in the future, currents of disruption were already flowing in it. The Baptists were divided into several sects among which were many and bitter contentions. Denominational lines in Illinois in 1831 and 1832 were as loose and badly crossed as were political lines.

Negro slavery was introduced into Illinois by the French in 1720. The Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory should be allowed to retain their ancient possessions which included slaves and enjoy their ancient rights, but a clause prohibiting slavery was inserted in the same document. In 1803, Indiana Territory of which Illinois was a part adopted a slave code copied from the codes of Virginia and Kentucky. Under it negroes were brought into Indiana and indentured for long terms of years. When Illinois became a territory in 1809 the practice continued and when Illinois became a State in 1818 her constitution had to express itself against slavery and it was so written, but the old-time slavery continued and soon got into politics. Slaves were held as far north as Morgan County although there were not many in the upper counties. In 1830, there were 746 slaves held in Illinois under the "Black Laws." Negroes unclaimed by masters were sold in Illinois at auction as late as 1853. Questions concerning slaves were heard by Illinois courts as late as 1863, but a decision by the Supreme Court of Illinois made in 1845 practically abolished slavery in the State.

With the close of the War of 1812, the American conscience awakened to the evils of every-day social practices. Dr. Benjamin Rush had published during the Revolutionary War tracts calling attention to the evils of intemperance, but the people were too much occupied with other problems to give heed to the liquor question. The first half-century under the constitution witnessed a most appalling consumption of alcoholic stimulants. Wines and liquors were consumed in almost fabulous quantities. Clergymen, women, and even children on occasion joined the mass of mankind in drinking. Lyman Beecher described how at an ordination the sideboard was set with decanters and how the ministers stepped up again and again to get drinks. In pioneer sections liquor flowed freely at house-raising, corn-huskings, and other community and social gatherings. It remained for Lyman Beecher to arouse the nation to the evils of intemperance and inaugurate a temperance reform by the delivery of his "Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasion, Signs, Evils and Remedy of Intemperance" at Litchfield, Conn., in 1826. The files of the *Western Observer* printed in Jacksonville in 1830 and 1831 disclose blistering editorials against intemperance.

It is impossible at this time to realize the animosity shown by the pioneer settlers towards immigrants from the East who were indiscriminately called "Yankees." In Jacksonville, as elsewhere, settlers were divided into two classes, those from the Cotton States called "Whites" and those from the East called "Yankees." The better class of the Southerners felt themselves to be ladies and gentlemen, they were proud of their ancestry and aristocracy and felt that there were none like themselves among the "Yankees." The "Yankees" were almost to a man anti-slavery and did not hide their sentiments. A considerable part of the Southern stock was opposed to "book larnin," "pay preachers," "Bible Schools," written "sarmints," etc. The "Yankees" favored education for the masses and "Yankee" preachers advocated colleges where preaching might be taught, and, worse than all else, many of them were regarded as unsound in their

theological views. There was an element in the Southern stock that was emancipationist, another that favored the education of the masses, and another opposed to intemperance, and these elements sympathized with the "Yankees," but, in the main, great animosity to Easterners persisted for several decades.

Schools in Illinois, prior to statehood, were few and far between, and most of them were poor excuses. Academies were popular with the wealthier Southerners. The Legislature in 1825 passed a free school law championed by Joseph Duncan. A few schools went into operation under it, among them the Jacksonville District School which was opened in 1826 with William Thomas as teacher and continued until 1831. The Duncan school law was unpopular and was repealed in a few years. Subscription schools had been opened in Morgan County in 1820 and many of them were being held in the thirties. Common schools came slowly in Illinois as they did in most states outside of New England. In Illinois the college preceded the little red schoolhouse. The educators and political leaders of Jacksonville, known as the "Jacksonville Crowd," fought persistently to secure a public school system, but not until 1855 did they succeed.

Illinois College was promoted by John M. Ellis. When, in 1825, Ellis was ordained to the Ministry in the Old South Meeting House in Boston, he was charged with the duty of establishing a seminary of learning in the West. He came immediately to Kaskaskia, Illinois. He met little encouragement in Egypt for his seminary plans. At the suggestion of Joseph Duncan and Samuel D. Lockwood he came to Jacksonville in 1828, received promises of support, and selected a site for his school. In midsummer he located in the town as pastor of its Presbyterian church. Just about the time Ellis made his first visit to Jacksonville, the call of the West was ringing in the ears of a group of theological students at Yale Divinity School. One of these students through the *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal* got in touch with Ellis who invited the group to cooperate with him. The plans

of Ellis and the Illinois Association, generally known as the Yale Band, were combined. The original members of the Yale Band were Mason Grosvenor, Julian Monson Sturtevant, Theron Baldwin, William Kirby, Elisha Jenney, Asa Turner, and John Flavel Brooks. These men engaged to go into the West and teach and preach and their band was the first to undertake such a task. Later members of the band were William Carter, Flavel Bascom, Lucien Farnham, and Albert Hale. On November 15, 1829, Sturtevant, the advance agent of the band, arrived in Jacksonville to inaugurate Illinois College which was soon to become the foremost educational institution in the State. The next year, Edward Beecher, son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward and Harriet, came from the pulpit of the Park Street Congregational Church in Boston to the presidency of the college. In 1833, Jonathan Baldwin Turner and Truman Marcellus Post came from New England to the faculty of the college. In 1835, the college awarded Richard Yates the first college degree conferred in Illinois. Within a few years after the opening of the college, all of the Yale Band, except one detained in the East by illness, were busily engaged in teaching and preaching in Illinois and establishing a cordon of supporting churches for the college.

The episode known as the Black Hawk War which is famous more on account of the great number of participants therein who later became prominent in the public affairs of the Nation and State than for its warfare terminated in 1832. Among the large number of Morgan County men who mustered for the war were Joseph Duncan, John J. Hardin, William Thomas, Murray McConnel, and Enoch C. March. Peter Cartwright, Abraham Lincoln, Edward D. Baker, and John T. Stuart went from Sangamon County.

There appears to have been no political activities which brought large crowds together in Jacksonville during the years 1831 and 1832. Candidates for local offices stumped the county and everybody talked politics, but the politicians abandoned the field to the preachers. The preachers had

stirred up much religious excitement and then they easily stepped over into the political field. Political leaders in the muddled political situation were slow to declare themselves until after Douglas promoted his successful Jackson meeting in 1834 and then they began to align as Whigs and Democrats.

Elections those days were exciting enough. Governor Ford wrote of the campaign of 1830, "Mr. Kinney (a candidate for governor) was one of the old sort of Baptist preachers. It was said that he went forth electioneering with a Bible in one pocket and a bottle of whiskey in the other; and thus armed with 'the sword of the Lord and the spirit' he could preach to one set of men and drink with another, and thus make himself agreeable to all. 'Treating' as it was called was an indispensable element of success at elections. In many counties the candidates would hire all the groceries in the county seats and other considerable villages, where the people could get liquor without cost for several weeks before election. The voters in all the neighboring country around turned out every Saturday to visit the towns, see the candidates and hear the news. The candidates came also, and addressed the people from wagons, old logs, or stumps newly cut, from whence comes the phrase 'stump speeches.' The speeches being over, then commenced the drinking of liquor, and long before night a large portion of the voters would be drunk and staggering about town, cursing, swearing, halloing, yelling, huzzaing for the favorite candidates, throwing their arms up and around, threatening to fight and fighting. Towards evening, they would mount their ponies, go reeling from side to side, galloping through the town, screeching like so many infernal spirits broke loose from their prisons, and thus they departed for their homes." John Reynolds, who was elected governor in 1830, wrote, "About this time, in 1828, the parties known as the Whigs and Democrats were formed in Illinois, and operated with great venom and rage against one another. I traversed every section of the State in 1830. The party excitement waxed exceedingly warm and bitter, and the papers flooded the country with the most exciting, fiery and scathing

hand-bills, as well as their ordinary issues. I would often meet my name appended to a hand-bill that I never saw before. Both myself and Mr. Kinney addressed the people in public meetings hundreds and hundreds of times in the protracted canvass. In the canvass, I was literally exhausted by speaking and other labors. My last speech I made, was on the day of the election at Jacksonville, where a vast concourse of people attended. Rancor in the campaign raged so high that neighborhoods fell with one another, and the angry and bitter feelings entered into the common transactions of life. It was the universal custom of the times to treat with liquor. We both did it. A great amount of money was bet on the election. Many tricks were played by each on the other. One was that Captain Mathew Duncan (elder brother of Joseph) had his saddle-bags full of hand-bills for Mr. Kinney, and put up at the hotel in Jacksonville. Our party had their messengers there also with documents. In the night, our friends took the Kinney hand-bills out of the saddle-bags of Duncan, and filled them with mine. Duncan distributed the wrong documents for several days before he found out the trick." Morgan County gave Reynolds, the "Milk-and-Water" Jackson candidate, 1,019 votes and Kinney, the "Whole Hog" Jackson candidate who had the support of Congressman Duncan, at the time a resident of Jacksonville, 797 votes.

The preacher was in politics then and there were preachers enough in Morgan County. During the years 1831 and 1832, sixty-eight preachers solemnized marriages in the county. Some of them may have been only itinerants, but several preachers who are known to have worked in the county about that time had no weddings and without doubt there were other preachers in the county who left no record of their presence. Most of the preachers at the time depended upon farming or some business or profession for their livelihood. A number of them pieced out their incomes with salaries from public office. Newton Cloud, William Gillham, John Green, David Pat Henderson, and John T. Jones, preachers, were county officers or legislators. Preachers filled many minor

offices and in the long lists of defeated candidates appear the names of many of them. Quite naturally the preachers who itinerated, and most of them did to some extent, gained a wide acquaintance, and were looked to for all sorts of information, political as well as religious. Among the preachers who resided or worked in the county in the thirties, Peter Cartwright, Peter Akers, Barton W. Stone, John Mason Peck, Edward Beecher, Julian M. Sturtevant, and Truman M. Post gained national fame in their denominations, and a number of others were prominent in the early religious history of Illinois. During the years 1831 and 1832, the Christians and Disciples were particularly active in Jacksonville gathering members for the church they were organizing, the Congregationalists were promoting their church, and lines of division were already discernible among the Methodists and Presbyterians. Withal, the preachers were kept busy, especially those who went in for politics. At the time, there was no Roman Catholic priest or church in the county and, apparently, no families of that faith.

A sample of the religious unrest of the period is the trial for heresy, the first in Illinois, of Julian M. Sturtevant, Edward Beecher, and William Kirby by the Illinois Presbytery sitting in Jacksonville in 1833 upon charges preferred by a Presbyterian preacher who lived in the town about that time. The ministers were acquitted.

The influence of the preachers and teachers at Jacksonville was widespread. The town was already the religious and educational center of Illinois. From it radiated preachers who went into the farthest corners of the State and into nearby states and from it, too, scattered college students to help pay their college expenses by teaching short terms of subscription schools. The frontier town was a caravansery for travelers and settlers passing farther west. It drew walkers, and talkers, and hawkers of all kinds—William Cullen Bryant and medicine men, Lorenzo Dow and religious fanatics, agents for investment and colonizing societies of the East and even from Europe, explorers and scientific researchers, political

scouts from the older states, slave-chasers and kidnappers from the slave states, and "Yankee" peddlers of clocks, notions, and nostrums.

William Cullen Bryant found Jacksonville in 1832 a better and more attractive town than Springfield. It appeared to Henry Asbury as the brightest and largest town in Illinois. Allen Johnson in his "Stephen A. Douglas" says Jacksonville in 1833 was "hardly more than a crowded village on the outskirts of civilized Illinois," but Frank E. Stevens in his "Stephen A. Douglas, Autobiography," says, "Jacksonville was then the most important city in the State. The ablest lawyers of the State practiced there. It was the pole star among Illinois cities. Everything which had political ambition behind it pointed to Jacksonville." B. F. Harris in 1835 found Jacksonville a beautiful place of about fifteen hundred people with "nice" buildings and Springfield, "A small village of about one hundred people and twenty or thirty shanties, a Hotel, a hard looking place." Patrick Shirreff in 1835 wrote, "Jacksonville contains about the same number of souls as Springfield, but is superior in buildings, arrangements, and situation. Many of the houses consist of brick, and the hotels are large and commodious." According to John Mason Peck the business and professional interests of Springfield in 1834 were less than those at Jacksonville. Thomas Lippincott in 1828 wrote, "All was new on the broad, swelling prairie where we were, the doe had not yet ceased to feed in security and the yells of the prairie wolf broke upon the ears of the inhabitants. The people had not yet had time to construct brick or frame houses and yet they seemed ready to undertake and support a seminary of learning." Jonathan Baldwin Turner wrote in 1833, "You cannot find a village east of the Hudson of the same number of inhabitants, possessing so many men of literary taste and manners. Hundreds of people pass through here from the East and from Europe every year." Truman M. Post wrote of the town in 1833, "Jacksonville was then a new world, socially embryonic, genetic, in a period demiurgic, constantly engaged with primordial problems

which required dealing and handling, re-examining, and testing first principles, philosophic and organic, social, political, institutional, educational and religious. The excitement of activity and speculation was universal."

Jacksonville and Springfield were the most important towns in the Lincoln and Douglas country in 1832. In fact, no town in America north or west of St. Louis approached them in size or activity.

The year 1830 and those immediately following saw many societies organized in Jacksonville,—a county tract society, a State Sunday school union, a Bible society, the Illinois Branch of the American Educational Society, a colonization society, and others. Among those active in the organizations were Samuel D. Lockwood, John M. Ellis, Julian M. Sturtevant, Peter Cownover, James G. Edwards, John Mason Peck, Joseph Duncan, Theron Baldwin, Elihu Wolcott, William Collins, Dennis Rockwell, Newton Cloud, William Thomas, Josephus Hewett, Richard Yates, John T. Jones, Harrison W. Osborne, and a number of others who later held political offices.

Colonization societies were organized quite generally over the country. Their object was to colonize free negroes in Africa. The idea seems to have originated before the Revolutionary War, but the American Colonization Society was not organized until 1817. Among its presidents were James Madison and Henry Clay. The movement at first was encouraged by slaveholders as it tended to relieve the South of free negroes. It was proposed by some to purchase the slaves from their owners and send them to Africa. Many honestly believed that funds could be raised to solve the slavery question by purchase and deportation. When the cry of abolition was raised, many people in the North who were financially interested in slavery in the South turned to colonization in the hope of saving their investments in negroes.

The flood of printers' ink which deluges the country began to flow in the infancy of the Republic. The colonial newspapers during the stormy days of the stamp act were

transformed from colorless bulletins into flaming sheets of sedition. Throughout the Revolutionary War, a battle royal was waged between the Patriot and Tory press and when that issue was settled, local disputes still furnished an abundance of fuel for editorial fires. As factional struggles waxed hotter and hotter and the population increased, new papers appeared until every town of any size had its newspaper. About forty colonial sheets survived the Revolution. Three decades later, there were almost four hundred papers in the United States and by the close of 1809 there were about thirty daily papers scattered from Boston to New Orleans. There were 827 newspapers published in the United States in 1828 according to *The Traveller and Monthly Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, June, 1828. Pennsylvania led the list with 185. New York had 161, Massachusetts 78, Ohio 66, Virginia 34, Maryland 32, Maine 29, Connecticut 26, Kentucky 23, New Jersey 22, Vermont 21, Georgia 18, New Hampshire and Indiana 17 each, South Carolina 16, North Carolina 15, Rhode Island 11, Alabama 10, Louisiana and the District of Columbia 9 each, Mississippi 6, Missouri 5, Delaware and Illinois 4 each, Florida and Michigan 2 each, and Arkansas and the Cherokee Nation 1 each.

During and immediately after the Revolutionary War, political pamphlets circulated everywhere and to these were soon added religious tracts. About 1800, the epoch of magazines and books began. They were of many types and intended for people of education.

The United States Post Office Department distributed newspapers, pamphlets, and periodicals quite promptly. Mails were moved by boat, stages, and post-riders. A mail route was established from Philadelphia to Pittsburg in 1788. It was extended to Louisville in 1794, to Vincennes in 1800, to Cahokia in 1805, and to St. Louis in 1810. A postoffice was opened at Cahokia, Indiana Territory, on April 1, 1802, and this office served all of the Illinois Country near and north of it for many years. Two main routes for travelers led north from Cahokia, one by way of Springfield and the other by way of Alton, Carrollton, and Jacksonville. The first postoffice in

Sangamon County was that at Sangamon Court House, established January 26, 1822, which became Springfield on February 29, 1828. The postoffice at Carrollton was opened October 12, 1822, and the one at Edwardsville on November 2, of the same year. Alton did not get an office until August 14, 1826. In 1814 there were but nine offices in Illinois, but from that year postal facilities increased rapidly. In 1823 a mail route was extended from Carrollton into Pike County and this route passed through the Diamond Grove settlement, near the site of Jacksonville, but it never had an office. Routes were extended from Springfield to Peoria in 1826 and to Chicago in 1832. By 1833, nearly every important point in Illinois could be reached by mail and travelers in a reasonably short time, if rivers were not frozen or flooded and roads not impassable.

The postoffice at Jacksonville was opened August 15, 1825. Prior to its opening the two or three thousand people in Morgan County, were dependent upon Carrollton, Springfield, and post-riders for their mail service. In 1825, the only mail service Jacksonville had was weekly from St. Louis. Soon after, a weekly mail was carried between Springfield, Jacksonville, and Quincy. The *Western Observer* of May 20, 1830, observed, "Mails. Instead of laying in the Post Office at Springfield from Monday till Friday, it is to arrive here every Tuesday. We want a direct mail route to St. Louis. No doubt a stage would be well supported." Jacksonville did not get daily mails until late in the thirties. The speed of the mails in 1830 is illustrated by the carriage of the President's message from Washington to Columbus, Ohio, in thirty-eight hours and to New Orleans in six days.

The postmaster at Jacksonville charged the postage on newspapers quarterly. The rate on the following weeklies was thirteen cents a quarter: *Illinois Herald*, Springfield; *Beardstown Chronicle*, Beardstown, Ill.; *Illinois Advocate*, Edwardsville; *Western Ploughboy*, Edwardsville; *Illinois Intelligencer*, Vandalia; *Pioneer and Western Baptist*, Rock Spring, Ill.; *Sangamon Journal*, Springfield, and *Alton Spec-*

tator. A quarterly charge of nineteen and one-half cents was made for such weeklies as *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C.; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York City; *Louisville Public Advertiser*; *New York Observer*; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, Mo.; *New York Evangelist*; *Liberator*, Boston, Mass.; *Presbyterian*, Philadelphia, Pa.; *The New York Post*; *Commentator*, Frankfort, Ky.; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Md.; *Boston Recorder*, and *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley*, Cincinnati, Ohio. Thirty-nine cents a quarter was charged for such dailies as *The New York Post*, *New York Journal of Commerce*, and *United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pa. The postage on the bi-weekly *Sunday School Journal*, Philadelphia, Pa., was nineteen and one-half cents a quarter. The quarterly charge on *Godey's Lady's Book*, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., and *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, monthly, Boston, Mass., was thirty-one and one-half cents, *Christian Messenger*, monthly, Georgetown, Ky., seven and one-half cents, *Millennial Harbinger*, monthly, Bethany, Va., fifteen cents, *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vandalia, fifteen cents, *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, monthly, New York City, fifteen cents, *Agriculturist*, monthly, New York City, nineteen and one-half cents, *Journal of Humanity and Temperance Herald*, monthly, Andover, Mass., ten cents, and *Youth's Magazine*, monthly, New York City, seven and one-half cents.

The postage on letters delivered was charged at the time of delivery and the usual charges were ten cents, twelve and one-half cents, eighteen and three-quarters cents, and thirty-seven and one-half cents.

In 1831 and 1832, the Jacksonville postoffice served a wide territory. Newton Cloud came twenty miles from southeast for his mail. Peter Cownover came about as far from the north and others came even greater distances.

Other postoffices were established in Morgan County soon after the Jacksonville office. Exeter was established February 27, 1826; Sylvan Grove, now Virginia, March 6, 1828; Beard's Ferry, now Beardstown, April 12, 1830; Naples, September 15,

1830; Meredosia, January 19, 1832, and Winchester, February 16, 1833. Waverly did not get an office until April 15, 1847.

In early pioneer days, newspapers from Louisville, Frankfort, and Lexington, Ky.; Nashville, Tenn., and Cincinnati, Ohio, came into Illinois. The first paper published in St. Louis, Mo., appeared in 1808. St. Louis papers from their first issues had large circulations in Central and Southern Illinois.

The first newspaper in Illinois was the *Illinois Herald*, published in 1814 at Kaskaskia by Mathew Duncan, brother of Joseph. It became the *Western Intelligencer* and in 1820 moved to Vandalia with the State capital and became the *Illinois Intelligencer*. Five other papers were founded prior to the exciting slavery campaign of 1823 and 1824. During that campaign a number of newspapers were established, but only four survived the battle. Between 1824 and 1840, about one hundred and sixty journalistic ventures were made in the State, but only about one-fourth of them survived.

Jacksonville's first paper, *The Western Observer*, published by James Gardiner Edwards, appeared April 24, 1830. It became the *Illinois Patriot* on December 20, 1831, with Joseph Duncan as editor for a time, and in 1837 the *Illinois Patriot* became the *Illinoisian* with John J. Hardin as one of its editors. In 1844 or 1845, the *Morgan Journal* took over the plant of the *Illinoisian* and it became the *Jacksonville Journal* in 1858. Edwards left Jacksonville about 1837 and later established the *Burlington Hawkeye*. This chain of Jacksonville papers was at first anti-Jackson and then, in turn, Whig and Republican.

Early in 1834, probably, Robert Goudy established the *News* in connection with his print shop in Jacksonville from which were issued in 1834 almanacs, Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois, and Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War and these books, with the exception of State publications, were about the first made in Illinois. Some time in 1833, Samuel S. Brooks established the *Illinois State Gazette* which was soon merged with *Goudy's News* into the *Illinois State Ga-*

ette and Jacksonville News, a Jacksonian Democratic sheet. It was for this paper that Stephen A. Douglas solicited subscriptions when he first came to Illinois. Brooks became the newspaper sponsor for Douglas. In 1831, the *Sangamon Journal* appeared at Springfield and in the same year the *Miners' Journal* was established at Galena. The *Alton Spectator* began publication in 1832 and the *Chicago Democrat*, Chicago's first paper, appeared in 1833. Illinois had no daily paper until 1847.

The early newspapers usually depended upon public advertising for their existence. Consequently many of them went into bankruptcy with political changes, unless they could switch their politics on election night. Their general character was political, their tone frequently controversial, but they were highly moral and often religious. They printed little, very little, local news, but filled their columns with extracts from Eastern and Southern publications.

The only newspapers published in the Lincoln and Douglas country in 1831 and 1832 were the *Sangamon Journal* and the *Illinois Herald* at Springfield, the *Chronicle* at Beardstown, and the *Illinois Patriot* at Jacksonville. Other towns in Illinois with newspapers at that time were Galena, Kaskaskia, Edwardsville, Vandalia, and Alton. Quincy, Bloomington, Peoria, Danville, Decatur, and other towns in the region had no papers and there was no paper in the settlement on the Chicago River.

The slavery question was a fiercely contested issue in Morgan County from the very organization of the county until the Civil War period. The General Assembly which established the county in 1823 submitted to the voters of Illinois at the general election of 1824 the question of calling a constitutional convention to draw a new constitution for the State. The pro-slavery element in the State proposed to legalize slavery in Illinois by this new constitution. Morgan County was organized during the opening of the exciting campaign which preceded the election of 1824. Most of the pioneer settlers in the county came from south of Mason and Dixon's

Line to secure cheap, fertile lands and remove their families from the influences of slavery. Some of them were financially interested in slaves. Some of them wanted to legalize slavery in their new home so they could bring family slaves to it. A few of them did bring slaves with them and held them as slaves. A few of them brought slaves to the county temporarily in summer time to make their crops. At the time, there were few Easterners in the county. The presence of slaves angered those who had come from the Southland to get away from slavery and most of those from the Eastern states and the attempt to legalize slavery added fuel to the flame. One hundred and forty pioneers in the county united in 1824 in a society to prevent the introduction of slavery into the State. The 432 votes polled in the county against the proposed convention included the votes of many who favored slavery as it existed in the South. The 42 votes for the convention were polled by a small minority who wanted slavery in their new home. The campaign left much ill will which lingered on until the coming of men who advocated the total destruction of slavery everywhere in the country.

In the early thirties, men from Connecticut and Massachusetts brought to Jacksonville the "New England Conscience" with determined opinions on several moral questions which later became political issues. Their ideas were poison to many of the Southerners. The influx of "Yankees" angered many of the Southerners especially when the "Down-Easters" advocated abolition or criticised Southern customs or traditions. As a result, many of the Southerners who had voted against the legalization of slavery in Illinois were driven into the pro-slavery ranks.

Abolitionism took on a national aspect with the establishment of Garrison's *Liberator* in Boston in 1831 and the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society at the same place in 1833. In the thirties, anti-slavery agitation moved from the religious and moral columns of the newspapers to the news pages,—became first page material with headlines.

When Illinois College was founded by men from Connecticut, in 1829, Southerners suspected that it was anti-slavery and soon became convinced of the fact. When the Congregational church of Jacksonville was organized, in 1833, after organization preliminaries had dragged along a year or two, it became known as the "Abolition Church." The title was no misnomer for every member of the church was anti-slavery as were the other Congregationalists in the village who on account of their connection with the college did not formally unite with the church. Most of those Congregationalists became outspoken abolitionists and many of them Underground Railroad conductors. Both college and church were recognized by the pro-slavery element as enemies and were counted abolition engines.

The founding of a college and church by New Englanders so nearly coincident with the anti-slavery promotions in Boston, though mere coincidents, were sufficient to arouse the animosity of the pro-slavery element not only in Jacksonville, but in St. Louis, then a hot bed of slavery, and in many sections of the South. From the inception in Boston of the abolition movement, every step taken there against the institution of the South was echoed in Jacksonville. Soon an outcry was raised against abolitionists. "To be an Abolitionist," wrote Clark E. Carr, "meant political ostracism and in many localities those so branded were social outcasts. I became convinced that the man who had done more than any other to arouse and inflame this feeling was Stephen A. Douglas." And Douglas resided in Jacksonville and Lincoln from nearby New Salem was watching every political and social move made in Jacksonville.

At Jacksonville a bit of New England had been set down in a Southern environment. New England men, anti-slavery in sentiment, liberal in their religious views, advocates of common school and higher education, of temperance, of a free press, and a free pulpit were located in a community overwhelmingly in sympathy with slavery as it existed in the South, strict in its religious views and not tolerant as to tem-

perance agitation, free schools, etc. The Cavaliers from the South and the Puritans from New England were of different ancestry, customs, and traditions. There were many sources of conflict between them. This peculiar situation existed, perhaps, in no other place in the country. Certainly in no place in Illinois or even in the West were antagonistic principles championed by abler men. It was fortunate that both elements had intelligent, broad-minded leaders of great ability. Nowhere else in the West was there such a group of cultured, able, and courageous anti-slavery leaders as in Jacksonville, and several of them were, like William Lloyd Garrison, thorough radicals. The New England element led and guided by the leaders of New England churches fostered and organized the expression of anti-slavery feeling and anti-slavery societies and political parties in Illinois. Most of the acknowledged leaders were definitely allied with Congregational churches, Philo Carpenter and Zebina Eastman at Chicago, Owen Lovejoy at Princeton, Jonathan Blanchard at Galesburg, Richard Eells and Frederick Collins at Quincy, and Edward Beecher, Julian M. Sturtevant, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, Truman M. Post, Elihu Wolcott, William Carter, and Ebenezer Carter at Jacksonville. Cooperating with the Jacksonville group were a number of preachers and teachers, such as Asa Turner, William Kirby, Theron Baldwin, and Thomas Lippincott, scattered about the State, who were frequently in Jacksonville on college business.

The New Englanders in Jacksonville paid little attention to partisan politics until after the slavery issue entered the political arena. They voted for John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, and Richard Yates, Whigs, but when they entered politics most of them took their way through the Liberty and Free Soil parties into the Republican party, many of whose early leaders in Illinois, such as Lincoln, Yates, Orville H. Browning, and John M. Palmer, were Kentuckians.

Among the Congregationalists of Jacksonville Edward Beecher was the first of his illustrious family to take a definite stand against slavery, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, a lecturer

of wide repute, was a radical and outspoken opponent of slavery and occasionally conducted on the Underground Railroad, Julian M. Sturtevant and Truman M. Post, the latter of whom declared "American slavery and American liberty cannot co-exist on the same soil" many years before Lincoln expressed the same opinion in other words, wielded their voices and pens against slavery, Elihu Wolcott, a scion of the noted Connecticut Wolcott family which furnished officials to the commonwealth for two centuries, the mainspring in the organization of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville, and conductor-in-chief on the Underground Railroad, made sacrifice hits as congressional candidate for the Liberty party, and James G. Edwards was editor and publisher of Jacksonville's first newspaper.

Beecher was intimate with Elijah P. Lovejoy who frequently visited Jacksonville and was with him at Alton in his last defense of a press, but left there the morning before his murder. When the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society was organized at Alton,—about the time Lovejoy was killed, Elihu Wolcott became its first president and its address to the people was signed by Beecher, Wolcott and Ebenezer Carter. Seven of the eleven members of the Yale Band attended the meeting at Alton, one of its members was not in Illinois and Sturtevant remained in Jacksonville to run his college.

Former Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson wrote, "When Douglas came the issues were sharply drawn between the two political parties and central Illinois was the home of as brilliant an array of gifted leaders as the Whig party had at any time ever known—Hardin, Stuart, Logan, Baker and Lincoln were just then on the threshold of careers that have given their names honored places on history's pages." These men were all residents of Morgan and Sangamon counties.

Among the political leaders who lived in Jacksonville when Lincoln and Douglas opened their careers were Joseph Duncan, Congressman, a Jacksonian, who became a Whig after he was elected governor in 1834, who hated slavery and despised abolitionists; John J. Hardin, lawyer and soldier,

who looked upon slavery from the strictly legal standpoint, who became the acknowledged leader of the Whigs of Illinois, who was the first congressman from Illinois to vote with John Quincy Adams against the "Gag Rule" (Douglas at the same time voted to sustain the rule and thus made his first record vote in Congress on the slavery issue) and who in 1845 in a speech opposing the annexation of Texas declared, "slavery the greatest curse which has been inflicted on our land" and warned the slave power of the dangers it faced in the annexation of Texas; William Thomas, lawyer, legislator, and promoter of public schools and State charities, Whig, who clung to his party policy on slavery, defended the Fugitive Slave law and finally became a Republican; Richard Yates who took an advanced stand on the slavery issue years before other Whig leaders did so (Gustave Koerner said Yates was an abolitionist in 1842, when he was a member of the Legislature) and who was elected governor on the same ticket with Lincoln in 1860, and later became a United States Senator; all Kentuckians and proud of it; Samuel D. Lockwood, a native of New York, who in decisions of the Supreme Court on slavery cases upheld the laws of the State but who in private life bitterly opposed slavery, a Whig who later became a Republican; Murray McConnel, another son of New York, Jacksonian wheel-horse, who befriended Douglas when he arrived in Jacksonville and ever remained his close friend and adviser and who was always in agreement with Douglas on the slavery question and the issues which came out of it; and Josiah Lamborn, another Kentuckian, a Jacksonian, a lawyer and brilliant orator of convivial habits and not overly scrupulous. Three other Whig lawyers did politics or practiced law occasionally in Jacksonville, John T. Stuart and Stephen T. Logan of Springfield and Edward D. Baker of Carrollton and Springfield.

Two preachers, Peter Cartwright, famous Methodist circuit-rider, who entered the campaign for the legislature in 1832 in which he defeated Lincoln to oppose the movements of pro-slavery men in Illinois, and John Mason Peck, Baptist

preacher, author and temperance advocate, who had been extremely active in fighting the attempt made in 1823 and 1824 to legalize slavery in Illinois, each the outstanding leader of his denomination in Illinois, visited Jacksonville frequently in the early thirties and both, like Joseph Duncan, hated slavery and despised abolitionists. Another preacher, Barton W. Stone, one of the founders of the Christian denomination, removed from Cane Ridge, Ky., to Jacksonville soon after Douglas came to the village in order to get his family away from slavery.

Jacksonville became an important station on the Underground Railroad in the early thirties. Run-away slaves were befriended in the county from the time of its organization and the so-called railroad began moving fugitive slaves towards Canada in large numbers years before the line operated in most places in the West. Slave chasers and kidnappers followed along the line and clashes between them and the railroad conductors frequently created much excitement. A number of slave cases got into the courts. About the time of the Lovejoy murder, a sister of John J. Hardin removed from Kentucky to Jacksonville and brought two of the Hardin family slaves, a man and a woman, with her. When she held these negroes in slavery, they were advised that they were free whereupon they took refuge in the home of Elihu Wolcott. The man was apprehended and sent down the river. The woman became a member of the Congregational church, and the church, its members and others provided funds to secure her freedom in the courts. Later, Julius A. Willard and his son, Samuel, were indicted for secreting a person of color belonging to a resident of Louisiana and the father was tried before Judge Lockwood, found guilty, and fined twenty dollars. About the same time, Richard Eells was tried at Quincy for secreting a run-away slave, found guilty, and fined by Judge Stephen A. Douglas four hundred dollars. It was less expensive to secrete a negro in Lockwood's jurisdiction than in Douglas's.

When Lincoln, five generations removed from Puritan ancestors, located at New Salem in 1831, he soon learned from students of Illinois College of the doings of the Puritans at Jacksonville and that the village was looked upon as a center of political and religious heresy. He soon learned that the New Englanders in the village were anti-slavery and that they and Lockwood, Hardin, Thomas and others were advocating the establishment of a common school system, temperance, and agricultural and industrial development. In his first announcement for the legislature he was strong for education to advance "morality, sobriety, enterprise and industry." His experience in the Black Hawk War gave him an acquaintance with a number of Jacksonville men. Anne Rutledge was preparing to attend school at Jacksonville when she died. It has been claimed that she also planned to have Lincoln attend the college. Her death terminated any plans they had, but the college gave Lincoln his long-time law partner and loyal supporter William H. Herndon, who was a student at the college and was withdrawn immediately after the murder of Lovejoy by an irate pro-slavery father who feared the son would turn abolitionist, which he did. When Lincoln went to Vandalia for his first session of the legislature he met Duncan, Lockwood, Thomas, Hardin, and other men of Jacksonville. At New Salem, Lincoln read the *National Intelligencer*, the *Louisville Journal*, the *Missouri Republican*, and the *Sangamon Journal*.

In the early thirties, a mania for internal improvements spread over the states of the Union. The craze for canals, railroads, and improved highways which took possession of the people of most of the Western States affected Illinois. The states were called upon to use their credit and resources to provide markets by supplying transportation facilities for almost every community. In Illinois the cry went out, "Other states are building canals and railroads. Why not Illinois?"

Jacksonville and Springfield were the most important towns in the most populous section of Illinois. The Illinois River was the main transportation artery for both towns. A

railroad from the river to Jacksonville and Springfield would serve the heart of Illinois.

Jacksonville demanded such a railroad—and eventually got it when the Northern Cross Railroad, the only railroad constructed under the ill-fated Internal Improvement Act of 1837, was completed. The town was not slow in publishing her demand and organizing to secure success. A great mass-meeting was held and it appears that all the political leaders of the town favored the construction of a railroad, although there were differences of opinion as to the method of financing construction. A campaign for the railroad was inaugurated. Lincoln in his address to the voters in 1832 said, "A meeting has been held by citizens of Jacksonville and the adjacent country, for the purpose of deliberating and inquiring into the expediency of constructing a railroad from some eligible point on the Illinois River, through the town of Jacksonville, in Morgan County, to the town of Springfield, in Sangamon County. This is, indeed, a very desirable object." He called attention to the probable cost of a railroad and suggested that the improvement of the Sangamon River was much better suited to the infant resources of the period.

Partisan politics, denominationalism, slavery, temperance, and education should have given the people of Jacksonville in the early thirties plenty to wrangle over but some of them dragged into the limelight another thing to squabble about, and it was Freemasonry. At the time, Freemasonry was looked upon by many as a matter of partisan politics. In Jacksonville, Anti-Masonry became involved in the churches and in the slavery issue.

William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., after threatening an exposure of Freemasonry, disappeared utterly in 1826. His disappearance created enormous excitement. It was quickly seized upon by many politicians who were in search of an issue against Andrew Jackson who was a Mason. An Anti-Masonic political party was formed which in 1830 elected many officers in the Eastern States. The party complicated the political situation from New England to the Mississippi

River. Anti-Masonry raged long and bitterly in New England both in the churches and in politics. John Quincy Adams who at the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union had expressed his intense repulsion for slavery and who was falsely charged with being a Mason ran for office on an Anti-Masonic ticket after he had denounced Freemasonry. The Anti-Masonic political party declined as rapidly as it had risen. Its remnants were swallowed up by the Whigs.

At the time of the Anti-Masonic excitement, the settlers in Trans-Appalachia were not over two generations removed from the Revolutionary War and many of them were descendants of soldiers in that war. Traditions and facts concerning the war lingered with them. Freemasonry had been planted in most of the colonies long before the battles at Lexington and Concord. It was established in Massachusetts in 1733, in South Carolina in 1735, in Virginia in 1741, and at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1762. Many of the officers and soldiers in the Revolutionary War and colonial officials were Masons. Washington, Joseph Warren, Rufus Putnam, Alexander Hamilton, Nathan Hale, John Stark, Von Steuben, John Paul Jones, LaFayette, Schuyler, Muhlenberg, Montgomery, Herkimer, Pulaski, and Greene were Masons, and St. Clair, Wayne, Marion, and scores of other officers, are reputed to have been. Franklin, John Hancock, Paul Revere, James Otis, Roger Sherman, James Monroe, Payton Randolph, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, and Henry Knox were Masons, and Samuel Adams, Robert Morris, Thomas Jefferson, and Oliver Wolcott were reputed to have been. Seventeen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons and nine others are believed to have been. The Continental Congresses always included a group of Masons. Washington's cabinet was made up of Masons, if Jefferson was a Mason.

All over the country were men who knew of the patriotic services of Masons during the Revolutionary period and the critical times following it. Anti-Masonry did not appeal to these men. They said little but were ready to vote against the promotions of the Anti-Masons.

The pioneer New Englanders in Jacksonville were almost to a man natives of Connecticut and Congregationalists. Freemasonry permeated Connecticut and in 1800 it had forty-four lodges there. It was then a stronghold of both Congregationalism and Freemasonry. Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler and their group of New Englanders planted a Congregational church at Marietta, Ohio, which was the first Protestant church in the old Northwest Territory. Putnam and Cutler also planted a Masonic lodge there.

In 1822 a Grand Lodge of Masons was organized in Illinois by lodges located in Southern Illinois with Governor Shadrach Bond as Grand Master. Bond and a number of other leaders among the Masons were pro-slavery enthusiasts. That Grand Lodge succumbed in 1827 under the Anti-Masonic propaganda. However, several lodges continued and in due course others were constituted. On October 4, 1837, the Grand Lodge of Masons of Missouri, in session in St. Louis, issued a dispensation for constituting Harmony Lodge, number 24, at Jacksonville, Ill. Soon after the lodge was constituted. The early members of this lodge were mostly pro-slavery men. There was neither a New Englander nor an active anti-slavery man among them. When the Grand Lodge of A. F. & A. Masons of Illinois was organized in Jacksonville on April 6, 1840, the town became the capital of Freemasonry in Illinois as it was already the capital of Congregationalism in the State. A few years later the Jacksonville lodge led the movement to exclude negroes from lodges in Illinois.

While there was no Masonic lodge in Jacksonville until 1837, there were Masons in the town from its founding, among them Dennis Rockwell and, later, Joseph Duncan, although neither affiliated with the local lodge. Apparently Masons in Jacksonville met together informally as early as 1826. The Kelloggs, the first settlers in Morgan County, came to Illinois from the same county in New York from which William Morgan disappeared. The election returns show that the Kelloggs were anti-Jackson in politics and later became Whigs. They opposed the proposal to make Illinois a slave state. Many

local feuds and much litigation in the early thirties may be traced to the Anti-Masonic agitation. Several of the Kelloggs were involved in quarrels and law suits which seem to have originated in the political phase of Anti-Masonry.

The Congregationalists of Jacksonville were warmly attached to John Quincy Adams. They approved his attitude against slavery and accepted his stand against Masonry. The Jacksonville lodge owed its existence to the grand lodge of a slave state whose seat was St. Louis, a slavery hot-bed. Several of the most prominent members of the Jacksonville lodge were involved on the pro-slavery side of heated local controversies. The origin of the Jacksonville lodge, the pro-slavery activities of members of the lodge, and the lodge's attitude toward negroes easily gave the impression in Jacksonville that Freemasonry was pro-slavery. As the Congregationalists saw Masonry it was in Illinois a political ally of slavery. Those Congregationalists were the chief promoters of the organization in 1844 of the Congregational Association of Illinois which in 1846 declared that secret societies, though formed for benevolent purposes, are peculiarly liable to corruption, that they have commonly, if not invariably, been corrupt and have interfered with and injured the administration of justice, and the freedom of elections, and declared it the obvious duty of all Christians to have no fellowship with those unfruitful works of darkness. At the same time the association adopted radical resolutions against slavery. The records of the Congregational Church of Jacksonville contain no reference to Masonry. Nothing available indicates that any resident member of the church was active against Masonry, although one of its non-resident members carried on for years a campaign against secret societies. Not one of the pioneer Congregationalists of Jacksonville ever became a Mason. Sons of one of the members of the Yale Band became Masons as have many grandsons of the pioneers. The church accepts Masons as pastors. Some of the Congregational churches of Illinois organized in the thirties and forties would not permit members of secret societies to unite with them. After the

emancipation of the slaves, the attitude of these churches towards secret societies changed rapidly.

Douglas came to Illinois from New York where the Anti-Masonic fight on Andrew Jackson had been hottest. In Jacksonville he found the same men were the backbone of both the anti-slavery and the Anti-Masonic movements. In his efforts to establish himself in Jacksonville he had the support of the Masons. There was no Masonic lodge—or any lodge of any kind—in Jacksonville when he located in it. When he took office in Springfield, he promptly became a Mason there. Lincoln was never a Mason.

Stephen Arnold Douglas, who spelled his name Douglass when he came to Illinois, having taught school in Winchester, a village near Jacksonville, for a few months and having been admitted to the bar, flung his shingle as a lawyer from a window in the court house in the Public Square in Jacksonville in March, 1834. He planted himself in the center of political activities in Morgan County as the court house and its surrounding grounds were the gathering places of men from far and near and in them were held militia musters and all sorts of meetings. It was the one place in the community where acquaintances could be quickly made with all classes of people.

In choosing Jacksonville, a village named after his political idol, for a location, Douglas selected a place whose lawyers—and there were many of them—were accounted the ablest in the State, in which had already gathered a group of scholars, preachers and teachers—many of whom later attained national reputations—altogether an unusual company of patriotic, cultured, able, foresighted, and courageous men, and a place which was already very much alive to three issues with which Douglas's entire future was to be involved, politics, slavery, and railroads.

Douglas was a militant Jacksonian when he came West and it was the Jacksonian spirit which moved him in later years to strike at disunion. He hated abolitionism because he thought it lawlessness and a danger to the Union. The wide-open spaces and magnificent distances of the West made him

an advocate of better transportation facilities. In later years his statesmanship made states of the territory west of the Mississippi River and he planned the binding of the East and West and the North and South together with bands of steel.

All Illinois seethed with politics. There were no political parties as they now exist. Political alignments were by groups attached to leaders. While there were no parties, there were many factions and the time was ripe for political alignments on national lines.

Recent elections had shown that Jackson was losing ground in Morgan County. His policies had alienated many of his former followers, sentiment against him was almost overwhelming and his supporters were in a hopeless tangle. Congressman Duncan, Josiah Lamborn and other erstwhile Jackson leaders were lukewarm and even severely critical of their former chief. Murray McConnel was over-awed by the defections from Jackson. On the other hand, the local leaders of the emerging Whig party were noisy, enthusiastically aggressive and confident. John J. Hardin and William Thomas were leading their fellow Kentuckians into the new party and John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, and O. H. Browning, all Kentuckians, and Edward D. Baker aided them. The New Englanders in the village were giving little attention to partisan politics but were engaged in promoting their anti-slavery, educational and social doctrines. In 1832, the *Patriot*, edited by James G. Edwards, the only newspaper in Jacksonville, had opposed Jackson for the presidency, but about the time Douglas came to Jacksonville, Samuel S. Brooks, an ardent Jacksonian, established the *Illinois State Gazette* at Jacksonville and Douglas had already won the warm friendship of Brooks.

Douglas quickly sensed the political situation and the discomfort of the "Whole-Hog" Jackson men who were without leadership or organization. He doffed his eastern dress and manners and assumed a suit of Kentucky jeans and an arm-in-arm intimacy in street and grog-shop with Kentuckians and Jacksonians. A New Englander himself, it ap-

pears he had no close contact with the other New Englanders in the village. He had discovered that the vast majority of the citizens were opposed to the anti-slavery doctrines of the Congregational New Englanders—he was of Baptist extraction—and that they had little use for other principles advocated by them. The charge of abolitionism leveled at those New Englanders would draw multitudes of Kentuckians to him. He supported the plans of the New Englanders for common school and higher education. His advocacy of a railroad would make him friends everywhere. He set out to rally the personal followers of Jackson and to win away from the Whig leaders those Kentuckians opposed to the new-fangled anti-slavery, educational, and religious ideas. He had an unusual faculty of drawing preachers to him and ere long he counted many of them, including Peter Cartwright and John Mason Peck, among his friends or supporters.

He at once raised the banner of the Hero of New Orleans and set in motion machinery to combat the sentiment against Jackson. He proposed to a few Jackson leaders to call a mass meeting to rally the friends of Jackson, but only Brooks approved his plan. However, Douglas went ahead with his plan, got out hand-bills for the meeting, and it was held two weeks after Douglas had opened his office. He had prepared a series of resolutions supporting Jackson and his policies which, he says, he asked older men to introduce, but, in the end, he introduced them himself. Josiah Lamborn in an extended speech vigorously attacked them. Douglas in reply to Lamborn and in support of the resolutions made a speech which carried away his audience, secured the adoption of the resolutions, and spread his fame widely. By this clever maneuver he made himself the Jackson leader in the county and won for himself the title of "Little Giant."

Following this meeting, the *Patriot* devoted space for several issues to criticisms of Douglas and the *Illinois State Gazette*, of course, defended him. Douglas wrote that this newspaper advertising brought him considerable legal business. While he did gain a reasonable civil law practice—per-

haps, as much as he could have expected when in competition with so many and so able lawyers—it did not pay him well. Several suits on notes indicate that he was close run for money for many years.

Douglas had learned the benefits of Van Buren's political party conventions while he was a resident of New York. He made Morgan County a political experiment station. He introduced Van Buren's system to the Jackson men of the county and in 1834 succeeded in holding in Jacksonville the first party convention ever held in the State. A local political quarrel made Douglas a candidate before the General Assembly of 1834 for Prosecuting Attorney of the First Judicial Circuit, a place held by Hardin. While lobbying at Vandalia, Douglas met Lincoln for the first time. Douglas won the office over Hardin. Lincoln voted for Hardin. Then began the life-long personal friendship and political rivalry of Lincoln and Douglas. In 1836 both Whigs and Democrats of Morgan County nominated their legislative and county tickets in conventions. Hardin headed the Whig legislative ticket and Brooks the Democratic. It soon developed that no Democratic candidate could combat Hardin on the stump so Brooks withdrew from the ticket and Douglas took his place. Hardin and Douglas debated issues all over the county. Douglas, four other Democrats and Hardin were elected. Douglas promoted a Democratic congressional convention in 1838 and came out of it the nominee, when he had been in the State but little over four years, only to be defeated by John T. Stuart in a very close election in a district which extended north to the Wisconsin line. Douglas's convention plans were opposed by strong elements in his own party, not many counties sent delegates to the congressional convention of 1838, but his party promptly adopted the convention system. Whigs generally opposed the system. Hardin saw its advantages and adopted it in Morgan County in 1836. Lincoln observed the workings of the system in Morgan County and approved it, but the Whigs of Illinois did not adopt conventions until after the defeat of Joseph Duncan, their candidate for governor,

in 1842. Douglas's rise as a politician coincides with the development of party organization and machinery.

The leading issue in the campaign of 1836 in which Douglas was elected to the Legislature was internal improvements—railroads and canals. When Douglas went to Vandalia in December to attend the Legislature, he had already matured in his own mind a plan for internal improvements. A great popular demonstration to impress the General Assembly was held at the opening of the session. Douglas hastened to offer his plan which was moderate in its proposals to his colleagues. Log-rolling began. Every member wanted a railroad, a canal or other improvement for his district. Sops were thrown to those countries which got neither. Douglas was appalled by the magnitude of the proposals. His moderate views were brushed aside and his attempts to put on brakes failed utterly. His opposition to the "Mammoth Bill" became known. A mass meeting at Jacksonville instructed its members of the General Assembly to vote for the bill. Douglas finally drafted the bill which became a law and voted for it. He defended his action by pleading that he was obeying the instructions of his constituents. Hardin and the two Whig Senators for Morgan County voted against the bill. Governor Duncan and Judge Lockwood also opposed the bill which was finally passed over the veto of the Council of Revision of which they were members. Lincoln voted for the bill.

The Internal Improvement Act of 1837 was repealed after it had piled up a State debt of over fourteen million dollars. Its only tangible results were improvements on the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Northern Cross Railroad from Meredosia to Jacksonville and Springfield.

One hundred and thirty-three publications were distributed through the postoffice at Jacksonville from October 1, 1831, to December 9, 1832. The postmaster who allowed 271 patrons of the Jacksonville postoffice to take their mail out of his office on credit and obligingly kept a charge account book which has preserved the names of the publications distributed and those who received them was Dennis Rockwell.

A native of Connecticut, he was employed in the United States Land Office at Edwardsville, Illinois, from 1818 until February, 1823, when he was appointed Recorder of the newly organized Morgan County. When the new county government was organized, Mr. Rockwell became Circuit Clerk and County Clerk. He held these offices many years. When the Jacksonville postoffice was established, he was appointed postmaster and served as such until December 24, 1834. He was an Episcopalian, a Whig, and a Freemason.

In undertaking to identify 133 newspapers and periodicals published in 1831 and 1832 one meets many difficulties. A wholly accurate identification of such a list cannot be made. Many of the publications were merely temporary. Others survived only by frequent mergers which often involved changes of names. Oftentimes, papers of the same name were printed in several places. Authorities consulted often disagree as to names, frequency of publication and religious and political affiliations.

The 133 publications went to 486 subscribers. Of them 68 with 214 subscriptions were secular or unidentified, 54 with 243 subscriptions were religious, 10 with 24 subscriptions were agricultural, and one with 10 subscriptions was a temperance sheet. Among them were several purely educational and commercial papers. No trade or scientific publications appear on the list. The educators and preachers received their professional papers but the lawyers and doctors worried along without any, although such were available. No Roman Catholic paper appears in the list. The list includes one Anti-Masonic paper but no Masonic, although there were a number of Freemasons, but no lodge, in the town. Garrison's *Liberator* came to two students at Illinois College both of whom became prominent preachers and outspoken abolitionists. Not one of the New Englanders in the town all of whom soon became radical abolitionists received the *Liberator*. None of the Southern papers which later became conspicuous mouth-pieces of the slave power are in the list.

More religious than secular papers were distributed. The *Christian Advocate and Journal*, Methodist, with 58 subscriptions had the largest circulation of all the papers. The *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Jacksonian Democratic, with 22 subscriptions had the largest circulation among the secular papers.

Of the secular papers nine with 61 subscriptions are identified as Jacksonian Democratic and 13 with 57 subscriptions as anti-Jackson and later Whig. Among the religious papers five with 68 subscriptions were Methodist, two with 37 subscriptions Christian, four with 21 subscriptions Baptist, six with 19 subscriptions Presbyterian, seven with 19 subscriptions Congregational, and eight with 20 subscriptions interdenominational. Eleven publications with 51 subscriptions were wholly or largely literary.

Kentucky newspapers with 19 papers and 64 subscriptions lead the list. Illinois with nine papers and 49 subscriptions came next. Ohio had six papers with 12 subscriptions, New York eight papers with 13 subscriptions, New England four papers with eight subscriptions, Tennessee two papers with two subscriptions, Pennsylvania five papers with eight subscriptions, Washington, D. C., five papers with seven subscriptions, Maryland three papers with 11 subscriptions, Missouri five papers with 19 subscriptions, and Alabama and Louisiana each had one paper with one subscription. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the residents of the community were not over one generation from Virginia and the Carolinas, but one paper from those states is in the list.

Louisville, Ky., with four papers and 35 subscriptions circulated more papers than any other town. Next in order came Springfield, Ill., Lexington, Ky., St. Louis, Mo., New York City, Philadelphia, Pa., Vandalia, Ill., Cincinnati, Ohio, and Beardstown, Ill.

In 1831 and 1832, Louisville papers had the largest circulation in Jacksonville. St. Louis papers had about half the circulation of those of Louisville, and Vandalia, the State capital, and Springfield papers each had about the same cir-

ulation as those of St. Louis. Within a decade or two, St. Louis papers enjoyed the largest circulation and continued to do so until about the close of the century when they lost the lead to those of Chicago. When the State capital was removed to Springfield, the Vandalia papers lost their circulation.

At the present time Chicago which had no paper in 1831 and 1832 sends the most metropolitan papers into Jacksonville. The *Chicago Tribune*, Republican, now distributes 516 copies daily in the town. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Independent Republican, comes to 178 subscribers daily and the *Illinois State Register*, Democratic, of Springfield, is received by 1,450 people daily. A leading Louisville paper has no subscriber in Jacksonville. The daily circulation of the *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, Republican, through the city and countryside is 4,715 and that of the *Jacksonville Courier*, Democratic, is 2,632.

Religious publications have not shared the increased circulation of secular papers and magazines and trade and professional journals. In fact, they have fallen away behind. No figures on the circulation of religious publications through the Jacksonville postoffice at this time are available but it is clear enough that during the years since 1830 and 1831 their circulation has continuously decreased as compared with other publications.

Several names of prominent citizens do not appear in the postmaster's charge account book. They may not have received any publications or when they received them they may have paid the postage in cash. The name of Congressman Duncan does not appear in the book. He may have received his mail, or most of it, at Washington, D. C.

It is interesting to note the papers received by some of the citizens. D. B. Ayers, a merchant, got one secular, one temperance, one farm, and seven religious papers. Edward Beecher, President of Illinois College and a preacher, one secular, one educational, and six religious papers. Newton Cloud, politician and preacher, got one farm and two secu-

lar, but no religious paper. Joseph Coddington, a merchant, received six secular and no other paper. John M. Ellis, preacher, got nine religious papers and no other. Bezaleel Gillett, a merchant, took five secular and one farm paper. John J. Hardin, lawyer, and later legislator and congressman, received only his old home paper. John Henry, later legislator and congressman, got three secular and one literary paper. William Kirby, preacher, received two religious, one temperance, and one secular paper. Samuel D. Lockwood, Justice of the Supreme Court, took four secular papers, all printed in Illinois, and one farm paper. Julian M. Sturtevant, college professor and preacher, received eight religious, one secular, one temperance, and one literary publication. Murray McConnel, lawyer and later legislator, got the *Free Enquirer*, one secular, and one literary paper. William Thomas, good Methodist that he was, lawyer and later legislator, received but two secular papers and Elihu Wolcott, staunch Congregationalist, took two secular, but no religious paper.

The Methodists generally received their denominational publications as did the Christians and Baptists. Presbyterians got a few publications of other denominations, Congregationalists got their denominational papers and some of other denominations and a few men mixed their religious reading.

It is impossible to classify politically the subscribers of the political journals. The *Louisville Public Advertiser* had the largest circulation among the secular papers. It was a pro-Jackson publication but among its subscribers were a number of men who were opposed to Jackson at the time or who later became Whigs. Many of its subscribers took it because it brought the news from home or for its market reports. On the other hand the men who received the *Louisville Focus* and *Louisville Journal*, both anti-Jackson papers, so far as identified became Whigs. The newspapers of Illinois and Missouri apparently were read more for the State news they printed than for their politics as each circulated among men who were not in sympathy with them politically. One paper, *Niles' Weekly Register*, a very high-class anti-Jackson

paper, was received exclusively by men who became Whigs later.

THE NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

In the following list the word "the" is omitted from the names of such publications as used it and the number of copies distributed follows each name.

Agriculturist, 1, monthly, New York City.

Age and Argus, 1, monthly, London, England.

Alarum, 1.

Alton Spectator, 1, weekly, Alton, Ill., became Whig.

American Annals of Education and Instruction, 2, monthly, Boston, Mass.

American Biblical Repository, 1, quarterly, Andover, Mass., Congregational.

American Farmer, 1, weekly, Baltimore, Md., oldest agricultural paper in the United States.

American National Preacher, 2, monthly, New York City, undenominational, published original sermons by living preachers.

American Quarterly Register, 1, Andover, Mass., by the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry.

American Tract Magazine, 2, monthly, New York City.

Anti-Conspirator, or, *Infidelity Unmasked*, 1, weekly or semi-monthly, Cincinnati, Ohio, Anti-Masonic.

Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley, 5, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Beardstown Chronicle, 7, weekly, Beardstown, Ill., became Whig.

Boston Recorder, 3, weekly, Boston, Mass., Congregational, became the Congregationalist, claimed to be the first religious paper in the United States and probably in the world.

Calvanistic Magazine, 1, monthly, Rogersville, Tenn., Congregational ?.

Casket, 1, either the *Literary Casket*, semi-monthly, supplement to the *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, Conn., or the *Casket or Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment*, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., or *Atkinson's Casket*, devoted to literature, art and fashion, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Castigator, 2, either weekly, Georgetown, Ohio, or *Boston Castigator*, weekly, Boston, Mass.

Christian Advocate, 3, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian.

Christian Advocate and Journal, 58, weekly, New York City, Methodist. The *Christian Advocate* was founded in 1826. Soon after, it was merged with *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass., and the *Missionary Herald*, Charleston, S. Car., into the *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*. In a short time, *Zion's Herald* was re-established at Boston, Mass. *Zion's Herald* was the first exclusively Methodist publication in the world. The *Christian Advocate and Journal* at one time had the largest circulation of any paper in the United States and, also, it is claimed, in the world.

Christian Examiner, 1, either weekly, Boston, Mass., the leading Unitarian paper, or weekly, Louisville, Ky.

Christian Magazine, 1, probably *Christian Magazine and Clerical Review*, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian, but may have been *Christian Magazine*, Boston, Mass., or *Christian Magazine*, weekly, Geneva, N. Y., Dutch Reformed.

Christian Messenger, 22, monthly, Georgetown, Ky. Barton Warren Stone's paper, established 1826 and removed to Jacksonville, Ill., 1834, Christian.

Christian Monthly Spectator, 3, New Haven, Conn., Congregational.

Christian Soldier, 1, Boston, Mass.

Christian Watchman and Baptist Register, 1, weekly, Boston, Mass., Baptist.

Cincinnati American, 3, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette, 1, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cincinnati Journal, 4, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Commentator, 2, weekly, Frankfort, Ky., became Whig, ?.

Commercial Chronicle and Daily Marylander, 2, daily, Baltimore, Md.

Connecticut Courant, 1, weekly, Hartford, Conn., became Whig, fourth oldest paper in the United States.

Connecticut Observer, 4, weekly, Hartford, Conn.

Daily Globe, 3, Washington, D. C., Andrew Jackson's personal organ.

E——— *Globe*, 1.

Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate, 1, weekly, Utica, N. Y., Liberal.

Evangelist, 2, apparently one copy the monthly, Hartford, Conn., the other the monthly ?, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Farm Budget, 1.

Farmers Chronicle, 2, weekly, Danbury, Conn., or weekly, Richmond, Ky.

Farmers' Enquirer, 3.

Farmers' Herald, 1.

Farmers' Reporter and United States Agriculturist, 9, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Free Enquirer, 3, weekly, New Harmony, N. Y.

Galenian, 2, weekly, Galena, Ill., Democratic.

Gallia Free Press, 1, weekly, Gallipolis, Ohio.

General Assembly Minutes, 4, annually, Presbyterian.

Godey's Lady's Book, 2, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Gospel Herald, 7, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Methodist.

Home Messenger, 1.

Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, 5, monthly, New York City, later merged into the *American Missionary*, organ of the American Home Missionary Society, Congregational.

Home Missionary Magazine, 1, London, England.

Illinois Advocate, 5, weekly, Edwardsville and Vandalia, Ill. The *Crisis*, established in 1831 at Edwardsville and edited by Samuel S. Brooks, then lately from Cincinnati, Ohio, became or merged into the *Illinois Advocate* which was edited and published by John York Sawyer, a Whig, at Edwardsville until December, 1832, when it was removed to Vandalia, the State capital. The paper has been, in turn, the *Illinois Advocate and State Register*, the *Illinois Advocate*, the *Illinois State Register and Illinois Advocate*, the *Illinois State Register and Peoples Advocate* and the *Illinois State Register*. In 1839 the paper was removed to Springfield, Ill. Democratic since 1836. The personal organ of Stephen A. Douglas after he left Jacksonville.

Illinois Herald, 11, weekly, Springfield, Ill. Published by Samuel S. Brooks after he left the *Crisis*, Edwardsville, Ill. In 1833, Mr. Brooks established the *Illinois State Gazette* at Jacksonville which in 1834 was merged with the *News*, Jacksonville, into the *Illinois State Gazette and Jacksonville News*, edited by Mr. Brooks and this paper was the personal organ of Stephen A. Douglas for several years, Democratic. Mr. Brooks made a newspaper venture at Quincy, Ill., in the later thirties. He had a newspaper at Lewistown, Ill., in 1850, one at Cairo, Ill., in 1856 and one at Mt. Sterling, Ill., in 1863.

Illinois Intelligencer, 12, weekly, Vandalia, Ill., became Whig. Successor to the *Illinois Herald*, the first paper in Illinois, published by Mathew Duncan at Kaskaskia, 1814-1816, became *Western Intelligencer* in 1816 and *Illinois Intelligencer* in 1818 and removed to Vandalia in 1820. In 1824, this paper was financed by Governor Edward Coles and edited by Samuel D. Lockwood as an anti-slavery paper. Later it changed ownership and editorship and favored slavery. In 1828, the paper supported John Quincy Adams for president but showed no animosity to Andrew Jackson. In 1832, the paper became the *Vandalia Whig and Illinois Intelligencer*. Discontinued after 1834.

Illinois Monthly Magazine, 17, Vandalia, Ill., literary. First literary journal published in Illinois. Removed to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1833, and discontinued in 1836. James Hall was its editor and Edward Coles, Morris Birkbeck, John Mason Peck, and Salmon P. Chase were among its contributors.

Illinois Sunday School Banner, 1.

Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, 10, weekly, Andover, Mass., published by the American Temperance Society.

Kanawha Banner, 1, Virginia ?.

Kentucky Balance, 1.

Kentucky Centinel, 1.

Kentucky Gazette, 5, weekly, Lexington, Ky., first western paper, founded 1787.

Kentucky Observer, 2.

Kentucky Reporter, 7, weekly, Lexington, Ky.

Le Courier des Etats Unis, 1, weekly, New York City.

Lexington Observer, 4, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Democratic.

Later *Lexington Observer* and *Kentucky Reporter*.

La——— Public Advocate, 1.

Liberal Advocate, 1.

Liberator, 2, weekly, Boston, Mass. William Lloyd Garrison's abolition paper.

Little Rec———, 1.

Louisville Focus, 8, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., violently anti-Jackson. Later merged with *Louisville Journal*.

Louisville Journal, 3, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., anti-Jackson and became Whig. Its editor, George D. Prentice, a native of Connecticut, was brought to Kentucky by Henry Clay to write the latter's biography and edit the *Journal* which soon became the most influential Louisville paper.

Louisville Public Advertiser, 22, daily and weekly, Louisville, Ky., Jacksonian and Democratic.

Louisville Weekly Poster, 2, weekly, Louisville, Ky.

Mad River Current, 1, Kentucky ?.

Marietta Gazette, 1, weekly, Marietta, Ohio.

Massachusetts Spy, 1, weekly, Worcester, Mass. This paper, founded in 1770, was during the Revolutionary War the most daring patriot paper in the colonies and had a tempestuous career both during and after the war.

Methodist Preacher, 1, monthly, Boston, Mass.

Millenial Harbinger, 15, monthly, Bethany, Va. Alexander Campbell's paper. Disciples.

Missionary Herald, 4, monthly, Boston, Mass. Congregational. Published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Missionary Reporter and Education Register, 4, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa. Published by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

Missouri Correspondent, 4.

Missouri Intelligencer, 1, weekly, Franklin, Mo.

Missouri Reporter, 1, weekly, St. Louis, Mo.

Missouri Republican, 9, weekly, St. Louis, Mo., founded in 1808 as the *Missouri Gazette*, became the *Louisiana Gazette* and in 1822 the *Missouri Republican*, Democratic.

Morning Courier and Enquirer, 2, daily, New York City, Jacksonian until 1832, then became Whig.

Nashville Reporter, 1, Tenn. ?.

Nashville Republican and State Gazette, 1, semi-weekly, Nashville, Tenn.

National Intelligencer, 2, daily, Washington, D. C. Had supported the national administrations politically from Jefferson to John Quincy Adams. Anti-Jackson and became Whig and the organ and central mouthpiece of the Whig party.

National Republican and Ohio Political Register, 1, semi-weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio.

New England Church Herald, 1.

New England Christian Herald, 1.

New England Farmer, 1, weekly, Boston, Mass.

New Orleans Magazine, 1.

New York Evangelist, 2, weekly, New York City, Presbyterian, became New School.

New York Evening Post, 4, daily, New York City, Democratic, became Free-soil and Republican. William Cullen Bryant, editor.

New York Journal of Commerce, 3, daily, New York City.

New York Mercury, 2, weekly, New York City.

New York Observer, 7, weekly, New York City, Presbyterian, became Old School.

New York Spectator, 1, semi-weekly, New York City, became Whig.

Niles' Weekly Register, 9, weekly, Baltimore, Md., a magazine of very high standards and wide influence which became Whig.

Ohio Patriot, 1, weekly, New Lisbon, Ohio.

Old Countryman, 1, weekly, New York City.

Palmyra Centinel, 1, weekly, N. Y., Tenn. or Mo.

Peoples' Advocate, 1, weekly, Yorkville, So. Car.

Pioneer and Western Baptist, 13, weekly, Rock Spring, Ill., John Mason Peck, editor, Baptist, first religious paper in Illinois.

Presbyterian, 4, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., Presbyterian, became Old School.

Religious and Literary Intelligencer, 6, weekly ?, Princeton, Ky.

Revivalist, 2.

R——— Post, 1.

Sabbath School Herald, 1, New Haven, Conn.

Sangamon Journal, 8, weekly, Springfield, Ill., became Whig. Established in 1831 as the *Sangamon Journal*, it became the *Sangamo Journal* in 1832 and later the *Illinois Journal* and the *Illinois State Journal*. It was the personal organ of Abraham Lincoln.

Saturday Courier, 1, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa.

Saturday Evening Post, 5, weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., literary.

Sentinel, 1. This may have been any one of a half dozen *Sentinels* published in the country or *Sentinel and Star of the West*. Weekly. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Southern Advocate, 1, weekly, Huntsville, Ala.

Sparta Review, 1, weekly, Sparta, Tenn.

Spirit of the Pilgrims, 2, monthly, Boston, Mass., Congregational.

Standard, 2, weekly, Cincinnati, Ohio,? Baptist.?

St. Louis Times, 6.

Supporter and Sciota Gazette, 1, weekly, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Sunday School Banner, 1, monthly, Toronto, Can., Methodist.

Sunday School Herald, 1.

Sunday School Journal, 10, Bi-weekly, Philadelphia, Pa., by the American Sunday School Union.

Sunday School Recorder, 1.

Susquehannah Democrat, 1, weekly, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

Theology, 1.

Torch Light and Public Advertiser, 1, weekly, Hagerstown, Md.

United States Gazette, 1, daily, Philadelphia, Pa. A Federalist paper which was established in 1789 and was the personal organ of Alexander Hamilton.

Wayne Centinel, 2, weekly, Palmyra, N. Y.

Western Citizen, 1, weekly, Paris, Ky., Democratic.

Western Luminary, 6, weekly, Lexington, Ky., Interdenominational and literary.

Western Ploughboy, 4, weekly, Edwardsville, Ill., edited by John York Sawyer and printed by Samuel S. Brooks, merged into the *Illinois Advocate*. The first agricultural paper in Illinois and the second west of the Alleghanies.

Youth's Friend, 1, monthly, Philadelphia, Pa., by the American Sunday School Union.

Youth's Instructor and Guardian, 1, monthly, New York City, Methodist.

Youth's Magazine, 4, monthly, New York City.

WHAT THEY READ.

In the following list of patrons of the Jacksonville, Ill., postoffice in 1831-1832 and the publications they received the word "the" is omitted from the names of such publications as used it. An attempt has been made to give the dates patrons came to Morgan County, their nativity, their political and religious affiliations, and their business or profession.

Adams, Elijah. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
Adkins, B. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Christian Advocate and Journal*.

Allen, Wilson. *Wayne Centinel*.

Allinson, Adam. 1822. England. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.

Allinson, T. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.

Antrobus, Thomas. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.

Arnett, James. 1820. Democrat. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Intelligencer, Illinois Herald*.

Arnett, Thomas B. 1820. Democrat. *Illinois Intelligencer*.

Askins, W. H. Methodist, preacher.

Austin, Joshua D. Merchant. *Niles' Weekly Register, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist*.

Ayers, David B. 1830. New Jersey. Presbyterian, merchant. *New York Evening Post, New York Evangelist, Sunday School Journal, Western Ploughboy, Missionary Herald, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, Sunday School Banner, American Tract Magazine, Youth's Friend*.

Barker, Jeremiah. Episcopalian. *Cincinnati American*.

Barker, Jesse.

Bartlett, Milton. *Connecticut Courant*.

Barton, Jacob H. 1827. Massachusetts. Presbyterian, farmer. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer, Revivalist*.

- Barton, William R. 1827. Massachusetts. Presbyterian. *American National Preacher*.
- Barton, R. ?.
- Beach, Caleb. Carriage maker. *Millenial Harbinger, Christian Monthly Spectator*.
- Beecher, Edward. 1830. Long Island, reared in Connecticut, became Free-Soiler and Republican, Congregationalist, preacher and president Illinois College. Son of Lyman and brother of Henry Ward and Harriet Beecher Stowe, first of famous family to take anti-slavery stand, inspired his sister to write Uncle Tom's Cabin. *Sunday School Journal, Boston Recorder, Theology, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Spirit of the Pilgrims, Southern Advocate, Home Messenger, Christian Monthly Spectator, Annals of Education, Minutes of the General Assembly*.
- Bennett, Joseph. Removed to Springfield, Ill. Christian. *Christian Messenger, Millenial Harbinger*.
- Bennett, Moses R. *Illinois Herald*.
- Berry, Samuel. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- Bibb, Richard. Physician, merchant. *Missouri Intelligencer*.
- Blackwell, Levi. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Blood, Charles E. Student Illinois College, later Congregational preacher. *Boston Recorder, Christian Soldiers, Liberator, Cincinnati Journal*.
- Bond, John C. *Sangamon Journal*.
- Boyd, J. T. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Boys, T. L.
- Bradshaw, John. 1820. Democrat, family Christians, farmer. *Millenial Harbinger*.
- Brich, John. 1824. England. Presbyterian preacher. *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Missionary Herald, Minutes General Assembly*.
- Brockman, Samuel. *Christian Messenger*.
- Brothers, Alexander. Episcopal, merchant. *Millenial Harbinger*.

- Brown, Bedford. 1828. Kentucky. Presbyterian, farmer. *Western Luminary, Agriculturist, Commentator, Calvinistic Magazine, Kentucky Balance, Christian Magazine, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Bryant, John Howard. 1829 or 1830. Massachusetts. Abolitionist and later Whig and Republican, Liberal Unitarian, farmer, poet, legislator. Brother of William Cullen Bryant. *New York Evening Post.*
- Buckner, Aydelot H. Came to Illinois from Kentucky. Whig, Episcopalian, lawyer, editor. *National Intelligencer, Kentucky Reporter, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*
- Bullard, Theophilus. Preacher.
- Burch or Bunch, J. or I. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Carlock, Moses. Baptist. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Carson, Thomas M. 1825. Virginia. Democrat, tavern-keeper, hatter, mason and plasterer. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Cassell, David. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Cassell, Robert T. 1831. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Catlin, Joel. 1832. Connecticut. Presbyterian. *American Tract Magazine, New York Mercury, New England Farmer, American Quarterly Review.*
- Caulkins, Nehemiah. Christian. *Christian Messenger.*
- Challin, Jonathan. Christian. *Millenial Harbinger, Gospel Herald.*
- Chandler, Ero. 1821. Presbyterian, first doctor in Jacksonville. *New York Observer, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist, R——— Post.*
- Chamberlain, Benjamin. 1832. Massachusetts. Whig and later Republican, Congregationalist. *Saturday Evening Post.*
- Chapman, Abner. *Alarum.*
- Chenery, William D. Democrat, family Congregational. *Massachusetts Spy.*
- Church, Thomas. 1827. Kentucky. Christian, tavern-keeper, farmer. *Gospel Herald.*

- Clark, Abraham M. Congregationalist, doctor. *New York Observer*.
- Cloud, Newton. 1827. North Carolina. Democrat, Methodist, farmer, preacher, long-time legislator. *Western Ploughboy, Illinois Advocate, Illinois Herald*.
- Coddington, Joseph. Democrat, Episcopalian, merchant, second postmaster. *Godey's Lady's Book, Missouri Republican, Philadelphia Evening Post, Illinois Herald, New York Journal of Commerce, Missouri Republican*.
- Coffman, Phillip. Christian, merchant, preacher. *Kentucky Observer, Kentucky Gazette, Christian Messenger, Louisville Weekly Poster*.
- Collins & Graham. Merchants. *Louisville Weekly Poster*.
- Colton, ———.
- Conn, Mrs. Elizabeth. Presbyterian, sister of Mrs. John M. Ellis.
- Cook, George W. or N. and Eastham. *Saturday Courier, Illinois Monthly Magazine, New York Mercury, Age*.
- Cooling, Thomas. *Sangamon Journal*.
- Cooper, Joseph B. *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley*.
- Compton, N. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer*.
- Cord, F. or T. H. *Kentucky Gazette*.
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- Cownover, Peter. New Jersey. Baptist, farmer. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, New York Observer*.
- Cox, John. *Sparta Record*.
- Craig & Smith. *Presbyterian*.
- Crane, Samuel S. *Peoples Advocate*.
- Cyrus, Henry H. or A. Christian, preacher. *Millenial Harbinger*.
- Davidson, Alexander. *Christian Messenger, Millenial Harbinger*.
- Davidson, C. T. *Millenial Harbinger*.
- Davidson, E. *Millenial Harbinger*.
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- De Witt, Abraham B. Tavern-keeper. *Missouri Republican, Millennial Harbinger*.
- Dixon, Alvin M. Student, Illinois College, Presbyterian ?, later preacher. *Sunday School Journal*.
- Dunbar, Rice. Carpenter. *Illinois Herald, Beardstown Chronicle*.
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- Eastham, Braxton. *Louisville Public Advertiser*.
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- Elder, Matthew. Christian, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, Millennial Harbinger, Missouri Reporter*.
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- England, B. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
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 Evans, David. 1829. Tennessee. Lawyer. *United States Gazette, Beardstown Chronicle*.
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 Field, Golden. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
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New York Courier and Enquirer, Illinois Intelligencer.
- Graves, Jeremiah. Massachusetts. Congregationalist, farmer.
Connecticut Observer.
- Green, Benjamin. *Missouri Republican.*
- Green, E. P. or T. *Sangamon Journal.*
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- Grimsley, Elijah. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Western Ploughboy, Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate.*
- Grimsley, Fielding.
- Grimsley, S. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Herald.*
- Grimsley, William. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Hackett, T.
- Hardin, John J. 1830. Kentucky. Whig, Presbyterian, lawyer, soldier, legislator, congressman. *Commentator.*
- Hardwick, James. Baker. *Christian Messenger.*
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- Harlan, Levi. Christian, merchant at Winchester. *Farm Budget, Torch Light and Public Advertiser.*
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- Hart, Stephen. Family Congregational. *Marietta Gazette.*
- Hedenberg, James V. Christian, preacher, linseed oil maker.
Christian Advocate and Journal.
- Hedenberg, Peter. Whig, Christian, preacher, harness maker.
Millenial Harbinger, Christian Examiner.
- Henderson, Archibald. Christian. *Kentucky Gazette, Christian Messenger, Lexington Observer.*
- Henderson, David Pat. Democrat, Christian, preacher. *Christian Messenger, Lexington Observer.*
- Henry, John. 1828. Kentucky. Whig, cabinet-maker, legislator, congressman. *Cincinnati ———, Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Herald, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*

- Hewett, Josephus. 1831. Native of New York, came to Illinois from Kentucky. Disciple, preacher, lawyer. Removed to Springfield. *Sangamon Journal, Kentucky Observer, Casket, Evangelist*.
- Higgins, James M. Doctor. *Daily Globe*.
- Hill, John M. 1828. Kentucky. Cooper. *Western Luminary, Presbyterian*.
- Howard, E. *Youth's Magazine, Sunday School Banner*.
- Howard, George. *Niles' Weekly Register*.
- Howard, James. *Illinois Advocate*.
- Howard, Thomas. *Louisville Focus*.
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- Huffaker, Michael. 1823. Kentucky. Christian. *Christian Messenger*.
- Hughes, Allen B. Virginia. Farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Ingalls, Thomas. 1824. New York. *Christian Messenger*.
- January, D. A. Later a long-time St. Louis merchant. *Saturday Evening Post, Louisville Focus*.
- Johnson, William G. Whig. *Lexington Observer, Kentucky Reporter, Gospel Herald*.
- Johnston, John L. *Western Luminary, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society*.
- Jones, Charles. Lawyer. *Sentinel, Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*.
- Jones, John T. Ohio. Whig, Christian, preacher, teacher. *Cincinnati Chronicle and Literary Gazette*.
- Jones, Nathaniel W. *Christian Watchman and Baptist Register, Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley*.
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- Lewis, William. *Susquehannah Democrat, Saturday Evening Post*.
- Lindsay, William K. Tennessee. Whig, Christian. *Christian Messenger, Kentucky Reporter*.
- Lockwood, Samuel D. New York. Whig and Republican, wife Presbyterian, children Congregationalists, lawyer, long-time Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois and Chairman of the Trustees of Illinois College. *Illinois Intelligencer, Sangamon Journal, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist, Galenaean, Alton Spectator*.
- Lohr, Christian (later spelled Loar). Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
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- Mallory, Stephen. Tavern-keeper. *St. Louis Times*.

- March, Enoch C. 1823. Eastern man. Miller and merchant. *Christian Advocate and Journal, Gospel Herald.*
- Massey, Silas. 1826. Vermont. Whig and Republican, wife Presbyterian.
- Matthews, Samuel T. 1821. Kentucky. Whig and Republican, farmer, legislator. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- McClung, Hervey. Presbyterian, tanner. *Anti-Conspitator, or Infidelity Unmasked.*
- McConnel, Murray. 1820. New York. Democrat, family Episcopalian, lawyer and legislator, soldier, befriended Stephen A. Douglas. *Illinois Intelligencer, Free Enquirer, Illinois Monthly Magazine.*
- McHenry, William.
- McKae, John. *Pioneer and Western Baptist.*
- McIlheny, D. *Castigator.*
- McKing, John A. *Illinois Advocate.*
- McMurray, William. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer, Revivalist.*
- Mears, Edwin A. Democrat, Congregationalist. *New York Observer.*
- Mears, James. Democrat, Congregationalist. *New York Observer, Sunday School Journal.*
- Meeker, Josiah. Tinner. *Illinois Advocate.*
- Miller, Ebenezer T. 1827. Kentucky. Democrat, Episcopalian, carpenter, carder, farmer. *St. Louis Times, American Farmer.*
- Mitchell, John E. *Missouri Correspondent.*
- Mitchell, James T. Virginia. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
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- Morse, A. C. *Missionary Herald.*
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- Morton, Joseph. 1820. Virginia. Democrat, Christian, farmer, legislator. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Illinois Intelligencer, Illinois Monthly Magazine, E——— Globe.*
- Moss, William, Tennessee. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Muckle, John.
- Murphy, John. *Christian Advocate.*
- Murphy, S. C. or E. *Millennial Harbinger.*
- Murray, N. *Ohio Register.*
- Newcomb, Andrew. Christian, spinning-wheel-wright. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Nifong, J. *Christian Messenger.*
- Nilson, W. M. *Cincinnati Journal.*
- Nuckles, William C. *Lexington Observer.*
- Orear, William. 1826. Virginia. Whig and Republican, Methodist, farmer and legislator. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Osborne, Harrison W. 1830. Born in Georgia, came to Illinois from Kentucky. Christian, preacher. *Christian Messenger.*
- Owens, Mary. *Religious and Literary Intelligencer.*
- Parkinson, James. Whig, wool-carder, legislator. *Louisville Journal.*
- Parkinson, N. *Godey's Lady's Book, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Illinois Herald, Louisville Public Advertiser, Nashville Republican, St. Louis Times.*
- Parkinson, R. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Nashville Republican, Sangamon Journal, Louisville Focus, St. Louis Times.*
- Patterson, Robert W. Student, Illinois College, Tennessee, Abolitionist and Republican, Presbyterian, preacher, educator. *Liberator.*
- Patterson, William. 1829. Kentucky. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Payton, Daniel. Preacher. *Missouri Correspondent.*
- Pitner, Montgomery. 1826. Tennessee. Methodist, farmer. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Plummer, S. or J. B. *Little Rec———.*

- Prentice, D. *Western Luminary, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Prentice, Thomas. Presbyterian.
- Prosser, Samuel M. Episcopalian, doctor. *Kanawha Banner.*
- Pulliam, Drury.
- Purkett, George T. Student, Illinois College, Congregationalist. *Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Ragan, S. C. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Ragan, Landon C.
- Ragan, S. *Kentucky Gazette.*
- Ralph, George W. *Louisville Journal.*
- Ratekin, Joseph. 1829. Kentucky. Democrat, Christian, farmer, merchant. *Louisville Public Advertiser.*
- Ray, Felix G. *Beardstown Chronicle.*
- Reed, Maro, McL. 1830. Connecticut. Abolitionist, Republican, Congregationalist, doctor. *Connecticut Observer, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Pioneer and Western Baptist, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
- Reeve, Joel. 1820. North Carolina. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Regnier, Francis. Doctor. Removed to New Salem, Illinois. Lincoln prosecuted slander suit against him. *Gallia Free Press.*
- Repshire, John. *Christian Advocate and Journal.*
- Richards, Daniel. *Free Enquirer.*
- Riggs, Reuben. *Millenial Harbinger.*
- Riggs, Scott. 1825. North Carolina. Came to Illinois 1817. Democrat, Christian, member first Illinois Legislature. *Christian Messenger.*
- Roberts, Charles. *New York Spectator, Le Courier de Etats Unis, Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist.*
- Robertson, C.
- Robertson, M. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist.*
- Robinson, Kirker. Shoemaker. *The Old Countryman.*

- Rogers, William. Baptist, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist*.
- Ruark, J. A. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Ruble, Jesse H. 1820. Tennessee. Methodist. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Rucker, John. Methodist, preacher. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Sappington, John. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Saxton, William. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Sewell, William. Teacher. *Sunday School Journal*.
- Shelton, Johnston. 1821. Democrat, surveyor. *Pioneer and Western Baptist*.
- Shotton, Christopher. *Beardstown Chronicle*.
- Simms, Austin. *Christian Messenger*.
- Simms, George. *Christian Messenger*.
- Simms, Ignatius R. Episcopalian. *Farmers Chronicle, Illinois Monthly Magazine*.
- Sinclair, John. Methodist, preacher. *Gospel Herald, Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Sinclair, George.
- Sinclair, W. Cotton spinner. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Smedley, William. Kentucky. *Christian Messenger*.
- Smith, William B. *Louisville Public Advertiser, Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Solomon, Lewis. 1824. Preacher. *Youth's Magazine*.
- Spencer, Ellen C., Mrs. Teacher. *Saturday Evening Post*.
- Spencer, F. *Evangelist*.
- Spencer, T. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Spencer, Stephen W.
- Spencer, William S. Indiana. *Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley, Beardstown Chronicle*.
- Stacy, Matthew. 1827. Virginia. Democrat, Whig, Republican, Methodist, harness maker. *Ohio Patriot, Louisville Public Advertiser*.
- Standly, Moses. *Christian Advocate and Journal*.
- Stephenson, Elliott. 1828. Kentucky. Presbyterian. *Western Luminary*.

Stephenson & Hill. *Presbyterian*.

Stuart, Robert. Presbyterian. *Sunday School Journal, Cincinnati Journal*.

Sturtevant, Julian Monson. 1829. Connecticut. Abolitionist, later Republican, Congregationalist, preacher, one of the Yale Band, on faculty Illinois College for fifty-six years, president of the college thirty-two years. *New York Observer, Standard, Sabbath School Herald, Missionary Herald, Missionary Reporter and Education Register, Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal, Pioneer and Western Baptist, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Sunday School Recorder, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society, N—O—Magazine*.

Sweet, Jonathan (Joel). Baptist, preacher. *Pioneer and Western Baptist, Sunday School Journal, Cincinnati Journal*.

Sweet, Robert. *Missouri Republican*.

Thomas, William. 1826. Kentucky. Whig, later Republican, Methodist, lawyer, judge, legislator, promoter common school and State charities legislation. *Niles' Weekly Register, Sangamon Journal*.

Thornton, Fitzgreen or Fitzhugh. Doctor ?. *Louisville Focus*.

Ticknor, Olney. 1823. New York. *Illinois Intelligencer*.

Tilton and Sanders.

Todd, A. *Western Citizen*.

Tuples, John.

Turner, Asa. 1830. Massachusetts. Resided at Quincy. Abolitionist and later Republican, Congregationalist, brother of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, preacher, pioneer Congregationalist in Iowa. *Annals of Education*.

Vaughan, C. A.

Westrope, John. 1828. Ohio. *Louisville Public Advertiser, La Public Advocate*.

Westrope, I. or J. L.

- Wilkinson, John P. 1828. Virginia. Whig, Presbyterian, merchant. *Niles' Weekly Register, Illinois Monthly Magazine, Journal of Humanity and Herald of the American Temperance Society.*
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- Williams, Z. *Liberal Advocate.*
- Willson, Aaron. 1820. Merchant, first probate judge. *Farmers Reporter and United States Agriculturist.*
- Wiswell, Henry C. 1822. Vermont. Presbyterian. *Free Enquirer, Galenaeon.*
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- Wise, Daniel. Christian. *Illinois Monthly Magazine, Baptist Weekly Journal of the Mississippi Valley.*
- Wolcott, Elihu. 1831. Connecticut. Abolitionist, later Republican, Congregationalist, mainspring in organization Congregational church of Jacksonville, conductor-in-chief Underground Railroad, first president Illinois Anti-Slavery Society. *New York Journal of Commerce, Connecticut Observer.*
- Wyatt, John. 1820. Virginia. Democrat, Methodist, farmer, legislator. *Illinois Intelligencer, Illinois Herald, Vandalian and Whig.*
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ADDRESS OF CORNELIUS J. DOYLE, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF ILLINOIS, AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE MONUMENT ERECTED BY ILLINOIS TO STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, AT WINCHESTER, ILLINOIS, JULY 5, 1930.

It was Oliver Cromwell who said to a portrait painter: "Paint me as I am; leave out not one wrinkle, scar, or blemish, at your peril." For him, who is privileged to deliver an address of historical character, it is as difficult to be restrained and factual as for one who undertakes to write the biography of his ideal character. The life of Stephen A. Douglas requires no fulsome eulogy nor extravagant panegyric; rather, it is far more appropriate to attempt an appraisal of his true character and an estimate of the place in history of the man in whose memory we have come to memorialize today.

The spring of 1813—April: In the granite hills of Vermont, the peaceful village of Brandon is unmelting, winter has loosened his hoary grip and the verdure of nature again peeps through the hard and rocky soil of a rough land. On the broad prairies of Illinois, in the same April of 1813, the hut village of Winchester struggles in the gumbo of the spring thaw—a pioneer settlement of hardy adventurers just above the low lands of the Illinois, with scarcely fifty families, and the hard existence of the frontiersman.

Between the old village of the Green mountain state and the new town of the Illinois prairie are the impassable, the insurmountable mountain ranges, deep rivers, long vacant distances, hunger, fever, fatigue, futility itself. Had Kipling been writing then, he might have penned that couplet, so often quoted to emphasize the racial barriers of Occident and Orient, and applied it to the physical barriers of the American continent.

“East is East and West is West,
And the twain ne’er shall meet.”

Brandon is Orient—old, fixed, habitated, placed, cultured, contented, satisfied, philosophical, the seat of an academy, the home of men of learning. Winchester is Occident—new, shifting, restless, ambitious, raw, irritable, bereft of schools and scholars, fighting pests and disease, enduring hardships, building a new civilization. The two, it seemed, ne’er shall meet.

April 23, 1813: Brandon still sleeps fitfully amidst the echoes of the war of 1812. The Indian has returned to his camp, pledged to peace. The effort of England to recapture her lost American possession has left bitterness and hatreds. The reverberations of the revolutions still rumble through the former colonies, and the contentions and controversies of the formative period of our government have not eased. Among the people of April, 1813, in Brandon, are heroes of the war of Independence, men who have survived to tell its horrors, to paint its romance, to delight in its experiences, and to revel in its glories.

There is in the Brandon of that day, a respected citizen, a man of culture and learning, a physician who ministers to his neighbors with all the skill the medical profession knows in his times. Happiness and cheer reign in Dr. Stephen A. Douglas’ home—an heir, a boy, has arrived, and the Douglas household and all Brandon rejoice. The child is called Stephen A., after his father. An event in Brandon; Winchester hears it not. Hearing it, Winchester would not have given heed. Destiny had not yet imparted her secret to the hut dwellers of the mud prairies.

The babe has ancestry. The Douglasses trace back to Scotland, to 1610. The first of the line to settle on colonial soil is William D., whose son, William, is born in Boston in March, 1645. The infant’s fraternal grandfather is Benajah Douglas, a farmer near Brandon. The mother is proud of her forebears, associates of Roger Williams in his Rhode Island colony. Both families have been imbued with the spirit and zeal of colonists. They have traveled from place to place,

leaving deep impression wherever they have stopped. The force that was to send this babe, grown to youth, with irresistible feet, into the Occident of the American world came with him into life from the spirit and the will of his father and mother and their ancestors.

The years pass. Brandon languishes in its peace and contentment. Winchester adds to its population of few families, and struggles with the elements that hate to be disturbed. The boy grows with ambition awakening in his breast. The mountains are his companions; vast, vacant spaces, he fills with dreamful fancies. His father passes on, leaving upon the boy's shoulders, the responsibility for mother and sister, a responsibility he does not shirk.

He follows the plow through the isolated, lonely fields. He is happy, wholesome, wistful, determined. He never complains but, in his heart, is forming a resolution—an education first; that's clear; then, a vague picture he cannot understand, but it does not include Vermont and her granite hills. It dimly outlines a new country and opportunities. Horses pull his plow by instinct. He dreams at its handles. There is working upon him a force which some call foreordination. Some say it is Divinity that guides our steps; some pronounce it fate or destiny.

At fifteen, he wishes to go to the academy at Brandon. An uncle who had promised him help suddenly finds himself with a bride. He can do nothing but advise. Young Douglas listens attentively as his uncle minimizes education and the professions. Farm life means security against want and hunger; its awards are sure and regular. Better stay with the farm, he tells his nephew. The nephew promptly ignores an advice that is contrary to his predetermined course.

Fourteen miles, the undersized, slender, pallid faced lad tramps to Middlebury; apprentices himself to a cabinet maker and earns money—money to pay his tuition in the academy. This experience is brief and ends in disappointment. When his master insists upon his performing menial household

duties, Douglas quits and tramps back to Brandon, there to apprentice again as a cabinet maker.

Now the primal instinct in his nature begins to assert itself unmistakably. He is controversial. He loves to debate; he is skillful at it. When more vigor is demanded than mere words will supply, he adds the strength of his fists. National politics are absorbing him. Jackson is the issue throughout the land, and Douglas admires the rugged character and unconventional methods that already have distinguished him.

Next, his first important step in the achievement of ambition—with enough money earned, he enters the academy. He is brilliant but not studious. Douglas does not distinguish himself as a writer, nor as thinker in classroom routine. In debate, he gains new laurels. 1830, and Douglas is seventeen. He is meditative; great questions of state concern him and strike deep into the foundations of his life.

His only sister marries Julius N. Granger and leaves the old home to live in Ontario county, New York. His ties to the place of his birth are weakened. At their Ontario home, the bride's smile and intellectual endowments please her father-in-law and inspire him with a secret desire to know her mother. Suddenly, he disappears from home. As suddenly, he reappears and with him as his bride, the widow of Dr. Stephen A. Douglas, the mother of his son's wife. Her boy comes with them.

Gehazi Granger is rich and loves the promising lad and puts him in the famous academy at Canandaigua. Necessity no longer prods Douglas; money is easy. Diligence in classroom lets down. He seldom writes, and often he is indifferent. But all the while, interest and knowledge in politics increase and his fame as a debater spreads. The Jackson issue has grown and holds the country in its clutches. Douglas has many opportunities to defend his political idol.

January 1, 1833, he leaves school to study law with a local attorney. Six months later, he abandons this plan and is off on the supreme adventure of his career, the one that is to lead to success and commanding position in the world it-

self. "When shall we expect you to come home to visit us, my son?" asks the mother as she bids him good-bye. And the boy replies without emotion: "On my way to congress, mother." The books describe no heartrending scenes as mother and son part. Douglas is determined; the mother love and mother instinct sense an imperative command in his soul. She interposes no obstacles and represses her tears. The sacrifice is hers to make and to bear. The boy cannot resist a prompting that has become the overmastering influence in his life.

Can any of us realize what it meant in those days for son and mother to part in this manner, one to go into that vast, dark, hidden and forbidding region beyond the mountains, the other to remain, Promethean bound, to the isolated granite hills? "When shall we expect you to visit us, my son?" It's all so indefinite, so vague, so mysterious. "On my way to congress, mother." That, too, is all so indefinite, so vague, so mysterious, for he is only twenty, and congress is for the old, the experienced and the fortunate.

Might she not visit him in his new home? No thought of that, for East is East and West is West, and between them the barrier that her son may scale, but she? Never! Is there one among us who can understand, or who possesses the imagination to visualize what it means to be without transportation. What stagnation, in living and thinking, to be isolated and unable to move beyond the strength of one's legs! Was ever Prometheus more thoroughly bound to his rock than those of our ancestors who lived without boat or locomotive or open road or automobile or airplane? Can any of us conceive what courage it took to break away from that isolation, and with no aid, except that of muscular energy, to plunge into the wilderness, seeking a new destination, not yet even marked upon a map?

So Douglas breaks away from home ties, from the affectionate hold the birthplace has upon him, from the love of mother and of sister. In his own eyes his course is not yet clear; he has fixed no destination for his feet. Only one thing

is settled; he is going, and he will not return until he carries with him a certificate to a seat in Congress. It is of record that he tells his roommate, of whom he is fond, that his goal is the United States Senate. We shall now see the undisguised hand of destiny. She has planted the impulse; she has fanned it into heat. She drives him, he knows not whither. He has broken his chains, and now she sets along the way, her sentries to direct him.

His first stop is Cleveland, to tarry a few days with relatives. A lawyer induces him to remain a year. Fever strikes him down, and it is October before he may leave his room. Certain traditions about fever prevail and are accepted even by doctors. His doctor advises him not to return home nor to remain in Cleveland. The advice fits the Douglas plan. By stream and road, he reaches Portsmouth; he pushes on by boat to Cincinnati. No work; he arrives by boat at Louisville, and still no work. The new country seems unfriendly.

A stranger whispers the magic word, "Jacksonville," named after his idol, "Old Hickory" on the Illinois prairies. He bears a letter of introduction to Major Murray McConnel. On the boat from Louisville to St. Louis, he meets Samuel Wolcott, son of Elihu Wolcott, who lives in Jacksonville. The young man advises him to go there. He meets, also, Senator Linn and Governor Miller of Missouri. Politics is the subject of discussion as the primitive old boat ploughs through the Ohio. At St. Louis, he finds Edward Bates, great lawyer of his day, who tries to persuade Douglas to read law in his office. He does remain for a brief period, and then resumes his journey to Jacksonville.

In all history, there is no more dramatic story of the magnet and the man, and the triumph of the magnet. He crosses the Mississippi at Alton, and by stage reaches Jacksonville in November, 1833, five months after his farewell with his mother. In his pocket is \$1.25, and he still lacks five months of his majority. Douglas is youth and Illinois is only fifteen years old. The affinity of years makes them one. He finds no employment in the city that has lured him. He sells



Monument to Stephen A. Douglas at Winchester, Illinois.

his books to gain food. Major McConnel advances him money and directs him to Pekin to open an office. He walks to Meredosia to take the boat. He waits a week, and then the slow-moving news that it has blown up at Alton and there will be no boat until spring.

His bills paid, fifty cents remain. A farmer tells him it might be possible to organize a school at Exeter, near by. Douglas rides home with the farmer, occupying a place behind him upon the back of a faithful old horse. Not one pupil can be found for the school. Even in those days, news has a way of getting through the lines. He hears of a chance at Winchester and to Winchester he walks in the night time, arriving here at dawn. It is a cabin town on this fertile, now conquered prairie—not the prairie you and I know, but a bleak, wind-swept, unhospitable prairie, tough and hard and unyielding, jealous of its majestic loneliness and determined to resist invasion. It is filled with fever and pestilence, and its advanced lines of defense are pests and parasites that breed disease and death. We have little conception of the magnitude and the seriousness of the expression “breaking the prairie sod.” How difficult it was! How dangerous!

Here Douglas finds friends. They succor him. The bachelor, E. G. Miner, takes him into his store to sleep and eat. The innkeeper lends a hand. Citizens help him organize a school with forty pupils at \$3 per quarter. He picks up odd jobs. He officiates as assistant clerk at an auction and makes \$2.50 in three days, but more valuable creates sympathy by his brilliant mind and winning personality. At the end of the school term, he has \$120 in cash.

March, 1834, and Douglas leaves Winchester and obeys the lodestone of Jacksonville, there to begin one of the most remarkable careers of which we have record in human annals. March 4, 1834, seven weeks before his majority, he is licensed to practice law. The door to fame and fortune stands open. East is no longer East nor West, West. The twain have met and the scene is set for the most thrilling drama Illinois ever has witnessed.

His hero, Jackson, demands his first attention. Originally, a Jackson country, Morgan County has been alienated by the results of some of Jackson's policies, and his friends have lost confidence. There are twenty-five members of the bar, young Douglas the only one to speak for Jackson. Douglas is unafraid. He resolves on a bold stroke which the remaining few Jackson leaders oppose. He calls a public meeting to endorse Jackson.

The resolutions are opposed by Josiah Lamborn, known throughout Illinois as its most vituperative orator, and greatest master of invective, whose vitriolic utterances had struck terror to the hearts of those whom he opposed in court and forum. Young Douglas leaps to a chair to reply to the older and experienced lawyer. The first few words of the young champion of Jackson quiets the audience. His heart and brain aflame with patriotic zeal and devotion to his ideal, he turns a hostile audience into one of cheering approval. Young Douglas is triumphant. He re-establishes confidence in his party and re-elevates Jackson to his lost estate. He is carried on the shoulders of admirers around the square at Jacksonville. He receives the title of "Little Giant."

The fame of this young orator spreads over Illinois. His services are sought in all sections of the State in the succeeding campaign. His continued success commands attention in other states. The news of the remarkable effectiveness of the young orator reaches President Jackson. He invites young Douglas to visit him at the Hermitage, and the old warrior receives him with unrestrained admiration and affection.

Great occasions in the midst of a multitude, in an arena of excitement, have made sudden national reputations. Such scenes and opportunities were those of William Jennings Bryan at Chicago, General James A. Garfield and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll at Cincinnati; but no place is there recorded, where one speech made in one small locality, was the means by which a speaker passed almost immediately into state and national prominence, as did Douglas at Jacksonville.

The ninth general assembly presents to the world, among its members, Lincoln and Douglas, each in his first public office. It elects Douglas state's attorney for the district against the distinguished John J. Hardin, for whom Lincoln votes. His success as state's attorney makes it possible for him to secure the office of Secretary of State in 1840. From the office of Secretary of State, he is yet to become in 1841 to 1843, the youngest member ever elected to the Supreme bench in Illinois, which he resigned upon his election to Congress as a Democrat.

Douglas goes about preaching his political doctrine and making friends, neglecting his law practice. He organizes the first Democratic State Convention in Illinois and nominates electors pledged to vote for Van Buren and Johnson.

His first legislative experience brings him into contact with unreasonable and extravagant public demand for internal improvements. A man who has had his experience of hardship of travel might well be excused if he easily succumbed to any program that promised easier and more rapid transportation. Douglas fights the extravagances of the time, but unsuccessfully. He offers to the assembly a practical program of internal improvements, including the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, a railroad from its western terminus to the mouth of the Ohio River, a railroad from Quincy to the east State line, the improvement for navigation of the Wabash and Illinois rivers, and surveys and estimates on such other works as might be considered of general utility. But this plan is defeated, and Illinois plunges into days of dark debt and unrealized dreams.

Immense numbers of applications for special charters of all kinds and descriptions are presented to the Legislature. Douglas unsuccessfully attempts to arrest this whole system of legislation as unjust, impolitic, and unwise, and failing in this, he saw to it that there was inserted in each special charter, a clause: "Reserving the right to alter, amend or appeal this act, whenever the public good shall require it."

Later in his life, it becomes his opportunity to use his influence in the United States Senate to aid the Illinois Central Railroad project, in which he had full confidence. An investigation of the records indicates quite clearly that to Douglas belongs the credit for the aid that Congress gave this public improvement, making it possible and exerting upon later history of the State and the Mississippi Valley, a far greater and more determinative influence and benefit than any of us understand.

To his political achievements and to his sanity and probity in handling internal improvements and to his Illinois Central success, must be added his interest in the great need of education, and chief beneficence, the founding of the University of Chicago. Douglas acquired considerable real estate on the south side of Chicago, near what is now Thirty-second street and the lake. To the Presbyterians, he offers ten acres of it for an educational institution. They do not accept it. The Baptists undertook it. After many years of vicissitudes, they complete a marble building, and matriculate its first students. But hard times and unfortunate management end in mortgages and foreclosures and the sale of the property.

The university idea that Douglas has conceived and crystallized and has done so much to promote, seems to be dead and cold in its grave. But an idea never dies. The seed he has planted revives and pushes through. Today, it flourishes in that magnificent institution on Chicago's midway, another monument to Douglas' far-sighted judgment and his broad liberal viewpoint. In due course, it is to be hoped that outstanding recognition by the University of Chicago will honor the name of Stephen A. Douglas in a deserving and conspicuous manner.

Nor was the vision of Douglas confined to the limits of Illinois and the Mississippi Valley; it embraced the then almost boundless sweep to and over and beyond the mighty Rocky Mountain region, and on to the Pacific Ocean. Douglas thus early visualized the possibilities of what today millions of our citizens enjoy.

Out of these legislative experiences, as well as in the courts, and the social events of the village of Springfield, destiny had brought together two men who were to become the principal actors in the greatest drama in the political life of the nation; of these figures—one, straight but not tall, of dignity, great charm of person and of manner, with hair flung gracefully off of a high, fine brow, with voice and gesture, poise and intellectual force harmonizing in graceful and effective, eloquent and persuasive charm; the other, a tall ungainly, uncouth figure, whose appearance generally carried with it nothing impressive of dignity; by the side of the polished, immaculate and scrupulously dressed Douglas; Lincoln, slow and halting of speech, a voice at times high pitched and unpleasant—each the antithesis of the other, but both most able and well matched in presenting their view with telling effect upon their audiences; each with wholesome respect for the ability of the other. These two great men were destined to oppose each other until the tragic hour in the nation's history when they stood as one for the cause of the Union.

The recital of the birth of the American Republic is one that thrills the heart and quickens the pulse of him who reads, and the story of the struggle of the men of the Revolution gives to each American a solid historical platform on which to boldly stand. As there are spots on the sun, and the microscope reveals flaws in burnished steel, so there was a spot and a flaw upon the early record of this land; but with this exception, no other form of government on earth has been so blessed under a written constitution as our own beloved country. History records that our Constitution excels even the idealistic one brought forth by the Athenian minds of long ago. True, one unfortunate factor was a part of our government from the beginning—the question of slavery. It had its genesis in the commercialism of African slave trade first made possible by the New England states, and later to be transferred on account of climatic conditions, and the cultivation of cotton, to the states of the South. In the beginning, it was tolerated with the thought of the fathers that it would soon

die. It was destined, however, to bring its terrible harvest of dissension and disaster before final determination in the greatest internecine war, since man has gone to war with man.

It involved that greater question of the rights of the states. "States Rights" was to become the greatest subject of debate ever held in legislative halls at any time, in any place throughout the world. Those devoted to the rights of the states recalled again and again, the obvious truth that all power in the beginning was in the several states, and the Constitution adopted at Philadelphia gave to the federal government only such powers as the several states had granted to the Union, retaining to the states all powers not granted.

When we recall the masterful arguments made by Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Jackson and Douglas, in defense of the rights of the states, we doubt not that they and others sounded a note of prophetic warning that might be well applied to the fear of later tendencies of federal encroachment. All were in agreement that a strong centralized government was necessary to take the place of the original articles of confederation, but even these men could not foresee the continuing tendency toward the vanishing powers of the several states.

With the powerful presentations made by Stephen A. Douglas in defense of the rights of the states, the question of human slavery was incidental. He believed with all his great heart and mind and soul that the perpetuity of this nation rested upon the preservation of the rights of the several states working coordinately with the federal union, the states exercising fully those powers not granted to the Union, and the federal government limiting its exercise of power to those specifically granted within the limits of the Constitution. He recognized slavery as a condition preceding the formation of the government, known at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and which it did not prohibit.

He spoke directly to the rights of the people within a state to determine within themselves whether or not this unfortunate condition should continue. We have but to turn

to the first inaugural address of President Lincoln to find the assurance that slavery where it then existed was not to be disturbed. To the peace convention, he said: "Write the word Union." We find the counterpart of that assurance in the first inaugural address of war Governor Yates of Illinois—a masterful patriotic document, when he said there was no disposition on the part of the Republican party to disturb the fugitive slave law.

As the extent and intensity of the war progressed, President Lincoln admonished the states of the South that if the conflict did not cease against federal authority, acting under his war time power as chief magistrate, he would issue a proclamation of emancipation. The war did not cease, the emancipation proclamation was issued, and as the last gun was fired in the great war between the states, the question of human slavery which had troubled our nation from its birth, was forever determined.

The culmination of events which occurred in 1860 by the election of President Lincoln could not longer be postponed. Ten years previous to this time, Stephen A. Douglas was in the midst of the most heated and bitter forensic debate that ever has taken place in the history of any government. The country was in breathless suspense, apprehensive of a war crisis in 1850.

Henry Clay, the great pacifier, then enfeebled and soon to die, was physically supported into the halls of the senate chamber in 1850 to deliver his last pathetic and powerful appeal against the threatened disruption of the Union. He said: "I have never before addressed any assembly so pressed, so appalled, so anxious." Jefferson Davis, as a Senator, concluded his argument with the statement: "I see nothing short of conquest on the one side, or submission on the other." Daniel Webster arose in the same forum to deliver the greatest speech of his career, as he pleaded in that earlier great crisis for the preservation of the Union. These debates thrilled the crowds that were able to gain admittance

to the capitol, and the country was never before in such suspense.

The question in the minds of all was: Could these conflicting theories between states rights and strong federal government be composed, the Constitution preserved, and the Union saved? It was to be the last appearance of three of the greatest figures in American statesmanship—Clay, Calhoun and Webster. Outstanding as were these three intellectual giants, they did not greatly overshadow Douglas, Davis, Chase and Seward. For seventeen days, the House could not elect a speaker. The records show that disunion was advocated not alone in 1850 by the men of the South. Senator Hale of New Hampshire presented a petition praying for immediate and peaceful dissolution of the Union.

The result of sectional war was postponed ten years by the reporting of the fugitive slave bill which finally became law. The immediate peril of disunion had temporarily passed. The contribution of Webster to this conclusion was to end all hope of his future political preferment. He was fully conscious that such would be the case. Webster by advocating this law was misunderstood, his motives impugned, and he found himself execrated as was Douglas for espousing the principle embodied in the fugitive slave law, although like Douglas, he pleaded throughout in masterly argument for the cause of the Union. It was in this exciting scene and under this stress of circumstances that Douglas announced that only by friendly legislation and local favor and the choice of the people within the State, could slavery exist in a territory or anywhere else.

No one could see that eight years later, in the great debates between Lincoln and Douglas, at which the attention of the country was focused, that Lincoln at Freeport, was to ask Douglas a question based upon this same principle which gave to Lincoln the advantage to be gained by asking this particular question in a State where sentiment was manifestly and overwhelmingly against the encroachment of the system of human slavery.

In the calm light of history, the position of Stephen A. Douglas, in defense of the rights of the people of the State to determine questions vouchsafed the states by the Constitution, was and is sound, and from this principle, he could not be swerved, even though at the cost of an ambition to achieve the highest office in the gift of the American people. This doctrine which became known as Popular Sovereignty, was particularly championed and defended by Douglas. This issue was to become the subject of the series of great debates between Lincoln and Douglas, and partisan, indeed, would be he who would attempt to award supremacy of presentation as between these two participants, in those historical debates.

Running through the tempestuous political discussions of that day and time was the charge often made that Stephen A. Douglas lashed himself to the mast of expediency, with the one objective of the presidency, and that while everywhere his outstanding ability was recognized, he followed the trade winds looking for popular approval of those in high command of his party, and especially in his overtures to the South.

May we again recall two conspicuous situations which in the light of history refute the charge that the mind of Douglas turned to expediency at the sacrifice of principle. Douglas championed Popular Sovereignty with full knowledge of its unpopularity in Illinois, and by so doing, his keen political mind knew full well that such a position might work to his utter political destruction in Illinois. His colleague, Senator Shields, went down to defeat in his candidacy for re-election under the avalanche of this disapproval, and only the force and magnetic and personal brilliancy of Douglas made possible his own return to the United States Senate in his contest with Lincoln.

Again, when the Democratic national administration, under President Buchanan and other outstanding leaders of the party especially of the South, espoused the plan to obtain the admission of Kansas on a pro-slavery constitution that

had not been properly submitted to the people of the territory, Douglas, without hesitancy, sprang to the front to lead the opposition to the Democratic national administration, the prominent leaders of his party, and to the South, to whom he would in the very nature of the situation look, for a presidential nomination. He declared the support of such a plan involved the surrender of Popular Sovereignty, and that he would not do, no matter what might be the cost to be paid for his future political ambitions.

With characteristic prompt decision and undaunted courage in taking his stand on this issue, Douglas was at his best. Brilliantly did he fight on the floor of the Senate and before the country. He had cause to feel the heavy hand of opposition to his aspirations by the national administration for assuming this position. His courage, logic and manful bearing through that critical time, drew even the praise of political enemies. His gain in popularity in the North was not confined to his own party, but was augmented by the approval of such outstanding Republicans as Greeley, Colfax, Banks, Burlingame and Blair, and they went so far as to counsel the Illinois Republicans to unite with the Douglas Democrats and return him to the Senate.

Douglas won the senatorship, and Lincoln in defeat was to win the presidency. Stephen A. Douglas possessed the commendable ambition to become President of the United States, and it was in every way justified. His natural and acquired talents, abilities, training and experience focused the attention of the nation upon him. Four years before his nomination in 1860, he was the leading candidate of his party at the age of thirty-nine, and would have been nominated in 1856 and elected, as subsequent events revealed, had it not been for the recess taken by the Democratic National Convention of that year. Pierce was finally nominated and elected, Douglas supporting him.

In 1860, he became the nominee of his party for President. In his advocacy of the rights of the states, it is well to consider that, by the popular vote he represented the major

thought and will of the American people. There were four presidential candidates in 1860—Abraham Lincoln, against the encroachment of slavery, the Republican candidate; Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell all standing for the rights of the states in relation to determining the question of slavery. The vote for the Republican nominee was 1,866,352, being somewhat more than 39 per cent, while the vote for Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell was 2,910,501, or somewhat more than 60 per cent of the entire vote of the country. Thus, it may be seen that in the firm espousal of the rights of the states by Douglas, he would have been elected, had it not been for the sectional division of the three nominees within his own party.

The announcement of the election of Abraham Lincoln was the spark which ignited the tremendous powder magazine of sectional strife. The slave holding states regarded it as an ultimatum for the abolishment of slavery. The conciliatory and temporizing words of Lincoln, himself, could not relieve the situation fraught with such terrible consequences. His journey to Washington to assume the oath of office as President was filled with dangerous foreboding.

The deep solicitude in his great heart to perpetuate the Union at any cost found its counterpart in the soul of Douglas. The great scene, when the newly elected President raised his hand to take the oath of office was breathlessly impressive in its solemnity. Many of the southern states had declared that they were no longer members of the federal union. The very life of President Lincoln and the life of the nation, at that hour was in the balance. This scene was the meeting of the roads which Lincoln and Douglas had traveled in opposition to the principles of each other. The previous questions which had honestly divided them disappeared into oblivion as they both stood four square in that momentous hour, with Douglas engaging the hat of Lincoln, as Lincoln assumed the oath of office to uphold the Constitution and preserve the Union. The quickly following events attested that both were to give their lives for the preservation of our national Union.

The dark clouds of war were gathering; the mutterings of the fury of the storm that was destined to sweep over the nation were distinctly heard on every side. One after another, in quick succession, the states of the South set in motion the machinery of secession. Sumter was fired upon. Families were to be divided; brothers were to fight against brothers.

The sentiment on one hand in northern states was for upholding the Union at whatever cost. The other sentiment was to permit the erring states to go in peace. Illinois was to become one of the principal actors in this terrible drama. A goodly portion of the southern section of the State was peopled by Virginians and Kentuckians. Geographically, our State extended farther south than any of the northern states affected. Cairo is on a parallel line with Richmond, Virginia. It was to be expected that human sympathies in Southern Illinois would be extended actively or otherwise with the cause espoused by the South.

No one knew better than the President, the loyal heart of Stephen A. Douglas. No one understood better, the tremendous power of his influence. In that dark hour, a conference was held at the White House, with Lincoln and Douglas alone as the conferees. Nicolay & Hay in "Abraham Lincoln: A History," said: "Having, through a friend, signified his desire for an interview, Douglas went to the Executive Mansion between seven and eight o'clock on this Sunday evening, April 14, and being privately received by the President, these two remarkable men sat in confidential interview, without a witness, nearly two hours." Senator Douglas, after the meeting, gave this statement to the press: "April 18, 1861, Senator Douglas called on the President, and had an interesting conversation, on the present condition of the country. The substance of it was, on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the administration in all its political issues, he was prepared to fully sustain the President, in the exercise of all his constitutional functions, to preserve the Union, maintain the government, and defend the federal capital. A firm policy and prompt action was neces-

sary. The capital was in danger, and must be defended at all hazards and at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future, without any reference to the past."

The result of this conference indicated that the grave situation in Illinois was the object of this momentous and historical meeting. The attitude of Senator Douglas is best set out in a letter from Chicago, of May 10, 1861, in which he expressed the thought "that some of his friends were unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of equitable compromise with the hope of averting the cause of war, and those urged in support of the government and flag of our country when war is being waged against the United States for the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and the total destruction of its government.

He, too, cherished the same thought until actual war was levied at Charleston, and it was the fixed purpose of the secessionists utterly to destroy the government of our fathers and obliterate the United States from the map of the world. In view of this state of facts, there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question; it was a question of government or no government, country or no country; and hence it became the imperative duty of every friend of constitutional liberty to rally to the support of our common country, its government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution and preserving the union of the states." What a magnificent patriotic spirit was revealed in this communication!

Senator Douglas, at the instance of President Lincoln, and impelled with lofty patriotic impulse, hastened to Illinois. His was the important task and mission to solidify our people to uphold the Constitution and the cause of the Union. He went before the Illinois Legislature to present the cause for which he was soon to give his life. His argument and eloquence reached the heights of sublime rhetoric, and with his magnetic and charming personality, inspired by the fervor

of his patriotism, left an impress upon the minds and hearts of his hearers, never to be forgotten.

He had embarked upon the solemn and important duty of a series of similar engagements. On one of these, unmindful of the attending dangers from the exposure of inclement weather, he contracted a cold which rapidly developed into pneumonia. Within a few days, the sad intelligence was borne across the continent that Senator Stephen A. Douglas had died.

With all the deserved honors that had come to him, there were intermingled many disappointments. No doubt the greatest of these was that his life was not to be spared until he could see once more a reuniting of the sections, the hateful question of human slavery forever eliminated from our form of government, and to behold one country, one flag, no North, no South, no East, no West.

Stephen A. Douglas, defender of the Constitution, mighty protagonist of the rights of the states under that Constitution; lawyer, far visioned statesman and patriot—we honor ourselves in paying homage to the pages of the impartial history of our country which record and are dedicated to your indefatigable industry, sacrificing courage and lofty patriotism.

On the shores of Lake Michigan, all that is mortal of Senator Stephen A. Douglas lies. On the monument which marks his last resting place, there appears the simple but eloquent words of admonition, giving expression to his last lingering thought of love of country, as his soul was about to wing its flight to eternity, "Tell my sons to obey the law and support the Constitution."

Senator Stephen A. Douglas gave his life in answer to his country's call, as much as any man who fell with his face toward the foe, on the battlefields of the south-land.

"God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine,
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget; lest we forget!"

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JAMES GARDINER EDWARDS.

By PHILIP D. JORDAN.

PREFACE.

I have long held that the place of the state historical society is vital in recording and preserving that portion of the national historical heritage which the professional historiographer must, of necessity, omit in the more general *Handbuch*. The hunt for facts and the ascertaining of truth by the state or local historian may possess the same conscientious characteristics as those displayed by the master of research.

For these reasons I am pleased that this monograph concerning the life and works of James Gardiner Edwards is published in a state historical journal which has always been edited with great care and has consistently presented the best type of historical research.

James G. Edwards, during his life in Illinois and Iowa, was sufficiently prominent, both as a devout member and organizer of the Congregational Church and as an unusual newspaper man, to warrant the publication of his biography. This is especially true when one considers how little has been known of his personal and professional life until the present time. In 1899 the editors of the paper which he founded in 1839, reprinted a portion of the funeral sermon which Dr. Salter delivered. This sermon contained the date of Edwards' birth. In 1917 the editors of this paper, in an anniversary edition, failed to give the date of birth and by 1925 the date was distorted to 1799 or 1800. In order to prevent future errors of this kind and to give a fair picture of the activities and times of James G. Edwards, I have prepared this biography. It is the first time that any attempt has been made to give the story of his life *ab ovo usque ad mala*.

In the preparation of material for this monograph, I am much indebted to Mr. Clarence Brigham, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. (and compiler of the invaluable *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*); Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Miss Anne S. Pratt, reference librarian of Yale University Library, New Haven; Mr. Alexander J. Wall, librarian of the New York Historical Society, New York City; Miss M. H. Turner, assistant librarian, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; Miss Stella M. Drumm, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis; Miss Annie A. Nunns, assistant superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Mr. Johnson Brigham, librarian of the Iowa State Library, Des Moines; Mr. Floyd S. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; Mr. Charles Belden, director of the Public Library of the City of Boston; Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, curator of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines; and Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

Mr. Frank J. Heinl, of Jacksonville, Illinois, has assisted me in a measure which has been generous in the extreme. Miss Georgia L. Osborne, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society and editor of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, has extended every courtesy and aid.

I am also much indebted to Hon. W. F. Kopp, United States Representative from the first Iowa district, for the many favors he has extended me.

To two friends from boyhood I owe my thanks. Rev. William D. Green, of the faculty of Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa, has assisted me with certain government documents; and Mr. John A. Dailey, Jr., attorney-at-law, Burlington, Iowa, has assisted me in locating local legal documents.

However great have been the many types of cooperation which these persons have so generously extended me, only the gracious assistance which Mr. and Mrs. George B. Salter

of Burlington, Iowa, have given me has made this monograph possible. I have had the unlimited use of invaluable manuscripts and publications housed in the Salter library—manuscripts and publications without which aid I could not have completed this work.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the helpful wisdom of my friend and counselor, Dr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, of Hunter College, New York City.

P. D. J.

Long Island University.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JAMES GARDINER EDWARDS.

By PHILIP D. JORDAN.

James Gardiner Edwards was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 23, 1802,¹ the son of obscure parents of whom little is known at the present day. It is recorded that his father died when he was an infant² and that he was brought up mainly by his grandmother, Mrs. Jane Flagg, a woman of worth and respectability who was a native of the north of Ireland and who came to America about the year 1752, the wife of an officer in the British army whom she had married at the age of sixteen years.³ The boy, at an early age, was baptized in Trinity Church by the Rev. John S. J. Gardiner, D.D., after whom he was named.⁴ His childhood was characterized by play and romps among the narrow streets of busy Boston and on Bunker Hill.⁵ He was sent to the public schools of his native city where he associated with children of all classes and where Charles Francis Adams, son of the sixth president of the United States, was a classmate.⁶

But the boy was unable to continue his education after he reached his teens and, before entering upon his thirteenth year, became an apprentice in a Boston newspaper office.⁷

His activities from the year 1815 to 1823 are clouded, but it is probable that he was in New York City preparing for the

¹ Salter: *Edwards Funeral Sermon*, p. 9. Not 1799 or 1800 as the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925, indicates. Cf. also *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 11, 1899, for reprinting of portion of the sermon. Also, Brigham: *Iowa*, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* I find Mrs. Flagg, widow on Frog Lane (*Boston Directory*) in 1796; Jane Flagg, Frog Lane, 1798; Jane Flagg, mantua worker, Frog Lane, 1800, 1803, 1805, 1806, 1807; Jane Flagg, mantua worker, Boylston street, 1809, 1810, 1813, 1816; Jane Flagg, widow of Henry, Boylston street, 1818, 1820; Jane Flagg, widow, Boylston street, 1821, 1822 and 1826. The Directories for 1823 and 1825 omit her name, also those from 1827-1830, inclusive. Edwards, it seems, spent his early boyhood at residences on Frog Lane and Boylston street. Mrs. Flagg, whose maiden name was Jane Coventry, died at Edwards' home, 7 Piedmont street, in 1829, aged 93. (Cf. Salter: *Sermon*, p. 9.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵ *Iowa Patriot*, Burlington, June 20, 1839: "Born and nurtured alongside of the 'Cradle of Liberty,' the sight of Bunker Hill, on which we in our boyhood frequently gambolled. . . ."

⁶ *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.* The identity of this office has never been determined.

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Front page of New York Courier, March 20, 1825, published "for the proprietor" by James Gardiner Edwards.

opportunity which materialized, March 20, 1825 when he published, "for the proprietor," at the Tontine Coffee House, Wall and Water streets, the *New York Courier*, the first Sunday newspaper in the city of New York. It may be that the publishers were Thomas Snowden, of *The National Advertiser*, and John C. Melcher, otherwise identified as Snowden, of 20 William street, printer of both papers, and Melcher, a Maiden Lane merchant, who may have financed the venture. Also, the editor may have been one, William Hill, a divinity student, but the *New York Courier* itself records none of these names, stating only that James G. Edwards was the "publisher, for the proprietor," at the Tontine office. The only extant copy of this paper was found among newspapers and records filed by Governor De Witt Clinton, of New York, and is now in the New York State Library. The paper measures about fifteen by twenty-two inches, is printed upon coarse but durable rag paper and has wide margins at both top and bottom. The venture was not successful and Edwards saw it fail.⁸ After the failure of the *New York Courier* Edwards probably spent some time reporting for various New York papers and then returned to Boston.⁹

His return to the city of his birth was probably in the year 1825 when he was employed by the printing concern of Wells and Lilly, one of the most prominent publishing houses in Boston.¹⁰ He may have been living with George B. Edwards, his brother, on Piedmont street, at this time.¹¹

⁸ *New York Courier*, March 20, 1825. Cf. also, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 27, 1925 (Magazine Section). The *New York Courier* is not listed in Brigham's, *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, and Edwards is not mentioned; neither is he listed in Fox's, *New York City Newspapers*, although the *New York Courier* is; nor in any of the general histories of the New York press. Vague mention of the enterprise is found in Brigham: *Iowa*, p. 164; *History of Des Moines County*, p. 416; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925; and *This Journal*, Vol. XXIII, p. 176. I am much indebted to Mr. Joseph Gavit, senior librarian of the New York State Library, for a photostatic copy of the *New York Courier* and for additional assistance.

⁹ Antrobus: *History of Des Moines County*, Vol. I, p. 434; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

¹⁰ Wells and Lilly, booksellers, were at 97 Court street, *Boston Directory*, 1818; 98 Court street, 1822; 91 Court street, 1825; 18 Court street, 1827; and at the same place in 1828 with a printing office at Boylston Square, near the corner of Boylston and Washington streets.

¹¹ George B. Edwards, *Boston Directory*, was a printer on Boylston street, 1823-1826; Piedmont street, 1827-1828; 2 Piedmont street, 1829-1832; and 7 Piedmont street, 1833-1837.

Edwards' work in the office of Wells and Lilly was that of an apprentice and proof reader and, at times, James Gordon Bennett, the elder, founder of the *New York Herald* worked under Edwards' supervision.¹² From all that can be learned Edwards continued his trade as a printer, with few events altering the course of his business life, for the next six years. During this time the young man apparently was a gay blade in Boston, entirely neglectful of the duties he owed the church, until as the result of the "prayers and labors of a Christian friend, he was brought to a realizing sense of his lost and miserable condition as a sinner against God."¹³ His convictions of sin were "deep and pungent and prepared him to embrace the Gospel heartily and intelligently."¹⁴ He made a public profession of his faith in Christ and was united with the Old South Church in the year 1826 and at once engaged in the work of doing good, becoming a teacher in a branch Sabbath School, which was then sustained by the Old South Church on Fort Hill.¹⁵

The "Christian friend" who brought Edwards, in his twenty-fourth year, to a realization of his wickedness, was a charming New England girl, Miss Eleanor Taylor Dunlap, who was born at Portsmouth, N. H., November 24, 1804.¹⁶ She obtained her education in the public schools of her native city, and in a private school which was taught by Hosea Ballau who afterwards became prominent as a distinguished minister of the Universalist denomination.¹⁷ From her childhood, Miss Dunlap was religiously inclined. She attended a Sunday School taught by Miss March in her own house and

¹² *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, July 2, 1840: "Bennet's Herald seems to be in great disrepute all over the nation. We knew Bennet when he first came from Scotland. While the editor of The Hawk-Eye was an apprentice and engaged as proof-reader in Wells & Lilly's office, when the boy who read the copy was absent, we have frequently called Bennet to take the boy's place. He was then receiving but three or four dollars a week. It was discovered that he was pretty good at figures, and he was promoted to the Bookstore, where he became a clerk. While one of the firm was absent at the South, Bennet did something which caused his dismissal. Being but an apprentice to the printing business, we could never ascertain what it was." Cf. Antrobus: Vol. I, p. 434; also, *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

¹³ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

committed to memory, when very small, several chapters of the New Testament.¹⁸

In 1823 this girl moved to Boston where she became a member, January 9, 1824, of the Old South Church, then enjoying the ministry of Dr. B. B. Wisner.¹⁹ Feeling a particular joy in the work of the church, she was active in the cause of missions, Sunday Schools, temperance, circulation of the Bible and religious tracts, and became especially interested in foreign missions to the extent that, at one time, she was recommended and solicited to join in a projected mission to Palestine and Jerusalem.²⁰

It was this girl who influenced Edwards to make his public profession of faith in Christ and eventually to become a member of the Old South Church. Her labors to bring the young man into the fold resulted in a declaration of love by Edwards and, this affection being returned, the two were married by Dr. Wisner, in the Old South Church, September 14, 1826.²¹ At this time Edwards was twenty-four years of age, and his wife twenty-two years of age.

The young couple went to live on Piedmont street,²² where they remained for three years, and Edwards continued his work as a printer. Both Mr. and Mrs. Edwards continued their work in the interests of religion, teaching Sunday School, distributing tracts, and contributing to the support of foreign missions. By the year 1828, the attention of many religiously-minded persons was directed to the frontier states, especially Illinois, where there was a great need for clergymen.²³ During the year 1829, Rev. J. M. Ellis,²⁴ missionary of the American Home Missionary Society, of Jacksonville, Illinois, spoke in Boston, urging the claims of the West upon

¹⁸ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Edwards' name appears in the *Boston Directory* for 1827, as a printer, at 5 Piedmont street; the same in 1828 and 1829 at 7 Piedmont street. His name is not in the *Boston Directory* from 1821-1826, nor in 1830 and after.

²³ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 6; also, Salter: *Sermon*, p. 12.

²⁴ Rev. John M. Ellis, native of New Hampshire; missionary at Kaskaskia and St. Genevieve. Cf. *Home Missionary*, Vol. III, pp. 14-15; also, Salter: *Sermon*, p. 12, and Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 6.

pious laymen.²⁵ "Ten men," said Mr. Ellis, quoting a sentiment of Benjamin Franklin, "will do more in fixing the habits and forming the character in the first settlement of a country, than a hundred men coming in at a later period."²⁶ He spoke of a desire of his and of other worthy clergymen to form an institution of learning in Jacksonville, and showed the great opportunities which awaited development at the hands of those who would undertake their work with the assistance of the Heavenly Father. The appeals of Mr. Ellis found a response in the hearts of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards.²⁷ The frontier West would give them an opportunity to indulge in mission work and would furthermore open an opportunity for Edwards to become a printer and newspaper editor.

Their decision was made and, in the fall of 1829, when Edwards was twenty-seven years of age and his wife twenty-five, they left the New England of their childhood and youth and set out to establish a newspaper, dedicated to Christian ideals, at Jacksonville.

In the fall of 1829²⁸ they left Boston and proceeded to New York City where they enjoyed the hospitality of David Hale, the editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce*.²⁹ From that city they set out for the frontier life of Illinois which was to result in experiences entirely foreign to their previous environment and in travails and disappointments which were to pursue them until the end of their days.

Although little is known of the first installment of their voyage, the journey from New York to Saint Louis, it is

²⁵ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 6.

²⁶ *Home Missionary*, Vol. III, pp. 14-15. Cited in Salter: *Sermon*, p. 21.

²⁷ *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

²⁸ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 6. The exact date of their leaving Boston is now unknown.

²⁹ *Ibid.* David Hale, journalist, was born at Lisbon, Conn., April 25, 1791; was educated at his father's classical school in Lisbon; at the age of fifteen was employed and later engaged in the dry-goods business in Boston. After teaching school in Connecticut, he assisted his uncle, Nathan Hale, in the *Boston Advertiser* office. He contributed to the *Boston Recorder* and had editorial charge of its foreign and domestic news and political affairs. When Arthur Tappan established the *New York Journal of Commerce* in 1827, Mr. Hale took charge of the business department. Later he became joint proprietor with Gerald Hallock. His career as an editor was an exciting one, centering, in the main, about the activities of the news-boat, *The Journal*. This boat brought the first news of the French Revolution to America and Mr. Hale read the dispatch from the steps of the Exchange. He was married in 1821 to his cousin, Laura Hale, who died in 1824; and in 1825 to Lucy S. Turner, of Boston. He died in Fredericksburg, Va., January 25, 1849.

recorded that they went by way of the Ohio river,³⁰ then one of the most popular routes to the West.³¹ In the middle of November, they arrived in the busy frontier city of Saint Louis, Missouri, and there they were fortunate in falling in with Rev. Julian M. Sturtevant³² and his wife, who were on their way to Jacksonville to assist in the founding of a college.³³ Rev. Theron Baldwin³⁴ composed the third member of the Sturtevant party just as Mrs. Edwards' sister, Mrs. Kimball Prince, was the third member of the Edwards party. The distance from the Illinois river to Jacksonville was about twenty miles³⁵ and it was finally decided by both parties that Mr. Sturtevant with his wife and the two ladies in the Edwards party should make the trip in a hired hack, and that Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Edwards should remain in Saint Louis until Mr. Baldwin could purchase a horse and wagon.³⁶

About the tenth of November, on a Tuesday morning,³⁷ the advance party started for Jacksonville, and that evening stopped for the night at "Widow Gillam's, a most comfortable place on the left bank of the Mississippi, directly opposite the mouth of the Missouri."³⁸ The second morning Mr. Sturtevant's party made an early start and took breakfast

³⁰ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*.

³¹ Although details of the trip between New York City and the place of embark-ing on the Ohio river are lacking, it seems safe to say that the Edwards party (Cf. Pooley: *Settlement of Illinois from 1830-1850*, p. 353) proceeded from New York City to Philadelphia or Baltimore "and westward by stage, canal and railway to a point upon the Ohio river, generally Pittsburg or Wheeling."

³² Born July 26, 1805, Warren, Litchfield County, Connecticut; attended public schools; moved west to Richfield, Summit County, Ohio, 1816; attended Yale University; graduated from Yale Divinity School and ordained in the Presbyterian Church August 28, 1829; came to Jacksonville in November, 1829; president of Jacksonville College; died May 1, 1873.

³³ Jacksonville College, founded 1830.

³⁴ Cf. Stokes: *Eminent Yale Men*, Vol. I, pp. 290-291; *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, 1901, pp. 157-158; and *Yale University, Class of 1827*, "History," by Ralph D. Smith (unpublished manuscript in Yale University Library) contains an article on Theron Baldwin.

³⁵ Sturtevant: *An Autobiography*, p. 150: "It was no easy matter to accomplish the little remnant of our journey. Jacksonville is only about twenty miles from the Illinois river, but as yet that stream was navigated only by an occasional steamboat and it was not probable that another would make the voyage before spring. There was no stage line, the weekly mail being carried on horseback. The only feasible plan was expensive. We must hire a team and driver to accompany us. That problem was made comparatively easy by an unexpected meeting with Mr. James G. Edwards, a gentleman from Boston who was on his way to Jacksonville with his wife and her sister for the purpose of establishing a newspaper."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³⁷ *Ibid.* "On Tuesday of the week after our arrival in St. Louis, I crossed the Mississippi. . . ."

³⁸ Sturtevant: p. 151.

on the site of the present Upper Alton.³⁹ The night of this second day was spent at Hickory Grove where the present city of Jerseyville stands and the little band was quartered at the home of Squire Pickett's, a log house.⁴⁰ Another early start was made on the morning of the third day and the group took breakfast at Carrollton.⁴¹ That evening, after dark, the horses suddenly plunged the carriage into a mud hole and the best efforts of the driver and Mr. Sturtevant were unable to extricate it.⁴² Fearing that the vehicle would remain there until morning, the driver found, a short distance away, a most primitive style of log cabin which contained but a single room, furnished in the most elementary style of frontier furniture. The travelers were welcomed and offered food.⁴³

Although the hostess lacked bread, milk, meat, coffee, tea and flour, a chicken was pulled from its roost in the chimney corner and its neck wrung.⁴⁴ Mrs. Edwards, "with that rare tact which is a fine substitute for experience,"⁴⁵ offered to get the supper. She dressed the chicken and "in one cooking dish prepared first the chicken, then the corn bread, then the sage tea."⁴⁶ After this simple supper was eaten, the group prepared for bed and Mrs. Edwards, fearful of wolves, asked that the door be securely fastened. This was accomplished by rolling a large pumpkin against it.⁴⁷

At daylight the carriage had been freed from the mud, and the party was on its way to Jacksonville where it arrived in time for breakfast at the home of Mr. Ellis.⁴⁸ After breakfast and family worship were over it was time for church, and Mr. Ellis conducted the Sturtevants and Edwardses to the little building which was used as the First Presbyterian Church of Morgan County.⁴⁹

³⁹ Sturtevant: p. 152.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Sturtevant: p. 155.

Jacksonville, on that Sunday morning, November 15, 1829, was then only a village of four years growth which had sprung from the naked prairie. The village of a little over 600 in population was composed, in the main, of small houses and log cabins.⁵⁰ In this village the Edwardses were to spend seven disappointing years.

Mr. Edwards, with Mr. Baldwin, arrived in the early part of the next week⁵¹ and set out to find a place to live. As his press had been frozen up on the journey, he could not hope to begin publication of the newspaper which he had planned.⁵² The winter passed swiftly enough and offered plenty of opportunity for the Edwardses to engage in church labors.

In the early spring, January 24, 1830, the first number of the *Western Observer*, a newspaper dedicated to news, temperance, and religion, came from Edwards' shop.⁵³ As he was the first printer⁵⁴ to open a shop in Jacksonville, he found that, with the assistance of his wife and her sister,⁵⁵ he had sufficient business to keep him at the press. Before the publication of the fifth issue of the *Western Observer*, Edwards' compositor quit work because he had been given an article on intemperance to put into type.⁵⁶ Despite these difficulties, the

⁵⁰ Sturtevant: p. 157; Cf. Salter: *Sermon*, p. 13; Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 7; This Journal, Vol. XVIII (Jacksonville Centennial Number) *in toto*; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 11, 1899.

⁵¹ The exact date of Edwards' arrival is uncertain, but it was not November 15, 1829, that being the date of Mrs. Edwards' arrival in Jacksonville.

⁵² Salter: *Sermon*, p. 12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13. "This paper, while it gave the news of the day, was largely devoted to the cause of religion, and of Education, Sabbath Schools, Temperance, missions and other benevolent enterprises."

⁵⁴ Although Eames (*Historic Morgan and Classic Jacksonville*, p. 198) indicates that the *Western Observer* was the second newspaper published in Jacksonville, he is incorrect. Captain John Henry's account of the first printers and book-binders in Morgan County (This Journal, Vol. XVIII, p. 42) is also incorrect. James G. Edwards, according to Mr. Sturtevant (Cf. Eames, p. 261) "was a printer by trade and came to Jacksonville purely to establish a paper. Capt. John Henry must be mistaken as to there having been a printing press or paper in Jacksonville previous to Mr. Edwards." Cf. also, This Journal, Vol. XXIII, pp. 175-176.

⁵⁵ Edwards mentions the assistance of Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Prince in *Western Observer*, May 22, 1830; Cf. also, Salter: *Sermon*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ Some conception of the difficulty involved in publishing a newspaper on the frontier may be gleaned from the following editorial, *Western Observer*, May 22, 1830, which tells, among other complaints, of the journeyman printer quitting work: "It was our intention when we commenced the publication of this paper to present to our readers a summary view of all the most important transactions which might occur throughout our country and the world, so far as the means in our possession would permit them to be brought within our observation. But we have been disappointed. None but our editorial brethren can fully appreciate the perplexities incident to an establishment of this character in the Western country. Although we have had many assurances that this paper has been well received, and is spoken

paper appeared each week and contained a wide variety of news and feature material.⁵⁷

But the sentiment of the majority of Jacksonville citizens seemed antagonistic to the type of newspaper that Edwards was publishing and on December 20, 1831, when the *Western Observer* became the *Illinois Patriot*,⁵⁸ he experienced the first of a series of sharp disappointments which were to continue throughout his life. The new enterprise was devoted to the interests of the Whig party and the majority of its news was more political than religious. At one time Edwards' enthusiasm for the Whig cause led to a law suit⁵⁹ which necessi-

of with approbation, yet if there is, or if we anticipate any disappointments on the part of our patrons, respecting the promises we have made to render this an interesting vehicle of intelligence, it is a duty we owe to them and ourselves to make known our situation, and throw ourselves on their liberality, believing that a frank avowal of the causes of our failure in this particular, will create in the minds of our readers more charitable feelings toward us, than silence or subterfuge could possibly do. To express our opinion on passing events in such manner as will answer the purposes for which this paper was established requires time. To make out an interesting summary, requires time; in short, to make this a valuable Journal, nothing appears to be wanting but Time. This one thing needful is not at our disposal; for were it not for our labors at the mechanical part of the business we might express our opinions in writing, but they would become musty manuscripts and remain forever unprinted. The only person we had to assist, was one who called himself a journeyman printer; we tugged on in sweet harmony, till last week, when he, without previous notice, left us solitary and alone. We can assign no reason for his sudden departure, unless he was offended because all the articles decrying Intemperance were given him to put in type. But matrimony brings to us unlooked for blessings and advantages! By the assistance of our better half and sister, who, by the by, are Illinois made printers, we have managed to present our subscribers with their papers at the usual time. All the time we have had to write the few articles which have appeared under our editorial head, was stolen from our pillow, and the circumstances and hurried manner in which they have been written induce us to ask the indulgence of all who feel inclined to criticize. If our patronage warranted it, we would send where, by promising permanent situations, we might bring into Jacksonville as many good sober Printers, as there are students in the College. That we may be warranted in engaging sufficient assistance, we ask all, who feel interested in the success of our undertaking, to make some exertions to procure subscribers for the *Western Observer*, the improvement of which depends on an addition to its list."

⁵⁷ This Journal, Vol. XXIII, pp. 176-180.

⁵⁸ James: *Bibliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois Prior to 1860*, p. 39. "Illinois Patriot, 1831—: It was a Whig paper edited by James G. Edwards who later founded the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*. The Patriot was published weekly. Mr. Edwards was succeeded by Governor Duncan. In 1833, Josiah M. Lucas became its owner and he changed it to *The Illinoisan*—1843." Cf. also, Scott: *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*.

⁵⁹ In the fall of 1834, William L. May, candidate for Congress, sued James G. Edwards, in the Circuit Court of Morgan County, for \$5,000.00 damages, trespass on the case. No declaration was filed prior to issuing of summons. On October 16, 1834, Edwards by Murray McConnel, his attorney, asked that declaration be filed. Declaration was filed November 23, 1834. It consists of eleven closely written pages and recites that Edwards published a statement that W. L. May was indicted by a grand jury at Edwardsville, Illinois, while a resident there, for a most flagrant act of burglary and that he published, during the early summer of 1834, other malicious and libelous articles. The court record shows that, on April 1, 1835, defendant was called and defaulted, that judgment was rendered against him for damages and costs whereupon the plaintiff released damages. Stephen T. Logan, Springfield, Illinois, signed the declaration as attorney and J. J. Lamborn appeared for plaintiff on April 1, 1835.

tated Edwards leaving Jacksonville for a time and returning to the east.⁶⁰

Previous to 1834, however, when Edwards had his trouble with May, his publishing enterprises were not altogether successful. He records⁶¹ that the *Illinois Patriot* was not appearing regularly and asks for additional cooperation from Jacksonville citizens, just as he had done for the *Western Observer*. Apparently, Edwards stepped aside as editor for a time and Joseph Duncan⁶² edited the paper.⁶³ By the early spring of 1838, Edwards had become convinced that this second publishing venture in Jacksonville was a failure and disposed of the *Illinois Patriot* to Josiah M. Lucas.⁶⁴

During the entire time that Edwards had been in Jacksonville, he preserved an intense interest in the Presbyterian Church and all of its activities. In 1836, he had established a Sabbath School at Beardstown, twenty-five miles from Jacksonville, and taught there regularly each Sunday.⁶⁵ When a meeting was called to organize the Jacksonville Tract Society, auxiliary to the Missouri and Illinois Tract Society, Edwards was named clerk and treasurer.⁶⁶ He was also corresponding secretary of the Bible Society,⁶⁷ and treasurer of

May was elected to the Legislature from Morgan County in 1828; later he removed to Springfield. When Joseph Duncan, congressman from this district, ran for governor in 1834, May began a campaign to succeed Duncan in Congress. After Duncan was elected governor, he resigned as congressman and May was elected to fill the vacancy, October 27, 1834.

⁶⁰ *Illinois Patriot*, July 12, 1834.

⁶¹ *Illinois Patriot*, November 2, 1833: "We owe an apology to our subscribers for the irregular publication of the Patriot for the last two or three weeks;—it has been owing to indisposition in our family and want of assistance in the Printing Office. It will be our future endeavor to prevent the repetition of such an apology. We hope soon, to make up to the general reader all the loss he may sustain by our permitting so large a portion of this paper to be occupied in advertising the land sales. We hope ere long to make such improvements in the character and appearance of the Patriot, as will meet the wants, and ensure for it the continued support of this rising community. Since the commencement of our editorial career in this town, we have met with many discouragements and been obliged to overcome many obstacles. We began when Jacksonville contained a mere handful of inhabitants, and when the population throughout the country was extremely sparse—we have grown with its growth and hope to strengthen with its strength—and we cannot but flatter ourselves that the course we have taken and the efforts we have made to promote the prosperity of the people—if persevered in—will be fully appreciated and that the means will soon be furnished by our subscribers, to enable us to make the Patriot where it ought to be—an honor to the State."

⁶² Cf. footnote 59.

⁶³ James: p. 39.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 26.

⁶⁶ *Western Observer*, June 12, 1830. This Journal, Vol. XII, pp. 149-217.

⁶⁷ *Western Observer*, July 3, 1830. This issue also contains an interesting editorial of Edwards' on temperance.

the Illinois Branch of the American Education Society.⁶⁸ Edwards also seconded the motion to adopt the constitution at the organization of the Colonization Society.⁶⁹ He was, in addition to all these activities, interested in the State Sunday School Union.⁷⁰ The First Presbyterian Church of Morgan County claimed much of his attention, moral and financial, and he and Mrs. Edwards were among its early members.⁷¹ During the year 1831, Edwards was one of the elders of this church.⁷² In that year he donated twelve dollars,⁷³ and in the previous year ten dollars.⁷⁴

It was during the latter part of his residence in Jacksonville, that Edwards made the acquaintance and friendship of James M. Broadwell,⁷⁵ who was to play an increasingly important role in the Edwards family.⁷⁶ Whether Broadwell made his home with the Edwardses during this early period is uncertain.⁷⁷

It seems to be fairly well established, however, that when Edwards realized his failure with the *Illinois Patriot* and,

⁶⁸ *Western Observer*. March 12, 1831.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* September 11, 1830.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* September 4, 1830.

⁷¹ This Journal, Vol. XVIII, p. 157 et p. 153. On February 27, 1830, James G. Edwards and his wife, Eleanor, were received into the church upon "acquaintance, information, and examination." They were assigned numbers 49 and 50 in the list of names of members in communion. The Session Book of the First Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, containing this information, is lodged in the Presbyterian Historical Society. Cf. also, This Journal, Vol. XXIII, p. 182.

⁷² Prefacing the historical sermon entitled, "Much From Little, 1827-1877. Semi-centennial of First Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, June 30, 1877." A Discourse by L. M. Glover, D.D., Pastor, is a list of the pastors and elders. Among the elders is "James G. Edwards. Installed May 3, 1831."

⁷³ In an article by Ensley Moore, published in the *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, April 26, 1922, is the "Call of the Rev. John M. Ellis." In that Call the congregation (of the First Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, Illinois) promises to pay a certain amount toward the pastor's salary. This call is followed by names of subscribers. Among the names is "J. G. Edwards, \$10." This call is dated 1830. Another subscription list, dated 1831, contains the name "J. G. Edwards, \$12."

⁷⁴ See above for subscription for 1830.

⁷⁵ ———. *The History of Des Moines County*, p. 625. "James M. Broadwell, printer; born in Calhoun Co., Ill., June 27, 1821; lived there and in Morgan Co., Ill., until 1837; then came to Fort Madison, Iowa; came to Burlington in November, 1838; this has been his home ever since." He died (*The Burlington Gazette*, February 24, 1892) on this date, aged 70 years, at the Harris House where he made his home. Was buried from the Congregational Church, Friday afternoon, February 26, at three o'clock.

⁷⁶ July 24, 1845. (Cf. *Burlington Hawk-Eye* of that date) Broadwell became a partner with Edwards; November 16, 1853 (Cf. *The Marriage Book* of Salter) Broadwell married Mrs. Edwards. Cf. also, Salter; *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 10 et Salter: "Obituary of Mrs. Broadwell" in *The Burlington Gazette*, July 14, 1886. Broadwell was never adopted by the Edwards.

⁷⁷ The United States Census returns for Jacksonville, Morgan County, for 1830, p. 177, show only one male, between the ages of twenty and thirty years, and two females, between the ages of twenty and thirty years, to compose the Edwards' household.

at the suggestion of some Whig friends,⁷⁸ left his paper in the hands of Josiah M. Lucas, in the spring of 1838 and moved his family to Fort Madison, Wisconsin Territory, that Broadwell was in the party.⁷⁹

In this city was located the printing establishment of the *Western Adventurer*, a newspaper which had been moved there from Montrose, by Dr. Isaac Galland.⁸⁰ This paper was for sale and, as Edwards had disposed of his equipment and good-will in the Jacksonville enterprise, he purchased Dr. Galland's equipment and, with the assistance of his wife, her sister, and Broadwell, pulled the first issue of the *Fort Madison Patriot* from the press March 24, 1838, "before the admiring eyes of Chief Black Hawk and other Indians who frequently came to the office to inspect the mechanical part of the plant."⁸¹

The first number of this new paper, also dedicated to the Whig cause, is interesting, for here Edwards records his opinion that the bill introduced into Congress by the territorial delegate, George W. Jones, for a division of the Territory of Wisconsin and the creation of a new territory west of the Mississippi river, might become an actuality. In such an event, Edwards wrote, "If a division of the Territory is effected, we propose that Iowans take the cognomen of 'Hawkeyes'; our etymology can thus be more definitely traced than that of the 'Wolverines', 'Suckers', and 'Hoosiers', and we can rescue from oblivion a memento at least of the old chief." The suggestion met with general favor and the people of Iowa from that day became known as *Hawkeyes*.⁸²

It was not until some three months after the publication of the first number of the *Fort Madison Patriot*, that Edwards

⁷⁸ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* July 24, 1845. Edwards says, "We have known him (Broadwell) from his youth up. He has served a faithful apprenticeship of seven years in this office. . . ." This would indicate that Broadwell was associated with Edwards in the Fort Madison venture.

⁸⁰ *Annals of Iowa*. Third Series, Vol. II, pp. 586, 642; *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 114; *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 243, 342, 450, 451, 453, 248, 450; *Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 60, 156, 481, 509, 547, 621, 622, 482; also, Cole: *A History of the People of Iowa*, pp. 127, 108; *et Gue: History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 178.

⁸¹ Univ. Ia. Ext. Bull., No. 175, July 1, 1927, p. 64.

⁸² Gue: Vol. I, p. 178; Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 15. Cole: p. 167. *Annals of Iowa*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 100; *Ibid.*, Third Series, Vol. VIII, p. 122; *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 419.

printed his prospectus. Here he set forth the need for patronage, the general news policy he was to adopt, and his own illuminating interpretation of current political issues.⁸³

The prevalence of law and order in a frontier community, such as Fort Madison, appealed to Edwards and he

⁸³ The prospectus (*Fort Madison Patriot*, June 13, 1838) follows: "Having been solicited to commence the publication of a Newspaper in the town of Fort Madison, we have been induced before entering upon such an understanding to issue this Prospectus, and thus ascertain as nearly as possible the amount of patronage that might be relied upon. The rapid settlement of this portion of Wisconsin—the fruitfulness of its soil—its extensive water privileges—and the enterprising character of its inhabitants, plainly indicate that an establishment of the kind proposed—one that will unfold the resources of the country and vindicate the claims of the People is much wanted. Without such an advocate some of the fairest portions of the Territory may be kept comparatively in the shade. Our aim will be to give from time to time such descriptions of prominent places as their merits really and justly demand. To many of the settlers from Illinois, particularly those who are acquainted with the manner in which we have for several years passed conducted the *Illinois Patriot*, no exposition of our political views need be made; but there are others who may wish for some knowledge of our future political course: We cannot, in this Prospectus—neither will it be expected—state, in detail, all the measures we shall approve or repudiate. Principles, founded on the Constitution of the United States, and as they were understood and first promulgated by its framers, will govern the policy which we shall advocate. These principles are simple and easy to be understood; and it is only when men, for selfish and ambitious ends, strive to bend them to their own views, and cloak their motives by loud professions of patriotism, or substitute other principles of baleful tendency, that these are in danger of being lost sight of by the people. That many good citizens have thus been seduced by the arts of the designing, there can be little doubt. One of our objects will be so to simplify these principles and hold them up before the public, that the faults and sophisticated doctrines so prevalent in this age of our Republic shall appear in all their deformity and degradation. In doing this, we shall often come into collision with men high above us; in the present state of things, this will be inevitable; but we cannot pander to any man's authority—we will not shout hossanah in the train of arbitrary power—no desire of popularity, no fear for personal safety, no expectation of reward shall swerve us from our duty. With such men we shall have no more to do than to scrutinize their acts—to applaud when they do right, and censure when they do otherwise. This shall be done with no other reference to the party to which they may belong, than as their acts may be identified with the leading principles of such party. The above rules, though general, exhibit the principles by which we shall be governed, and are as applicable to Territorial as to National policy—They are likewise so plain as not easily to admit of misconstruction. There are other important topics which will claim our attention during the prosecution of our plan—we can only allude briefly to some of them. Arrangements will be made to secure the earliest intelligence from the Legislature of this Territory. Such Congressional information as may be important to our citizens, shall also receive a place in the columns of the *Patriot*. We shall do all in our power to advance the interests of that large and respectable class of our fellow citizens, on whose exertions mainly depend the prosperity of this rapidly rising Territory—we need not say that we here allude to the Farmers of Wisconsin. We shall also often direct the attention of our readers to the subject of Manufactures—this is a branch of industry which will soon occupy the thoughts and call forth the energies of many enterprising citizens of this Territory. Internal improvement will be another prominent topic to be discussed in our columns. The subject of Education claims, and shall receive our most profound attention. The spirit and genius of our Republic cannot be fully appreciated, unless the people are virtuous and intelligent. Recriant, indeed, shall we be to the future prosperity of Wisconsin and our common country, if we do not often press this duty on the consideration of our fellow citizens and, with heart and soul and mind and strength cooperate with them in the adoption of some system which will secure an education to every child in the Territory. Other subjects, besides those we have enumerated, will claim our notice. We can only say, inasmuch, as free discussion is the privilege of every American, our columns will be open to the dissemination of such principles as will tend to elevate the character of our Territory and Nation, and raise the standard of virtue and intelligence among the people."

speaks of it editorially.⁸⁴ Much of the time he found "business of importance which demands our attention"⁸⁵ and left his shop in the care of Broadwell. Where he went, of course, is a matter of speculation, but, as his interests were with the Whigs and as the Territorial Legislature was then meeting in Burlington, it is rather safe to speculate that he was in that city. This is further borne out by the fact that his paper was always full of political news the week following a business trip.

The creation of the Territory of Iowa⁸⁶ was of supreme importance and interest to the citizens, and Edwards was quick to recognize the worth of news pertaining to it. To his credit goes the first "Extra" to be published in this new Territory. This paper, the *Fort Madison Patriot* of September 2, 1838, carried neither volume number nor issue number. Edwards knew that the publication of the laws of a new Territory was news,⁸⁷ and he set to work to get them on the streets of Fort Madison and Burlington as quickly as possible. In addition to the printing of the laws, the "Extra" told of Congress' act to divide the Territory of Wisconsin and to establish the Territory of Iowa; said that the governor of the Territory of Iowa might advise the judicial districts and assign judges; and recorded that regular sittings would take place at regular intervals.

⁸⁴ *Fort Madison Patriot*, May 9, 1838: "It must be very gratifying to the lovers of order to know that the laws are as much revered in this new country as they are in the old and professedly law-keeping States. With the exception of the necessary infringement occasioned by the peculiar situation of the public lands, we do not know any people that are so willing to acquiesce in the decisions of our courts as these living in this region of the country. We have witnessed many trials and heard the result of others, and are pleased to be able to give voluntary testimony on this subject."

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* May 16, 1838.

⁸⁶ Separate organization of Iowa Territory from Wisconsin Territory began to be agitated in 1837; in November of that year a memorial to this effect was addressed to Congress; such an act was passed June 12, 1838, to take effect July 3, the same year. The new Territory embraced "all that part of the present territory of Wisconsin which lies west of the Mississippi river and west of a line drawn due north from the head water or source of the Mississippi river to the territorial line." Robert Lucas, of Ohio, was appointed governor; William B. Conway, of Pittsburg, secretary; Charles Mason, of Burlington, chief justice; Thomas S. Wilson, of Dubuque, marshal; Augustus C. Dodge, register of land office at Burlington; Thomas McNight, register of the land office at Dubuque. Gov. Lucas proclaimed September 10 for election day for members of the territorial legislature. It assembled in Burlington November 12.

⁸⁷ *Fort Madison Patriot*, September 2, 1838: "In order to secure the publication of the laws as soon as possible, we have been obliged to suspend the regular publication of the Patriot. This Extra is issued to give our Iowa readers such information as will be important and interesting to them, and contains the President's

In addition to his labors as an editor, Edwards had purchased a home⁸⁸ and had, it seems, engaged in local politics to the extent that he was president or mayor of Fort Madison for a time.⁸⁹ When the Presbyterian Church was organized, March 26, 1838, Edwards, his wife and Mrs. Prince were enrolled as members,⁹⁰ and on June 1, 1838, Edwards was installed as one of its elders.⁹¹

During his residence in Fort Madison, Edwards struck up an acquaintance with Chief Black Hawk which continued through the years. On one occasion,⁹² Edwards entertained Black Hawk at dinner and toasted him.⁹³ It will be remembered that the name which Edwards gave the people of Iowa was a "memento of the old chief."⁹⁴ Edwards' faith in the chief and his family extended to Black Hawk's son, Nasheas-kuk, who was accused of slaying Chief Keokuk. Edwards staunchly defended the young Indian⁹⁵ and his faith was later justified when it was found that the boy was innocent.

After the establishment of the Territory of Iowa, the center of political news and of Whig interests naturally centered there. Edwards felt that his opportunities for publishing a paper important to the cause of his party would be greater in Burlington than in Fort Madison. He then determined to move his business and family to the capital of the new territory. On September 21, 1838, he stopped printing

Proclamation in relation to the sales of the Public Lands;—the Proclamation of Gov. Lucas, making the apportionments of Representation for this Territory;—and the Secretary's Proclamation, defining the Judicial Districts and assigning the several Judges attached thereto; together with the other arrangements of general interest."

⁸⁸ *Iowa Patriot*, July 11, 1839: "Fort Madison Property For Sale. Three lots eligibly situated in the flourishing and pleasant town of Fort Madison, for sale. On one there is a substantial two story dwelling house. They may be purchased singly or otherwise at a low rate for cash. Enquire of H. Eno, Esq., or Dr. Walker, Fort Madison, or of the subscriber, Burlington, I. T. Jas. G. Edwards."

⁸⁹ Dr. Salter, in a marginal note, written in his hand, on page 14 of his copy of the *Sermon*, says: "was president of the Town."

⁹⁰ ———. *History of Lee County*, p. 603.

⁹¹ Roberts and Moorhead: *The Story of Lee County*, p. 323.

⁹² July 4, 1838.

⁹³ *Fort Madison Patriot*, July 4, 1838. Mr. Edwards' toast: "Our illustrious guest, Black Hawk—May his declining years be as calm and serene as his past life has been boisterous and full of warlike incidents! His attachment and present friendship to his white brethren fully entitle him to a seat at our festive board." Black Hawk's reply is found printed in this number of the *Patriot* also as well as Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 14, and Salter: *Iowa*, p. 123. Cf. also, Cole, p. 167.

⁹⁴ Cf. footnote 82. This refers to Chief Hawk-Eye, not Black Hawk.

⁹⁵ *Burlington Patriot*, June 27, 1839. Cf. also, *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

the Fort Madison paper and in November he loaded his printing equipment⁹⁶ and his household goods on a river boat and set out for Burlington. He was then in the thirty-sixth year of his life and his wife was in her thirty-fourth.

From September until December, Edwards was busy with the affairs attendant upon his business and in attempting to secure promises of government printing from the territorial government.⁹⁷ On December 13, 1838, he made his first definite attempt to publish a paper when he issued the specimen number of the *Burlington Patriot*.⁹⁸

The prospectus⁹⁹ of Edwards', appearing in the specimen number of the *Burlington Patriot*, was complemented by still another short editorial addressed to the Whigs of the community and asking for their support.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, however, this expected political assistance did not materialize and the *Burlington Patriot* died on the day of its birth, marking the fourth newspaper failure which Edwards had experienced since 1830.

By the middle of summer of the following year, Edwards believed he would be able to begin regular publication of his

⁹⁶ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

⁹⁷ *Burlington Patriot*, June 6, 1839. Here Edwards sets forth his complaints. He has moved from Fort Madison "at great expense with the expectation of obtaining a share of the public patronage, and with assurances that it was the intention of the Legislature to make a division of the work between the two offices in the city. But I was deceived, and many of my friends were also. . . . I found that my most bitter opponent was the foremost in making me believe that I should have a part of the printing." He indicates also that reports have been circulated (Cf. Brigham, p. 134) "prejudicial to his reputation and interests. He challenges his accusers to verify their slanderous accusations. He charges these attacks to democratic fear of the coming ascendancy of the Whig party."

⁹⁸ ———. *History of Des Moines County*, p. 418; Antrobus: Vol. I, p. 435; Salter: *Sermon*, p. 14. "Obituary of Mrs. Eleanor Taylor Broadwell," (*The Burlington Gazette*, July 14, 1886); *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 11, 1899; *Ibid*, March 29, 1925.

⁹⁹ I published this prospectus in full in this Journal, Vol. XXIII, pp. 179-180.

¹⁰⁰ *Burlington Patriot*, December 13, 1838: "We issue the present sheet as a specimen of the Burlington Patriot, with the design of ascertaining whether such a paper will be sustained in this community. It is acceded that a large proportion, and probably a majority of the citizens of this Territory, adhere to the principles advocated by the Whigs throughout the Union. If such be the case, it would appear plausible that so large a body of our fellow-citizens should no longer be destitute of an organ through which their sentiments may be proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the Territory. Hitherto they have had no such organ, excepting the late Fort Madison Patriot, which was discontinued purely for the want of patronage and the obscurity of its location. As the matter now stands—with no other papers in the territory than those which advocate the cause of Mr. Van Buren—it cannot be expected that any other than a partial view should be given of Whig principles and the Whig victories throughout the States. Specimens in illustration of this remark have been seen in this community, in relation to the late glorious victory in New York, which reflects no credit on the authors. Every means have been and will continue to be employed by the emissaries of Mr. Van Buren to dishearten and bring the Whigs into disrepute. . . ."

Burlington publishing venture. So, after a lapse of about six months, the first number of the *Iowa Patriot*, Edwards' fifth newspaper enterprise, appeared on June 6, 1839.¹⁰¹ This paper marks the birth of the present *Burlington Hawk-Eye*.

Edwards was uncertain of subscribers¹⁰² and of continued support¹⁰³ when the *Iowa Patriot* first made its appearance. This newspaper was a twenty-four column sheet, twenty-one by thirty-one inches in size¹⁰⁴ and as neat in design and make-up as had been all of Edwards' printing jobs. Its first page "contained no advertising matter; was given up entirely to miscellaneous selections and set in large, clear type. The second page was also made up of reading matter, but four columns were set in smaller type, and contained editorials and communications. The third page gave nearly one and a half columns of advertisements. . . . The fourth page was given up entirely to reading matter, except the last column, which contained an elaborate argument in favor of Moffat's Life Pills and Phoenix Bitters."¹⁰⁵

The *Iowa Patriot* was published in a two-story frame house which stood at the corner of Washington and Water streets.¹⁰⁶ Here "Mrs. Edwards set type, James M. Broad-

¹⁰¹ This paper seems to have been related in no way with any of Edwards' previous publishing enterprises. The *Western Observer* was dead when Edwards began publication of the *Illinois Patriot*, proclaiming it a new venture and marking the first issue, number one and volume one; when Edwards disposed of the *Illinois Patriot*, by sale, to Lucas, he severed all connection with it; the *Fort Madison Patriot* was not a continuation of Galland's *Western Adventurer*, but was a new venture and the first number of Edwards' *Fort Madison Patriot* was clearly marked number one, volume one; the *Burlington Patriot* was not a continuation of the *Fort Madison Patriot*; and the *Iowa Patriot* was not a continuation of the *Burlington Patriot*, but a new newspaper venture whose first issue was marked number one, volume one.

¹⁰² *Iowa Patriot*, June 6, 1839: "So much time has elapsed between the issuing of our prospectus and the commencement of the regular publication of the Patriot, that we are not certain that those who then subscribed consider themselves now bound to take the paper. By returning it as above directed, we shall understand that they wish their names stricken from the list. We shall endeavor to publish a list of agents next week, to whom payments can be made."

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* "We send the first number of the Patriot to a number of gentlemen whose names we have not yet seen in our subscription paper. If they do not like to become subscribers, they will please put it up in a wrapper after writing their own names upon it and send it to the 'Patriot, Burlington, Iowa Territory,' if it is not thus sent back, we shall consider them subscribers and it will continue to be sent accordingly."

¹⁰⁴ Univ. Ia. Ext. Bull., No. 175, July 1, 1927, p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ *History of Des Moines County*, p. 418.

¹⁰⁶ Edwards' description of Burlington (*Iowa Patriot*, July 15, 1839) follows: "The city is supposed to contain about 1,600 inhabitants, having had 1,200 at the taking of the census in June, 1838. It is the largest town in the Territory except Dubuque, and perhaps exceeds that. It has one large church, well built of bricks, for the Methodists. The private residences, with few exceptions, are at present small, incommensurate and unsuited to the climate; as might be expected in a coun-

well¹⁰⁷ and George Paul,¹⁰⁸ of Iowa City, were the printers, and I believe Mr. Edwards had a brother,¹⁰⁹ a printer, and I think the pressman was an Irishman named Williamson."¹¹⁰

When Edwards began the publication of his Whig paper, housed on the corner of Washington and Water streets, he was brought face to face with an opponent which had established itself July 10, 1837, under the name of the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, a newspaper edited by James Clarke, practical printer and former reporter on the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Reporter*.¹¹¹ Before coming to Burlington, Clarke had been associated with a partner, Russell, at Belmont, Territory of Wisconsin, where the two had edited and published a weekly newspaper, the *Belmont Gazette*.¹¹² When the seat of government of the Territory of Wisconsin was moved to Burlington, Clarke moved his plant to Burlington and began the publication of the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser* and also opened a job printing office.¹¹³ In the fall of 1839 or early in the following spring, Clarke sold John H. McKenny an interest in his paper.¹¹⁴ Clarke and McKenny, then, were Edwards' political opponents and his business rivals.

try acquired but six years from the Indians, and among a people accustomed to live in denial of the luxuries and conveniences afforded by well built buildings. Burlington is a town of much business, being the port of Des Moines, Henry, Jefferson, and part of Van Buren counties, comprehending a population of nearly 15,000. It has three large brick stores of three stories each, one other small brick store, four dwellings of the same material, and some dozens or more other stores and shops. It has also two weekly newspapers."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. footnotes 76 et 77.

¹⁰⁸ *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. II, p. 100. George Paul, a printer in Iowa City in 1833, was working for Edwards when he printed the *Fort Madison Patriot*, came to Burlington with him, and later edited a democratic newspaper at Iowa City while that place was the capital of the State. Subsequently he became a farmer in Johnson County, later was elected to the General Assembly and has held other important positions of trust.

¹⁰⁹ George B. Edwards (Cf. footnote 11) appears to be the only living relative. It is possible that he came west in 1839 as the *Boston Directory* does not list him for the years when he is supposed to be in the Territory of Iowa. However, he is a resident of South Boston in 1851 and so his years, if any, spent in the west must have been few. Edwards mentions him in his last will and testament.

¹¹⁰ Quoted passage is from the personal memoirs of William Garrett, early Burlington resident, as quoted in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, January 21, 1918, and *Ibid*, June 11, 1899.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*. History of Des Moines County, p. 413.

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ *Ibid*. Reason for this removal may be found in the following: "Messrs. Clarke and Russell, publishers of the Belmont Gazette, printers to said Territory for the first Legislative Assembly, and ordered that all printing necessary for said Territory and Legislative Assembly be done by them, and that they be allowed such compensation for said printing as is allowed the printers to Congress."

¹¹⁴ Univ. Ia. Ext. Bull., No. 175, July 1, 1927, p. 34.

By the first of July, 1839, the battle was on between the editor of the *Iowa Patriot* and the editors of the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*. By August, feeling was running high,¹¹⁵ and by the middle of September, "double-distilled venom,"¹¹⁶ was being exchanged politically.

But gentler news found its way into the columns of Edwards' paper. Mr. Timothy Turner, "the great apostle of temperance," would deliver an address on the subject of temperance at the Methodist Meeting House at early candle lighting;¹¹⁷ that, for the first time "our city was visited by one of Mills' comfortable coaches drawn by a team of four handsome Greys";¹¹⁸ that this stage was a most pleasant way of traveling to the East; that the fourth of July was celebrated in an agreeable manner and that the dinner "at the Burlington House was well served up and passed off very harmoniously."¹¹⁹ An interesting commentary upon the difficulty attendant upon reporting early subjects is found in this statement: "We have made an effort to obtain a copy of the oration for the press, but record that it has thus far been out of our power:—Mr. G. (rimes), not being able, without neglecting every duty, to write it up and put it in a suitable shape for publication"; that Burlington residences had received no instructions from the General Land Office at Washington,¹²⁰ and that a number of workmen were employed on the lower rapids of the Mississippi river, to remove natural obstacles to river navigation.¹²¹

On the morning of August 29, a company of United States troopers passed Burlington on the steamer *Pike* which was headed for the Falls of Saint Anthony.¹²² Post roads in Iowa received much column space, for, the establishment of good roads by the Postmaster General, meant that mail could come to the settlers from the cultured East with rapidity. The

¹¹⁵ *Iowa Patriot*, August 22, 1839.

¹¹⁶ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, September 12, 1839.

¹¹⁷ *Iowa Patriot*, July 11, 1839.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* August 8, 1839.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

Postmaster General was willing to pay a carrier eight dollars a mile for delivering mail. Evidently eight dollars was considered much too low a price for mail delivery, for Edwards editorialized upon the high price of feed and horses, and said that "everything else pertaining to horse keeping is higher here than in Illinois," and laments that "Iowa seems to be anything but a favorite child to Headquarters."¹²³

Settlers were beginning to crowd into the Territory of Iowa and effort was being made to entertain these wanderers and capture their trade. Ferries across the Mississippi were advertised,¹²⁴ and a few townships were offered for sale in the fall of 1839.¹²⁵irate citizens were penning letters to Edwards, complaining that the city streets of Burlington were not kept in good repair,¹²⁶ and Burlington was "greatly enlivened" by seeing the performance of a "new staunch, fast sailing and tidy" river ferry.¹²⁷

One of the news stories which Edwards felt to be of supreme interest and importance announced that the name of the *Iowa Patriot* had received an addition and that, in the future, the Whig organ would be known as the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*.¹²⁸ The change appeared in Edwards' paper of September 5, 1839. On October 17, 1839, Edwards felt that his increasing patronage warranted an increase in the size of his paper and, on that day, the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot* was enlarged from twenty-one by thirty-one inches to twenty-two and a half by thirty-four inches.

Although Edwards did not receive the share of territorial printing which he felt was his due, he nevertheless printed the revenue laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1837-1838.¹²⁹ In 1839 he was ordered by the territorial government of Iowa to print the *Catalogue of the Iowa Territorial Li-*

¹²³ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, September 12, 1839.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* October 3, 1839.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* October 10, 1839.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* October 31, 1839.

¹²⁸ "The present number of our paper comes out under an additional and we hope an acceptable name. The responsibility of its christening rests solely upon ourselves. . . ."

¹²⁹ *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. V, footnote, p. 358. (Cf. also, Theodore Lee Cole's, "A Rare Wisconsin Book," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. XII, pp. 333-339.)

brary.¹³⁰ In this same year he published in pamphlet form the laws in relation to justices of the peace.¹³¹ In the year 1840 the territorial government ordered him to print the *Journal of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa*,¹³² and the *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Second Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa*.¹³³ In the year 1844 he published the *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Sixth General Assembly of the Territory of Iowa*.¹³⁴ This appears to be all of the public printing which was granted Edwards under the two territorial governments. No printing was given him under the state government.

Business, however, did not demand all of Edwards' time and he found opportunity to continue his interests in temperance societies and the church. At the first meeting of The Iowa Territorial Temperance Society, held at the state capitol, Edwards was elected a member of the executive committee.¹³⁵ In the year 1838, when the Rev. James A. Clark¹³⁶ organized the Congregational Church of Burlington in a schoolhouse, Edwards and his wife were charter members.¹³⁷ When this church was reorganized, December 28, 1843, both Mr. and Mrs. Edwards were present at the meeting. On January 14, 1844, Edwards was chosen one of the first deacons of the reorganized church,¹³⁸ and his name is mentioned

¹³⁰ *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. X, pp. 492 et 504; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. V, p. 257.

¹³¹ *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. V, p. 261: "Resolved, That James G. Edwards be allowed the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars for publishing in pamphlet form at the last session of the legislature the laws in relation to justices of the peace and constables.—H. J. 2:99; December 9, 1839. Referred to committee on expenditures"; Shambaugh: *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, p. 304: "January 7, 1840. Resolution relative to compensation to J. G. Edwards for printing in Pamphlet form the Act presenting the duties of Justices of the Peace. Approved."

¹³² *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. V, p. 237.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, November 21, 1839. The constitution of the society, article 12, read: "We, the undersigned, do agree that we will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, nor traffic in them; that we will not provide them as an article of entertainment for persons in our employment, and that we will discountenance their use throughout the community."

¹³⁶ ———. *History of Des Moines County*, p. 556.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

in the Act of Incorporation.¹³⁹ The Edwardses both signed the constitution when it was adopted December 28, 1843.¹⁴⁰

The year 1840 proved exciting to the editor of the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot* for several reasons. Nationally, it was election year and territorially the times were crowded with events of interest. The week of February 27, brought words of praise for the popularity of the new territory from Edwards.¹⁴¹ By the beginning of March, the Whig paper carried stories of lynching, robbing and gambling in the territory. Four young men appeared before justices on robbery charges; several keepers of gambling and disorderly houses were found and made to forfeit their licenses; an alleged counterfeiter was arrested; and a gentleman was arrested and convicted on a charge of stealing bacon.¹⁴²

By April Edwards speaks with pride of the new and extensive buildings being erected and gives credit to the "industrious and enterprising mechanics" of Burlington.¹⁴³ A "substantial and handsome jail on the public square" is being planned by the county commissioners,¹⁴⁴ and the steamer, *Ione*, bringing a package of foreign newspapers to Edwards, is commended by him as a splendid boat for "all those who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity to visit the falls."¹⁴⁵ During the latter part of May, the mayor and aldermen of the city were debating whether they should revoke the license "paid by the proprietor for the exhibition of the painting of Adam and Eve."¹⁴⁶ A long petition, signed by Burlington citizens, settled the matter and the exhibition did not take place.

¹³⁹ *History of Des Moines County*, p. 557.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, February 27, 1840: "It is truly gratifying to learn the feeling that exists abroad in relation to our infant Territory. Everywhere it is spoken of in terms of the highest commendation.—Thousands of immigrants may be expected from different States, who intend to make Iowa their home, during the coming season. The appropriate conduct of Iowa in regard to its difficulty with Missouri, and its wise action on many important points of legislation during the late session, have contributed in no small degree to confirm the good opinion already entertained in its behalf."

¹⁴² *Ibid.* March 19, 1840.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* April 23, 1840.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* April 30, 1840.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* May 7, 1840.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* May 28, 1840.

The first book reviews to appear in Edwards' paper were published during June and July. The first was an analysis of "a description of the United States Lands in Iowa; being a minute description of every section, quality of soil, groves of timber, prairies, ledges of rock, coal banks, iron and lead ores, waterfalls, millseats, etc., etc., With an Appendix. By Jesse Williams."¹⁴⁷ The second was a brief notice of Todd and Drake's, *Life of Harrison*.¹⁴⁸

During October Edwards ran the first banner line in the history of any of his papers. Spreading across the entire sheet on page three, was spread the news that Maine had gone for Harrison.¹⁴⁹ During October Edwards also recorded the information that "little interest seems to have been felt on the subject of state government at the late election. A comparatively small number of votes were cast in reference to it, and these generally against it. It is fully evident that at this time the people of this Territory feel no solicitude to come into the Union as a State."¹⁵⁰

The results of the territorial elections were most displeasing to Edwards who, though realizing that the Whigs had been defeated, yet was unwilling to admit that Locofoco principles were dominant in the Territory. Augustus Caesar Dodge,¹⁵¹ Locofoco candidate, had been elected October 5, 1840, much to Edwards' disgust. He sought to explain Dodge's victory by writing, "Hundreds and hundreds of Whigs voted for General Dodge on account of personal and local considerations."¹⁵²

About ten days after the election of General Dodge, Edwards chanced to meet him while waiting for a belated mail. The interview was not pleasant and Edwards reported

¹⁴⁷ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, June 18, 1840.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* July 23, 1840.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* October 1, 1840. This was the banner line: "Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hurrah!!! Maine has gone for Harrison!! 1000 guns for that!" The news story is self-explanatory: "We stop the press to announce the glorious result of the Maine election. By a gentleman, Col. Henry, who arrived last evening from St. Louis, we learn that the Whigs have selected Gov. Kent, the Harrison candidate; and that both the Senate and House have Whig majorities! Mr. H. says that this news can be fully depended upon. Boys, do you hear that? What will Matty do?"

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* October 24, 1840.

¹⁵¹ Pelzer: *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

that General Dodge approached him, saying, "You are a—— eternal calumniator, a scoundrel, a coward, and a —— rascal, and if you speak to me again, I shall be under the necessity of putting you under my feet, sir."¹⁵³ Edwards, a man of "comparatively diminutive proportions,"¹⁵⁴ thought it best not to accept the challenge of General Dodge and therefore no blood flowed.

But if Edwards was abused by rival politicians, the Whigs apparently knew his worth and rewarded him, when they came together in convention in January, 1841, with encouraging resolutions.¹⁵⁵ By that time Edwards apparently had forgotten his trouble with General Dodge, for he printed a neat testimony to Dodge's worth at the time of his removal.¹⁵⁶

During May, 1841, Governor John Chambers arrived in Burlington¹⁵⁷ and was escorted to the National House "leaning on the arm of Colonel Bennett, while Editor Edwards brought up the rear with a small troop of the gov's negroes."¹⁵⁸

Edwards was active in national politics during the years 1840 and 1841, as well as in local squabbles, and when the organization of the famous Whig Tippecanoe clubs, with emblems of a coon, a log cabin, and a barrel of hard cider, became one of the main features of the extensive political machinery for controlling a great number of votes, Edwards,

¹⁵³ Brigham: p. 163.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164. Also, *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, October 15, 1840.

¹⁵⁵ "Whereas, as James G. Edwards, Esq., has for the past two years been engaged in conducting a Whig press in the Territory, in a manner worthy of his party and with a dignity becoming the public press, under circumstances which required a high degree of moral courage and a sacrifice of pecuniary means. Resolved, therefore, That in the opinion of this convention James G. Edwards, Esq., merits the thanks of the Democratic Whigs of the Territory." As quoted in *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, January 21, 1841.

¹⁵⁶ *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, March 11, 1841: "Governor Dodge: As far as we are personally concerned, we shall be sorry to see this gentleman removed. In his appointments, he seems to us to have been impartial, and we believe he is highly esteemed by a large portion of the people of Wisconsin. Our acquaintance and personal regard for him have led us to make the foregoing remarks."

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1841. "Governor Chambers arrived last evening, about six o'clock after our paper was ready for press. He was welcomed on the part of the citizens and committee by James W. Grimes, Esq., in a very appropriate address. Governor Chambers replied in a happy manner, and was then escorted to the National by a large crowd, where he will be happy to meet his fellow citizens today."

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* May 20, 1841.

January, 1841, became a member of the local club and was named a member of the vigilance committee from the third ward.¹⁵⁹

During the year 1843 occurred two events of great importance in the life of Edwards. His paper may have been suspended for a few months and he met Rev. William Salter, the beginning of an acquaintanceship which was to endure until the end of Edwards' life. Dr. Salter¹⁶⁰ was arriving, October 24, 1843, with a company of missionaries who were sent to Iowa by the American Home Missionary Society to take up his work in the new territory. Although some of his company crossed the river on the night of October 23,¹⁶¹ Dr. Salter did not meet Edwards until the following morning.¹⁶²

The probable suspension of the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot* may have taken place in the early part of the year, but lack of a complete file of the paper prevents any positive

¹⁵⁹ *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. V, p. 55.

¹⁶⁰ William Salter, born New York City, November 17, 1821; was graduated from the University of New York at age of nineteen; in 1841 and 1842 attended Union Theological Seminary; was graduated from Andover in theology, 1843; appointed missionary to Iowa territory under the American Home Missionary Society, 1843; preached two years in Maquoketa, I. T.; 1846 called to pastorate of Congregational Church, Burlington; married August 25, 1846, to Mary Ann Macintire, of Charlestown, Mass.; installed 1846 by an ecclesiastical council; 1864 the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Iowa; died at Burlington, August 15, 1910.

¹⁶¹ Reminiscence of Rev. Harvey Adams, cited in Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 9. "Those of us who came without wives reached the east bank of the Mississippi, opposite Burlington, October 23, 1843, after sunset. We came from Chicago, 218 miles, in two two-horse wagons. When we arrived at the river, the steam ferry had just left for the last trip that night. The ferrymen were deaf to our calls. The only cover on the east side was a cabin, roofed, partly floored, wanting windows or doors. The owner had a dug-out or log-canoe, in which he offered to take five of us over the river safely, provided we would 'sit down on the bottom and sit still.' Accordingly, we embarked and were safely landed on the Iowa soil that night, after dark. The other brethren, with the teamsters, occupied the cabin, sleeping in buffalo robes, after partaking of the supper we sent them from Iowa. We five sought the residence of Mr. Edwards, then editor of the *Hawk-Eye*. We all there enjoyed genuine hospitality. At family worship that night, Mrs. Edwards read the 531st hymn from the Village Hymns, commencing, Brethren, beloved for Jesus' sake, A hearty welcome here received. It was sung amid many tears. Such was our introduction to Iowa."

¹⁶² Dr. Salter's Diary (unpublished manuscript in the possession of George B. Salter, Burlington), pp. 3-4: "I came to this territory Tuesday morning, October 24, 1843. In Burlington enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. James G. Edwards and wife. She was a native of Portsmouth, N. H., formerly resident in Boston. Dr. Wisner considered him one of the most efficient members in his church. She is a smart housekeeper, given to hospitality, much interested in the church, of quick perception, close observation, large intelligence, and just benevolence." Cf. also, "Dr. William Salter," by Rev. James L. Hill, in *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, pp. 580-581; *et Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. VII, p. 592; *et Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, p. 291; *et* Salter: *Sixty Years*, p. 261. Also, *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, November 17, 1901.

statements.¹⁶³ However, before this suspension occurred, the name of the paper had been altered, for, on June 1, 1843, Edwards dropped the name *Patriot* and the paper was known as the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*. A further change was made December 21, 1843, when Edwards altered the size of the page to twenty-one and a half inches by thirty inches.

During the year 1844 Edwards and his wife attended the Nashville Convention and went to the Hermitage where they called upon Andrew Jackson, and, en route, met their old friend, Hon. Stephen A. Douglas whom they had known in Jacksonville.¹⁶⁴ After their return to Burlington, Edwards associated himself with Fritz Henry Warren, December 5, 1844, as a partner in the Hawk-Eye firm.¹⁶⁵

Warren, however, did not stay with Edwards long and, in the summer of 1845, another change appeared in the firm's personnel. On July 24, 1845, notice appeared in the *Hawk-Eye* that James M. Broadwell had purchased an interest in the office and would be known as the junior editor.¹⁶⁶ Broad-

¹⁶³ ———. *History of Des Moines County*, p. 419: "The files are not perfected and we are obliged to speculate a little as to that matter. The volume which follows in order, after the foregoing enlargement begins with a small sheet, 18 by 24 inches in size, which is dated November 30, 1843, and is numbered 17 of Vol. 5, but is also No. 27, New Series. From this the inference is drawn that the paper was suspended for a brief period and was then begun again on a reduced scale, about the first of June. The numbering shows that the paper must have been suspended twelve weeks; for, since it was established June 6, 1839, Vol. 5, No. 17, would have taken it to the fifth of September, 1843. The date of Vol. 5, Number 17, is, however, given as November 30, or twelve weeks later than the regular time. It is also shown that the issue of November 30, or No. 27 of a "new series," which places the issuance of that revival at June 1, 1843. Hence, we conclude that, prior to June 1, the paper was suspended for three months."

¹⁶⁴ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁵ ———. *History of Des Moines County*, p. 419; also, Antrobus, p. 435. *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, March 29, 1925.

¹⁶⁶ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, July 24, 1845: "By the above announcement it will be seen that we have entered into a co-partnership with Mr. Broadwell.—We have known him from his youth up. He has served a faithful apprenticeship of seven years in this office, and is fully competent to discharge all the duties that will devolve on him as sharer in our responsibilities. This is the first time we have ever had a partner in the pecuniary affairs of our office. We try the experiment with the hope that having one associated with us who is jointly interested in promoting the prosperity of the establishment, the Hawk-Eye will be made more worthy of public support than it ever has been. We shall in a few weeks make some improvements in the paper which will render it more acceptable to our readers. We cannot enter upon this new arrangement without offering our heartfelt thanks to those who have so liberally supported us. The Hawk-Eye, through their aid, has obtained a character and standing which cannot be affected by all the opposition that has been or can be arrayed against it. Its circulation is more extensive than any other paper in the Territory, and it will be our aim and our effort to make it more and more deserving of public patronage. Our facilities for obtaining news cannot be excelled by any Journal in the Territory; and it will be our object, as it has heretofore, to give the current news in advance of the eastern papers received by the mails. James G. Edwards."

well published a declaration of policy¹⁶⁷ above Edwards' announcement, and so began the association which had its roots in Jacksonville and Fort Madison and was to culminate only shortly before the death of the senior editor.

The most shocking news story of the early part of the year 1845 concerned the brutal murder of two settlers, Miller and Liecy of Lee County.¹⁶⁸ These men were slaughtered during the night of May 11, 1845, by William and Stephen Hodges who were arrested, tried before the district court and eventually hung. This was the first legal execution held in Des Moines County and furnished news for Edwards' paper during some weeks.¹⁶⁹ Edwards was in the court room when the case came to trial,¹⁷⁰ and each week furnished an account of the proceedings. The Hodges were found guilty and on July 15, 1845, the Court sentenced them to be hung by the neck until dead. Edwards attended the execution and published a lengthy story describing the event.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, July 24, 1845: "Having purchased an interest in the Hawk-Eye office, and consequently become associated with its present able Editor, as Junior in the establishment, it may be necessary as well as proper for me to say that the political principles which the Hawk-Eye has ever advocated, are entertained by the undersigned. It is entirely unnecessary for me, on the present occasion, to make any long or learned display of those principles, as they are well understood by all. The Hawk-Eye is an old established Journal in this Territory—its principles and its Editor are known. It is scarcely necessary to add that no efforts will be spared by the undersigned, in conjunction with the Senior Editor to make the Hawk-Eye an interesting, Miscellaneous as well as Political Newspaper, every way worthy of a liberal patronage from the public. James M. Broadwell."

¹⁶⁸ Antrobus: p. 150; *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. VIII, p. 303; Bonney: *Banditti of the Prairie*, p. 39 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 5, 1845. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1845.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1845.

¹⁷¹ The following story, written by Edwards, is reprinted in full as it is one of the longest newspaper articles he ever wrote and is a splendid specimen of his ability as a reporter. *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, July 16, 1845: "The brothers, William and Stephen Hodges, were hung in town on Tuesday last. From dawn until the time appointed for the execution the principal avenues in town were crowded with people. The Steamer Mermaid brought down a large number from Bloomington—the Shockoquin, after bringing an immense load from the place whose name she bears, proceeded to Oquawka, from whence she landed at our wharf a crowd from Illinois. In the meantime one of the steamboat ferries from Fort Madison—the Caroline—came loaded to the guards with passengers—the 'New Purchase,' with a large multitude from Nauvoo, and places adjacent, arrived too late for the passengers to witness the execution. Long before the time appointed, our streets were literally filled with men, women, and children. At twelve o'clock the guard, composed of three or four companies of riflemen under the command of Col. Geo. Temple, arrived at the Jail and soon after the prisoners were placed in a wagon, which contained their coffins, under the care of deputy Sheriff Smith. After all the necessary arrangements were made under the judicious direction of the Sheriff, John H. McKenney, Esq., the procession took up its line of march to the gallows. The Band and Martial music played appropriately solemn during the progress of the march. The procession crossed the square from the jail and down Court to Third street, through Third to Jefferson street, through Jefferson to the place of execution. The place selected was on the Mt. Pleasant road, immediately west of town. It was a perfect natural amphitheater. The gallows was in

the center of the dell and in full view of and immediately contiguous to the thousands of spectators who covered the hills. No movement could be made—nothing could be said—that all could see and hear. In fact we cannot conceive of a more appropriate location for such a scene. On the way to the gallows the prisoners manifested no concern—no anxiety. Had they not been dressed in the habiliments of death, none would have taken them as the candidates for the gallows. This stoicism did not leave them. No change was even perceptible in their countenances when they came in sight of the gallows—and when they mounted the steps and arrived on the platform they observed a demeanor which showed that it was their study and their great business to go through the scene without any apparent fearfulness of their fate. Although they succeeded, their very success dried up the fountains of sympathy in the breasts of the spectators as all felt that such conduct illly became men in their awful situation. The gallows was occupied by the Sheriff and his Deputy, the prisoners and a friend that had just arrived in town, the Rev. Mr. White of the Cumberland Presbyterian, the Rev. Mr. Coleman of the Methodist, the Rev. Bishop Loras of the Catholic, and the Rev. Mr. Hutchinsin of the Congregational churches together with the Counsel for the prisoners, Messrs. Mills and Hall. The exercises commenced with the reading of the 51st Psalm by Mr. Coleman. This Psalm was read at the request of the prisoners, and we cannot but believe from all their conduct and their refusal to confess their crimes to their fellow men, that they clung to this Psalm and adopted its languages, as an excuse for their refusal. They may have thought their confession to their Maker was sufficient, and thus they may have palliated their consciences. After the reading of the Psalm, Mr. White gave out the appropriate hymn, "Now in the heat of youthful blood," etc. After the singing Mr. White offered a most fervent and pertinent prayer, calling upon God to shield the youth then present as spectators, from temptation and sin, and ending their lives as those before them were about to do. Immediately after the prayer, Stephen Hodges came forward to address the crowd. He was very much agitated. His address was so different from anything we anticipated from a dying man—so much bitterness and maliciousness so exhibited in all he said—his manner became so maniacal, that although prepared and in a good situation to take down all that was uttered, we were obliged at times in utter astonishment, to drop our pencil and look at the man. We cannot therefore give more than an outline. He said—Gentlemen and Fellow citizens, I stand before you a dying man about to be launched into eternity. I have not much to say and shall not detain you long. There never was a trial where men were convicted under such slight evidence as was brought against us—. We have not been tried as white men ought to have been tried. There was no evidence to convict us. Can the Jury look on and see two innocent young men executed as we shall be in a few moments and feel right about it? Can the Jury after giving such a verdict in condemning two innocent young men as we are, one twenty-two and the other twenty-five years old, go home to their wives and children and sleep quietly? He then alluded to the evidence and in a sort of special pleading, lawyer-like style, attempted to show that it was inadequate to convict them. He asked why the jury did not believe the witnesses who swore that they were at Nauvoo at the time of the murder, and answered that it was because they were Mormons. He then said there have been many murders committed here, why were they not found guilty and executed? They were not Mormons, that was the reason. It must have been so. Our counsel told us and the jury that the evidence was not sufficient to convict us. They proved nothing against us. Examine our conduct from our youth up and see if you can prove anything against us. That roll of flannel, Oh, yes, you say that we must have been guilty of stealing that, and yet there was no proof of our stealing it. Judge Mason came to us and tried to make us confess—and he told us that the evidence was not sufficient to convict us, and that if we would confess he would get us relieved. He then referred to the manner in which they were taken in Lee County—said that everybody wanted to hang them up without Judge or Jury. Alluded to the activity of the Sheriff of Lee County—of the willingness of all to bring timber to erect the gallows, still repeating that there was no evidence to convict them and that it was because they were Mormons they were convicted. —. To corroborate this they said the prosecuting Attorneys declared they ought to be hung for an example, if for nothing else. Here he became almost frantic and came near, we thought, of bursting asunder the ropes that bound his arms. The froth issued from his mouth and he gave other signs of extreme rage and madness. He seemed now inclined to include all the spectators in his anathemas and said the curses of God would rest upon them. He then broke out in a rhapsody of benevolence and declared that he felt for the bystanders, not for himself—he would die a thousand deaths if he could bring them back to virtue. He asked how could any citizen go home and tell his wife he had seen two men hung without evidence—and sleep quietly. He then said that he was prepared to go, and stated that the Rev. Mr. White and Coleman had been with him several days, and thanked them. He said he had been well treated while in prison. If he had been a boarder at Mr. Painter's, the jailor, he could not have had better fare. He acknowledged that he had received the most tender treatment from Sheriff McKenney and then with the utmost coolness, thanking the audi-

ence for their attention, retired. It was our intention—and we believe that thousands felt as we did—to have left the ground or to have turned our back upon the dreadful tragedy as soon as the preliminary exercises were over; but the speech and conduct of Stephen dissipated those tender sympathies in their behalf which we had all long felt. This change was wrought in us by having been in possession of admissions made by both the prisoners to different individuals entirely opposite to the statements they made on the gallows. Those admissions clearly proved their guilt. Soon after Stephen took his seat, William Hodges came forward and said, Friends and Fellow Citizens, I am on the step that is soon to place me in eternity. I am innocent of shedding man's blood. He then in a much more subdued spirit than Stephen, reviewed the evidence educed at his trial, complained of its insufficiency,—and declared that it was not strong enough to convict a man in a common case of assault and battery. He became quite animated and addressed the crowd at one time as "Gentlemen of the Jury." They both seemed to have impressed upon their minds the arguments of their Counsel as they were uttered at the trial and it was these utterances, in some instances clothed in the very language of their counsel that they urged as a proof of their innocence on the scaffold. He urged all to repent of their sins. He then said I am prepared to go—and when I drop I expect to go straight into Heaven. I bid you all farewell. I am going home to glory. He claimed the forgiveness of all and said he would forgive all and again bade the audience farewell. Mr. White then said there was still time for religious exercises, and as the prisoners requested the time might be so filled up, they proceeded to sing a few hymns in which all could join. After which Bishop Loras read the story of the penitent thief and made some very appropriate remarks, admonishing all to serve and fear God and never sin against him and thus avoid the doom that awaited the young men so soon to be executed. Mr. White gave a recital of the manner in which he became acquainted with the prisoners and made some appropriate remarks. Stephen Hodges then made some additional remarks as to the lameness of the evidence which convicted them—thought the evidence against his brother was no evidence at all and seemed to wish to get up a sympathy in their behalf. He then bade all farewell—the audience and his friends in particular. William also made a few additional remarks in bidding a last farewell to the people. Their chains were then knocked off and the Sheriff conducted William to the drop and put the rope around his neck. While the rope was being put around the neck of Stephen we could see that William was apparently engaged in prayer. The caps were pulled over their faces, and in a few moments the Sheriff with one blow severed the cord. The drop fell, and both were launched into eternity. Stephen's neck broke and he died without a struggle. William struggled nearly ten minutes before he was apparently dead. Thus ended the scene of their mortal existence. Our hope is that the impression of it on the minds of all will be beneficial, although public executions ordinarily in our opinion have a different tendency. Executions should be so conducted as to hold out no inducement to the culprit to make a hero of himself. Are we uncharitable in thinking that the whole conduct of these young men at the gallows and on their way there, was to gain for themselves the title of heroes? Are we, after we knew that they had held out encouragement to one of their counsel and to others that they would confess, and that nothing probably but the presence of their sister prevented it? When called upon to fulfill his special engagement to do this, William, who had seen and conversed with Stephen, and declared that he could not do it—that if he revealed the secret the whole family would be murdered. At another time one of them said that they had taken an oath, and they might as well die with the secret as to break the oath. There must be some horrid secrets and oaths binding these secret societies at Nauvoo, which sets human life and common human allegiance at defiance. Nothing but the revelation of the righteous judgment of heaven can detect or bring to justice men thus bound together. Too much praise cannot be awarded to John H. McKenney, Esq., our Sheriff. From the trial to the execution, he exhibited a humanity, a firmness, and a judicious arrangement of things that could not be outdone. His conduct in this matter merits the support of every man in the county. After the bodies were taken down they were placed in the coffins and handed over to their friends on board the steam ferry boat "New Purchase." His sister accompanied their remains to Nauvoo. The number of people at the execution has been variously estimated. We think there were from eight to ten thousand. Never have we seen more decorum or better behaviour exhibited at a public execution, and we have witnessed several in and near Boston. We have heard of no accidents. We understand that several fainted and we heard a few screams from the females as the drop fell. All seemed to realize that it was an awful and melancholy sight to see two young men, who might have been ornaments in society thus cut off in health and in the vigor of manhood, and we hope some good impression may have been made. All must have felt that the way of the transgressor is hard. The only wise way is for you to shun temptation and bad company.

SUMMONS.

Territory of Iowa,
Des Moines County.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

TO THE SHERIFF OF SAID COUNTY—Greeting:

You are hereby commanded to summons *James G. Edwards*

if to be found in your county, to be and appear before the District Court for said county
on the first day of the next term thereof, to be begun and holden within and for said
county at th Court House, in Burlington, on the _____

_____ to answer unto the _____

Joseph A. Phelps

in a plea of *the case*

to *his*

damage *five thousand*

dollars. Hereof fail not at your peril

and have you then and there this writ.

~~Witness~~, The Hon. CHARLES MASON, Judge of our said court,

with the seal thereof hereto affixed, at Burlington, this _____

18th day of *October* A. D. 184 *5*

John S. Dwyer Clerk of the District Court.

Summons for James Gardiner Edwards, Territory of Iowa.

Hardly had the hanging of the Hodges ceased to be news than Edwards, for the second time since he had come west, was sued for libel. As near as can be determined this suit was the first action for libel brought in the Territory of Iowa. Edwards had published an article in which he openly said that the stock housed in Joseph Upham's store consisted of stolen or illegally procured property.¹⁷² Upham, through his attorney, David Rorer, filed suit against Edwards in a plea of the case to the extent of five thousand dollars.¹⁷³ Edwards, not to be intimidated, reprinted the alleged libelous article,¹⁷⁴ adding other facts and features which left no doubt but that he firmly believed Upham to be a scoundrel.¹⁷⁵ The result of the publication of this second article was the filing of the second libel suit against Edwards by Upham's attorney.¹⁷⁶ Edwards appeared and through his attorneys, Starr and Mills, filed a motion asking the Court to require the plaintiff to file a bond for costs, and the Court so ordered. Upham, however, failed to appear and comply with the Court's ruling. Subsequently, the Court dismissed the plaintiff's petition for the failure to file the bond and gave judgment to the defendant, Edwards, for the costs of the two actions, amounting, in the first suit, to \$4.51, and, in the second, to \$5.95.¹⁷⁷

In November, 1845, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards attended the Great Western Convention at Memphis, Tenn., of which the Hon. John C. Calhoun was president.¹⁷⁸ Mr. Calhoun, upon being introduced to Mrs. Edwards at a reception, expressed

¹⁷² *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 23, 1845.

¹⁷³ The plaintiff, through his attorney, David Rorer, filed suit October 18, 1845, and a summons was issued that day. Declaration was filed October 27, 1845, which consists of four written sheets and setting forth the fact that Edwards had brought suspicion to rest upon an honest merchant and so had injured his business and profits, and asks for damage to the extent of five thousand dollars. (Joseph Upham vs. James G. Edwards. Box A-105 Office of the County Clerk. Des Moines County Court House, Burlington, Iowa.)

¹⁷⁴ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 30, 1845.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ The plaintiff, through his attorney, David Rorer, filed the second suit October 27, 1845, and a summons was issued that day. Declaration was filed at the same time and consists of three written pages together with the alleged libelous articles clipped from the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 23, 1845, and asks for damage, in a plea of the case, to the extent of five thousand dollars. (Joseph Upham vs. James G. Edwards. Box B-37. Office of the County Clerk. Des Moines County Court House, Burlington, Iowa.)

¹⁷⁷ Book C., Law Record, pp. 458, 467, 578, 582. Office of the County Clerk, Burlington, Iowa.

¹⁷⁸ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 16.

his pleasure at seeing a lady who had come to the West from the old Bay State and a hope that he might one day see her in her new Iowa home.¹⁷⁸

This trip seems to be the last one which Edwards ever made, although he was planning an excursion to the seashore just before his death.¹⁷⁹ On his return to Burlington he set to work to elect the hero of the Mexican War, General Zachary Taylor, president of the United States.

When Burlington citizens received their *Hawk-Eye* one morning in early May, 1846, they little realized what a tremendous surprise awaited them. The front page appeared as it usually did, but on page two, in the editorial column, appeared two black-faced words: WAR! WAR!¹⁸⁰

Edwards was publishing then the first account of the sad tidings from Texas, which had been furnished him from a copy of the *New Orleans Picayune*. This paper had made the trip from New Orleans to Burlington on the river steamer *Ocean Wave* and had been delivered to the *Hawk-Eye* six days after publication. In commenting upon the news, Edwards wrote: "The *Pride of the West* will probably be the next boat up and she may bring important intelligence."¹⁸¹ Then followed this further information: "Since the above was in type, the enterprising clerk of the very fast sailing steamer *Tempest*, Mr. Dowley, handed us the Saint Louis papers for Monday."¹⁸² In the following week Edwards printed the first map which ever appeared in the *Hawk-Eye*.¹⁸³ It was a most elementary affair, measuring four and a half inches by two columns and showed Mud Island, Oardy Island, and Brazos Town.

It was not long before politics injected themselves into the war news, for Edwards soon editorialized to the effect that the locofocos were responsible for loss of property and life.¹⁸⁴ By early June the press was recording the murder of

¹⁷⁹ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁰ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, May 14, 1846.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* May 21, 1846.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* May 28, 1846.

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 Sheweth all things by these presents that we Ellen T.
 Edwards of James M. Prosser of the County of
 DeKalb and State of Georgia are and have been jointly bound
 unto J. B. Wightman or his Executors in office in the Total
 Sum of One Thousand Dollars Current Money for the
 payment of which we hereby bind ourselves our heirs or
 administrators within our hands and Seals this 21st
 day of September 1887.

The condition of the above obligation
 is such that if the above bound Ellen T. Edwards Execu-
 -trix of the last will and Testament of James M. Prosser
 deceased Shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid
 all her debts due and demands against the Estate of
 said James M. Prosser dec'd then the Sum shall be paid
 to and lawfully distributed according to Law
 and she be well and truly execute said will
 and in general perform her duties as such
 executrix to the best of her ability. Then this
 obligation to be void otherwise to Law and in
 full force and Effect in Law.

Signed in my presence
 and approved by me Ellen T. Edwards
 J. B. Wightman James M. Prosser
 Judge of DeKalb A. B. Green

Appointment of Ellen T. Edwards as Administratrix to
 Will of James Gardiner Edwards.

women and children by Mexicans and is crediting "the regular and fast sailing steamer *War Eagle*" for bringing up packages of Saint Louis newspapers.¹⁸⁵

For the remainder of the year, the *Hawk-Eye* was crowded with news of the Mexican conflict.

A real sensation presented itself, however, when Edwards announced the name of Major General Zachary Taylor for president in 1848.¹⁸⁶ The *Hawk-Eye* was the first newspaper in the country to suggest General Taylor for president, a fact of which Edwards was immensely proud.

Locofocoism and the general inability of the Democrats to care for themselves politically were the favorite themes for *Hawk-Eye* editorial denunciation during the next few months.¹⁸⁷ In December Edwards printed almost the complete text of James K. Polk's presidential address.¹⁸⁸ Information concerning Whig state conventions was filling the editorial and news columns. One long editorial is a resume of a political era which Edwards maintained was detrimental to democracy and the constitution, to the banking system and to the "notable and disastrous step taken by Loco Focism" in annexing Texas to the United States "while it was at war with a Republic with whom our country was at peace."¹⁸⁹

By election time the *Hawk-Eye* had equipped itself with telegraph service and so in November returns came to the office by the electric wire. The joy which Edwards felt at the election of his candidate can hardly be imagined, especially as the *Hawk-Eye* "was the first paper in the Union to announce the name of General Zachary Taylor as a candidate for the presidency."¹⁹⁰ Edwards wrote: "It is with emotions of the deepest pleasure that we announce to our readers the certainty of the election of Gen. Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore."¹⁹¹ But if he appeared pleased with the results of the national elections, he was broken-hearted at the unsuc-

¹⁸⁵ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 11, 1846.

¹⁸⁶ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, February 3, 1847.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* April 6; April 15; May 15; May 20; July 8, 1847.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* December 16, 1847.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* February 17, 1848.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* February 25, 1847, et November 16, 1848.

¹⁹¹ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, November 16, 1848.

cessful efforts of his paper to swing Des Moines County for the Whigs.¹⁹² It went Loco Foco.

During the time since his return from the Great Western Convention, however, Edwards had had opportunity to engage in a number of activities other than those closely connected with the newspaper office. On December 1, 1846, he had been appointed clerk of the investigating committee which had been appointed by the House of Representatives, then convened at Iowa City, for the purpose of investigating the alleged bribery of Nelson King, representative from Keokuk County. King had said that since he had taken his seat in the House money had been offered him if he would cast his vote for A. C. Dodge or J. C. Hill, candidates for United States Senator from Iowa.¹⁹³

The Edwardses, having no children of their own, had taken under their roof and given their family name a motherless French child of whom Mr. Edwards was most fond.¹⁹⁴ In addition to this good deed, the family was taking a great interest in the affairs of the Congregational Church.

Rev. William Salter, who had been housed in the home of the Edwards' when he first arrived in Iowa Territory in 1843, had come to Burlington early in 1846,¹⁹⁵ and had later that year accepted a call to become pastor of the church. In the details of organization Mrs. Edwards was a "part of the whole life and growth of this congregation."¹⁹⁶ She procured from friends in Boston the copy of the Bible and hymn book that were originally used in the church and also secured the first communion service.¹⁹⁷ For many years Mr. Edwards was the superintendent of the Sabbath School of the church and Mrs. Edwards taught the infant class for thirty years.¹⁹⁸ It is recorded that Mr. Edwards never missed a Sunday service or a midweek service if his health permitted him to be pres-

¹⁹² *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, June 15, 1848.

¹⁹³ *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 490, et seq.

¹⁹⁴ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 9. Also, the *Burlington Gazette*, July 14, 1886.

¹⁹⁵ *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. VI, p. 607. Cf. *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, November 19, 1907.

¹⁹⁶ Salter: *A Pioneer Woman*, p. 8.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

I, James G. Edwards, of Burlington Town do hereby make and
 declare this to be my last will and testament, hereby revoc-
 ing all wills by me at any time heretofore made.
 After the payment of all my just debts, I give
 leave and bequeath to my beloved wife, Ellen
 J. Edwards, all my real and personal estate, de-
 vising her, at her decease, to make suitable donations
 to the "American Home Missionary Society," the American
 Tract Society, and the Iowa College, at Des Moines and all
 other suitable monuments of my love and affection to the follow-
 ing named persons: Mrs Sarah S. Emmett, Elizabeth D. Ed-
 wards, Ellen C. Prince, Louisa B. Prince and George B.
 Edwards of South Berlin, Massachusetts.
 Witness my hand this twenty of August 1855
 1855
 Signed, and acknowledged
 by the said James G. Edwards,
 in his last will and testament,
 J. C. Cooper
 W. T. Fuller.

James G. Edwards,
 per W. T. Fuller

Will of James Gardiner Edwards.

ent.¹⁹⁹ At one time Edwards offered himself to go as a printer to some foreign mission station, but Dr. Wisner, his friend from Boston days, persuaded him to continue his work in the west.²⁰⁰ This he did, devoting much of his energy and time to the interests of the Congregational Church.²⁰¹

From the year 1848 until the time of his death in 1851, Edwards' life was much less strenuous than it had been since coming to the new country. The *Hawk-Eye*, since his partnership with Broadwell, seemed to be doing well financially and the frantic requests for public patronage were no longer necessary. Iowa had become a state in 1848 and the center of political interest had been shifted from Burlington to Iowa City. Although difficulties with Edwards' rival paper still loomed, they were not as intense as during territorial days. The main items of news seemed to center about the coming of the telegraph and the dreaded cholera.

During the winter of the year 1850 and the spring of 1851, Edwards' health, never too strong, began to fail, so that he felt it necessary that he retire from active business June 23, 1851.²⁰² He had felt several times that the end of his life was near and had arranged his personal and business affairs accordingly.²⁰³ About July 16, he was attacked by cholera and it was thought that the end was near. He rallied, however, and there seemed some hope that he would fully re-

¹⁹⁹ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 18.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 17.

²⁰¹ Dr. Salter's Diary (manuscript unpublished in the possession of George B. Salter, Burlington, Iowa) for the years 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850 is filled with reference to Edwards' church activities, to-wit: "Receipts from my church April 12, 1847-April 12, 1848: Dec. 30, 1847, James G. Edwards, \$10; May 8, 1848, J. G. Edwards, \$5.00; May 20, J. G. Edwards, \$4.50; July 18, J. G. Edwards, \$2.50; March 6, from church, Mr. Edwards, \$6.25; May 10, from church, Mr. Edwards, \$5.00." Under date of Dec. 16, 1847, Dr. Salter wrote: "J. G. Edwards Whig Herald, \$5.00." It is also entered that J. G. Edwards contributed \$8.00 to the pastor's salary for the year ending April 12, 1849, on July 18, and \$2.00 on October 13. On Feb. 17, 1849, it is recorded under receipts "by J. G. Edwards and D. Leonard, \$14.20," and on May 2, 1849, "by J. G. Edwards, \$17.00." On April 23, 1849, Edwards is listed under receipts as follows: "April 23, \$10.00; Nov. 2, \$14.00; Nov. 8, \$50.00; Nov. 20, \$27.00; Nov. 26, \$5.00; Dec. 4, \$5.00; Dec. 8, \$18.00; Dec. 15, \$4.00." For the year 1850 the receipts are as follows: "Jan. 19, by J. G. Edwards, \$37.00; Jan. 22, by J. G. Edwards, ???; Feb. 25, by J. G. Edwards, \$3.75; March 19, by J. G. Edwards, \$9.00; March 23, by J. G. Edwards, \$18.00; March 28, by J. G. Edwards, \$5.00; April 13, by J. G. Edwards, \$3.00; April 27, by Mr. Edwards, \$17.00; May 17, J. G. Edwards, \$19.00; May 30, J. G. Edwards, \$5.00; June 1, J. G. Edwards, \$18.00; June 3, J. G. Edwards, \$2.00; June 23, J. G. Edwards, \$6.00."

²⁰² ———, *History of Des Moines County*, p. 420.

²⁰³ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 19.

cover his strength. On the evening of July 31, the disease returned upon him with "fearful violence,"²⁰⁴ and he lingered until three o'clock on the morning of August 5. At the request of Dr. Salter, Rev. L. B. Dennis, pastor of "Old Zion" Church, was called to visit Mr. Edwards as he lay dying and of praying for him his last prayer.²⁰⁵ Mr. Dennis says that the last moments were peaceful and among the last words were these: "Brother Dennis, I have been preparing for this a long time, but now it is hard work. What would I do without grace?"²⁰⁶ Soon the conflict was over. He was buried that same day in Aspen Grove cemetery in Burlington.

On August 10, Dr. Salter preached a sermon on the death of J. Gardiner Edwards, taking as his text, "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."²⁰⁷ In the course of this sermon,

²⁰⁴ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 19.

²⁰⁵ *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, *circum*, April 14, 1887.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Rev. 14:13. The following is a list of sermon texts for the years 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, which Dr. Salter preached and which Edwards probably heard, the list being corrected to conform with his illness: 1846. Mar. 1, Jno. 18:26, Rom. 14:8; Mar. 8, Ps. 90:9, 1 Cor. 15:3; Mar. 15, Gal. 2:15-16, Jno. 6:66-68; April 12, 1 Cor. 2:2, Ps. 107:8; April 19, 2 Kin. 2:2; April 26, Job. 37:23, Isa. 56:7; May 1, 1 Cor. 5:7, Preparatory Lecture; May 3, Jno. 1:29, Job. 7:16; May 10, Ps. 102:27, Isa. 48:18; May 17, Rom. 5:12, 1 Tim. 6:12; May 24, Ps. 78:5, Col. 4:5; May 31, 1 Kin. 5:4, Gen. 49:4; June 14, Jno. 3:3, Dan. 5:23; June 21, Rev. 3:1-2, 1 Pet. 5:5; June 28, Mat. 28:19, Ps. 147:14; July 2, 2 Pet. 3:18; July 5, Hab. 3:2, Ps. 80:8-11; Oct. 11, Eph. 1:11, Ps. 122:6; Oct. 18, Pro. 3:17, Jno. 5:39; Oct. 25, Ps. 90:2, Jno. 1:1-5; Oct. 30, Mat. 10:38, Preparatory Lecture; Nov. 1, Jno. 10:9; Nov. 8, Jno. 5:28-29, Jno. 1:6-14; Nov. 15, Jno. 5:28-29, Ecl. 9:12; Nov. 22, 1 Jno. 3:4; Nov. 26, Ps. 13:1, Thanksgiving; Dec. 6, Ps. 62:11, Ps. 149:1; Dec. 13, Ps. 149:1-2, Ps. 95:8; Dec. 20, Ps. 44:1, Gen. 5:24; Dec. 27, Deu. 28:1, Isa. 5:4; Dec. 29, Isa. 2:3; Jan. 3, 1847, Phil. 3:8; Jan. 10, Jno. 6:50; Jan. 17, Jam. 1:21-22, Act. 1:11; Jan. 24, Ps. 147:13; Jan. 31, Gal. 3:24, Isa. 22:21; Feb. 7, Jno. 1:15-16, Mat. 6:13; Feb. 21, Mat. 7:21-23; Feb. 28, Ps. 119:59; Mar. 7, Mat. 10:32, Mat. 6:13; Mar. 14, 2 Tim. 3:16, Tit. 2:6; Mar. 21, 2 Tim. 3:16, 2 Pet. 3:17; Mar. 28, Ezk. 33:11; April 4, Dan. 7:27, Act. 3:17; April 11, Pro. 29:18, Gal. 1:4; April 18, Lev. 13:3, Rev. 3:20; April 25, 1 Jno. 3:19, Mic. 4:5; May 2, Eph. 2:8; April 30, Deut. 7:6-8; May 7, Eph. 2:8, Phil. 2:12-13; May 30, Mat. 19:21, Act. 17:6-7; June 20, Hab. 2:15, 1 Jno. 2:2; June 27, Jam. 1:8; July 2, Heb. 10:25; July 4, Lev. 22:19, Communion; July 18, Rom. 6:23, Meeting of Tract Society; July 25, Ps. 37:37, Heb. 6:12; Aug. 1, Jam. 4:14, 1 Pet. 4:10; Aug. 8, Ecl. 9:3, Meeting of Bible Society in Methodist Church; Aug. 15, Ps. 81:13-14; Aug. 29, 1 Pet. 4:18, Rev. Mr. Smith of Newark Ohio; Sept. 2, Ps. 39:4; Sept. 3, Gal. 2:20; Sept. 5, 1 Pet. 4:18, Jno. 11:52; Sept. 12, Ps. 75:1; Sept. 26, Luk. 12:15; Oct. 3, Rom. 12:1, Heb. 2:3; Oct. 10, Act. 8:30-31, Gen. 3:4; Oct. 17, Act. 24:16, Luk. 18:1; Oct. 23, Luk. 16:22; Oct. 24, Rom. 3:27, Act. 17:26-27; Oct. 31, Job. 7:16, Mat. 9:9; Nov. 5, Mat. 26:22; Nov. 7, 1 Tim. 3:15, Luk. 23:46; Nov. 14, 1 Pet. 2:12; Nov. 16, 1 Pet. 4:7; Nov. 25, Ps. 144:12-15, Thanksgiving; Dec. 5, Luk. 14:28-30, Num. 10:29-32; Dec. 12, Mat. 19:14, Jam. 3:5; Dec. 19, Mat. 11:12, Rev. 20:1-6; Dec. 26, Isa. 9:6, Isa. 65:11; Dec. 31, Rev. 2:12-17; Jan. 2, 1848, Jno. 3:16, Luk. 13:6-9; Jan. 9, Ezr. 7:20, Jno. 3:16; Jan. 16, Heb. 4:13, Rev. 22:10-13; Jan. 23, 1 Kin. 14:16, Act. 4:12; Jan. 30, Ecl. 8:8, Eph. 4:14; Feb. 6, Mat. 18:3, Jno. 18:36; Feb. 13,

Dr. Salter said: "His manner of life as a member of the body in which we worship the Father is known to you all. Nothing but sickness made his seat vacant in the house of God, or in the meeting for conference and prayer. To this Zion he gave his toils and cares. Few contributed so gener-

Act. 26:20, Eph. 4:30; Feb. 20, Luk. 19:10, Mic. 6:8; Mar. 3, Luk. 5:35, Mat. 10:32-33; Mar. 5, Act. 1:2-3, Act. 26:22-23; Mar. 12, Phil. 2:17; Mar. 19, Act. 2:22, and evening; Mar. 26, Phil. 4:8, Tit. 2:11-15; April 2, Rom. 14:13; April 9, Act. 8:30, Jno. 17:21; April 23, Eph. 6:4; April 30, Pro. 22:1, Gal. 2:15-16; May 5, Luk. 6:23; May 7, Heb. 7:25, Rev. 14:6; May 21, Luk. 24:38-41, 1 Tim. 6:12; June 18, Rom. 8:6, Isa. 60:12; June 25, Isa. 61:11; July 2, Ps. 51:3, Ps. 67:1-7; July 9, Gen. 49:5-6, Rev. Mr. Huntington in evening; July 23, 2 Cor. 9:15, 1 Pet. 5:6; July 30, 2 Tim. 3:16, 1 Jno. 3:19 and 1 Tim. 1:12-16; Aug. 6, Rev. 13:4, 1 Jno. 5:10-13; Aug. 13, 1 Cor. 10:5, Rev. 13:1-10; Aug. 20, Rom. 9:22, Rev. Mr. Covell; Aug. 27, 1 Kin. 8:5, Ps. 42:1-4; Sept. 1, 1 Cor. 5:8; Sept. 3, Gal. 2:21, Jno. 6:45; Sept. 10, Mal. 3:6; Sept. 24, Isa. 56:6, Mat. 5:16; Oct. 1, Ezk. 12:2, Ezk. 33:11; Oct. 8, Ps. 8:6, Rev. Mr. Covell in evening; Oct. 22, Ps. 32:1, Jno. 6:28-29; Oct. 29, Jno. 14:26, Eph. 4:17-18; Nov. 3, Act. 9:31; Nov. 5, Jno. 12:32; Nov. 12, Pro. 3:17; Nov. 19, Jno. 4:24, Act. 12:30; Nov. 26, Ecl. 4:18, Ps. 39:3; Nov. 30, Ps. 95:2, Thanksgiving; Dec. 10, Rom. 2:7, Ezk. 33:14-16; Dec. 24, Rom. 10:1, Heb. 11:13; Dec. 31, Jno. 16:6, Act. 24:25; Jan. 1, 1849, Isa. 29:13; Jan. 5, Luk. 14:26; Jan. 7, Mat. 28:19-20, Luk. 22:19; Jan. 16, Ps. 119:72, Num. 23:19; Jan. 21, Isa. 17:9; Jan. 28, 2 Cor. 5:11, Isa. 64:7; Feb. 4, Rom. 7:12; Feb. 11, Luk. 16:26, Luk. 14:18; Feb. 13, Isa. 45:9; Feb. 15, Luk. 15:24; Feb. 18, Luk. 14:28-30, Luk. 14:18; Feb. 25, 2 Cor. 4:6, and evening; Mar. 2, Phil. 2:4-5; Mar. 4, 1 Cor. 10:16-17, Ps. 73:18; Mar. 11, 1 Cor. 15:1-2, Gen. 6:3; Mar. 18, Rev. 12:2, 1 Tim. 3:16; Mar. 25, Deut. 8:16-14; April 1, 1 Cor. 1:12, Ps. 72:17; April 8, Heb. 10:25, Ps. 15:1-5; April 15, Jno. 8:45 and Mat. 24:38, Pro. 23:23; April 22, 2 Ths. 1:11-12, Rev. 18:4; April 27, 1 Ths. 4:9-10; April 29, Jno. 6:35, Eph. 4:4-6; Sept. 23, Ps. 66:13-14, Jno. 3:16; Sept. 30, Rev. 8:24; Oct. 7, Job. 7:16, Jer. 23:29; Oct. 14, Gen. 2:7, Ps. 119:128; Oct. 21, Jno. 14:5, 2 Cor. 5:20; Oct. 28, 2 Cor. 5:14-15, and evening; Nov. 2, Heb. 13:20; Nov. 4, Ps. 133:1, 1 Pet. 2:9; Nov. 11, Ps. 5:7; Nov. 25, Mat. 16:9-12, Jno. 3:5; Dec. 2, Jer. 4:16, 2 Cor. 3:18; Dec. 9, Jam. 4:8; Dec. 16, Mat. 27:18, Gal. 6:14; Dec. 23, Gen. 49:10, Luk. 18:29-30; Dec. 30, Jno. 10:7, Job. 32:7; Jan. 4, 1850, 1 Cor. 11:28-29, Mat. 5:15; Jan. 6, 2 Cor. 13:14, 1 Cor. 9:26-27; Jan. 7, 1 Pet. 4:13; Jan. 13, 1 Cor. 15:33; Jan. 20, 1 Cor. 1:30, 1 Cor. 1:2; Jan. 27, Heb. 12:14; Feb. 3, Rev. 1:1; Feb. 10, Rom. 10:3, Gen. 10:11; Feb. 17, 1 Cor. 7:31, Jno. 3:3; Feb. 18, Jam. 1:21-22; Feb. 21, Luk. 19:10; Feb. 24, 1 Cor. 28:9, 1 Jno. 3:4; Feb. 25, Ps. 32:1; Feb. 26, Luk. 13:3; Mar. 9, Gal. 2:21; Mar. 10, Gal. 3:24, Mat. 11:12; Mar. 11, Ezk. 33:11; Mar. 17, Heb. 7:25, Phil. 2:12; Mar. 21, Ezk. 12:2; Mar. 24, Jno. 1:14, 2 Thes. 2:10; Mar. 31, Gal. 6:7-8, 1 Cor. 15:14; April 7, Mat. 18:20, Gal. 5:4; April 14, Luk. 6:46; April 21, Pro. 4:23, Is. 44:5; May 3, 1 Jno. 3:19; May 12, 1 Cor. 10:32; May 19, Jno. 16:9; May 26, Pro. 1:32; June 2, Mat. 22:31-32, Eph. 1:17-18; June 23, Col. 2:10, and evening; June 30, Luk. 15:21, Hab. 3:2; July 7, Isa. 52:13; July 14, 2 Cor. 4:18; July 21, Jno. 5:28-29; July 28, Rom. 14:8, Dan. 5:23; Aug. 4, Rev. 5:12; Aug. 11, Ps. 145:9, Hab. 3:17-18; Aug. 18, Mat. 16:18, 1 Tim. 2:4; Aug. 25, Phil. 1:9, Ps. 90:15-17; Aug. 30, 1 Cor. 15:10; Sept. 1, Jno. 6:33, Jno. 14:9; Sept. 8, Heb. 10:25, Ex. 20:13; Sept. 15, Col. 2:6; Sept. 22, Act. 8:30-31, and evening; Oct. 6, Isa. 54:2, 2 Pet. 1:34; Oct. 13, 2 Cor. 4:7, Ecl. 9:3; Oct. 20, Jer. 10:24, Jno. 21:22; Oct. 27, Ps. 64:6, 2 Tim. 3:16; Nov. 1, 2 Cor. 13:11; Nov. 3, Luk. 22:19, Ps. 116:15; Nov. 17, Pro. 11:7, Dan. 6:10; Nov. 24, Jer. 13:23; Dec. 1, Isa. 58:13-14, Pro. 15:3; Dec. 8, Jno. 1:37-39; Dec. 15, 1 Jno. 5:1, Bible Society; Dec. 22, Jno. 18:36, Act. 8:1; Dec. 29, 1 Pet. 5:5, Ecl. 7:10; Dec. 30, Mic. 4:12; Jan. 3, 1851, Jno. 6:53; Jan. 5, Isa. 53:11, Rom. 8:6; Jan. 6, Mat. 25:10; Jan. 12, 1 Tim. 5:6, 2 Cor. 5:10-11; Jan. 14, Act. 16:30-31; Jan. 19, 1 Jno. 5:12, Jer. 17:9; Jan. 26, Col. 3:17, Act. 9:6; Feb. 2, Act. 2:42, Rev. 2:7; Feb. 9, Mat. 22:1-14, Mark 9:43-44; Feb. 16, Jno. 13:8, Jno. 14:26; Feb. 23, Ps. 119:158; Feb. 25, Rev. 8:7; Feb. 28, 1 Pet. 2:5; Mar. 2, Heb. 10:12; Phil. 4:8; Mar. 9, 1 Cor. 16:20, 1 Cor. 1:10-17; Mar. 23, Mat. 19:13-15, Mark 4:26-29; Mar. 30, Ps. 119:9, Isa. 55:6-7; April 6, Ecl. 3:5; April 13, 1 Pet. 3:13, 2 Cor. 9:15; April 27, Jno. 20:29, Isa. 46:9-10; May 2, 1 Cor. 14:1; May 4, 1 Jno. 2:2-3, Luk. 6:40; May 11, 1 Pet. 7:11-12; May 18, Luk. 17:20-21, 1 Cor. 8:6; May 25, Rom. 12:10; Act. 26:16; June 1, 1 Cor. 5:11, 1 Cor. 3:10-15; June 15, Job. 37:13; June 22, 2 Pet. 3:17; June 29, Ecl. 5:1, Act. 5:41-42; July 4, 1 Jno. 1:2; July 5, Ps. 45:7, 1 Cor. 15:33; July 13, Isa. 43:10, Col. 1:18.

ously for the erection of this House of Worship. Few manifested so much concern for the usefulness and happiness of the Pastor. The sick, the afflicted, and the poor have lost a most sympathetic and helping friend. Soon after he came West, he was chosen one of the officers of the church in Jacksonville. This church was organized soon after he removed here, in the house he lately occupied. He was from that time on one of its officers. Its interests, its honor, and its glory lay very near his heart. For the salvation of souls he labored and prayed. In seasons of revival he was eminently active and devoted.—Mr. Edwards was a Catholic Christian. His sympathies were with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.²⁰⁸

In this manner was tribute paid to a life which first experienced New England, then found its way to Jacksonville, suffered disappointments there and in Fort Madison, Iowa Territory, and finally, after bitter personal, financial and political struggles, found satisfaction in newspaper office and church at Burlington. James Gardiner Edwards, pioneer editor, had died.

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²⁰⁸ Salter: *Sermon*, p. 18.

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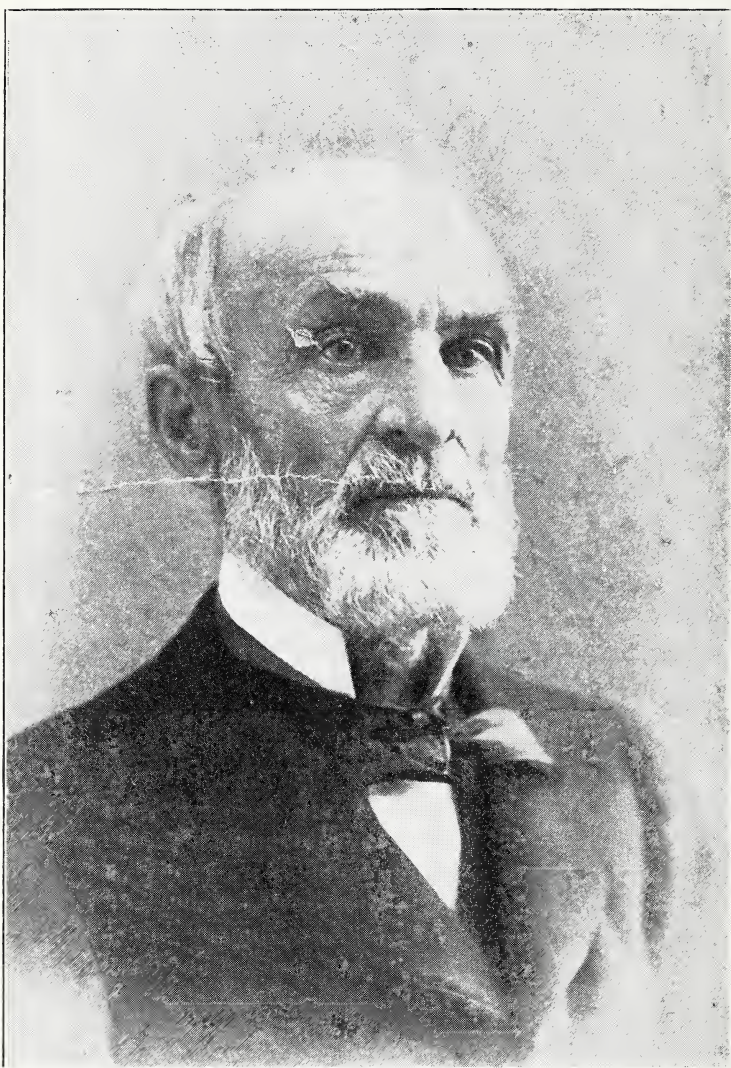
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CAPTAIN GEORGE R. WEBER

AN EPISODE OF JOURNALISM IN 1840.

By JOHN RICHARD WEBER.

The owner and publisher of a newspaper in central Illinois a hundred years ago, was of necessity, a man of many parts. He was not then dignified with the title of Journalist, as he is at the present time, with nothing to do but write editorials of more or less merit—principally the latter.

My father, George R. Weber, seems to have been possessed with a happy combination of all the essential qualifications of a successful newspaperman at that early date. He came to Illinois from Maryland in the year 1835, and soon thereafter established the *Illinois Republican* at Springfield—now the *Illinois State Register*. First of all he was a practical printer of more than ordinary ability. In those days to be a successful publisher, it was necessary to function as compositor, pressman, editorial writer, proof-reader and “make-up” man, and to be thoroughly conversant with the thousand and one technicalities of a printing establishment. And then, not unfrequently, it became necessary for him to pause long enough in the performance of his varied duties, to appease the wrath of some irate reader, who seemed ambitious to “cane” the editor for some real or fancied insult or humiliation to which he had been subjected in the columns of the newspaper.

It was an episode of this character that my old friend, Enoch Paine, who was also a friend and compatriot of my father’s, related to me some time after my father had passed away. As the story goes, it was press-day in the *Republican* office, and press-day was then, as it is now, an unusually trying day in a weekly newspaper establishment. On this particular press-day my worthy sire was functioning at the Washington hand press, “pulling off” the weekly edition of the *Republican*.

On this inopportune day and hour an aggrieved reader of the *Republican* appeared in the press-room with the modest request that the editor would pause long enough in his work to listen to his grievance, and if a suitable apology was not forthcoming, to receive a well-deserved chastisement—in those days called a “caning.” This was not a new experience for the editor, by any means. He had often been threatened with a “caning,” but had never been the recipient of one. He paused long enough to reason with the intruder, somewhat after this fashion:

“Well, Mr. So-and-so, this is my busy day. It is necessary for me to pull off this edition of my paper before noon, so that our numerous subscribers may not be deprived of the wit and wisdom printed in its columns. Now, if you will just be patient and wait until the noon hour, I will immediately after twelve o’clock, pass north on the west side of Fifth Street on my way home to dinner. You may meet me at any point along the way, and I will then give you as much time as you may require.” The aggrieved individual who seemed somewhat mollified by this line of talk readily acquiesced in the suggestion, and left the press-room in a more amiable frame of mind than when he entered it. The editor, true to his word, left the office promptly at twelve and proceeded to his home, which was then located on North Fifth Street near the intersection of Carpenter. He was not “caned” on that occasion.

The session of the Illinois Legislature of 1836-37 was a stormy one, owing to the fact that a bill was then pending which provided for the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. This bill was introduced and sponsored by a coterie of shrewd politicians commonly known as the “Long Nine.” None of them were less than six feet in height, and some of them even taller. The “Long Nine” was made up of the following elongated individuals: From the Senate, Archer G. Herndon and Job Fletcher; from the House of Representatives, Abraham Lincoln, Ninian Edwards, John

Dawson, Andrew McCormick, Daniel Stone, William F. Elkin, Robert L. Wilson.

The fight in the Legislature occasioned by this so-called Removal Bill was long and bitter, and much "log-rolling" and political maneuvering was resorted to, in which Abraham Lincoln was an active participant. It is said that at one time the bill was in so hazardous a predicament that it was necessary to break a quorum in order to save it from defeat. On this occasion it was said that Lincoln made an undignified egress from the House of Representatives by one of the windows. This story has often been denied but never disproven. His activities in behalf of the measure were much criticised at the time; whether justly or unjustly, has never been clearly determined.

Eventually the efforts of the "Long Nine"—whether right or wrong—finally prevailed. The bill was passed, and Springfield was thereby officially designated as the capital of the State of Illinois on and after the fourth day of July, 1839.

A subsequent session of the Legislature passed a bill appropriating what was then regarded as an extravagant sum of money for the erection of a State House, and in due time the substantial and imposing structure that now stands in the public square at Springfield was completed and occupied as the seat of government of the State of Illinois.

The law authorizing the building of a State House, also provided for the appointment by the governor of three commissioners, whose duty it was to oversee and to supervise the building operations until the structure was completed.

Doctor Henry, a prominent citizen of Springfield, an uncompromising Whig, politically, was for some unknown reason, appointed by the Democratic Governor Carlin on the State House Commission, and for some other unknown reason, he was permitted by the other members of the commission, to assume an active and arbitrary control of the building operations.

It was generally understood that Doctor Henry was the author of many of the articles that appeared editorially in the columns of *The Sangamo Journal*—now the *Illinois State Journal*. It was also known to be a matter of fact that Stephen A. Douglas, who was then Registrar of the United States Land Office, and a resident of Springfield, was the author of much that appeared in the editorial columns of the *Republican*—the recognized organ of the Democratic party. It may readily be understood that this brought about a condition of political rivalry, if not to say hatred, that rendered it simply impossible for the contending political factions to long remain harmonious.

Douglas in a series of anonymous articles published in the *Republican*, denounced Doctor Henry in no uncertain terms, declaring that he was manifestly incompetent and utterly unfit for the performance of the duties he had so arbitrarily assumed. He intimated that the Doctor knew quite as little about building state houses as he did about his chosen profession as a medical practitioner. He demanded that Governor Carlin immediately call for his resignation, and furthermore that he appoint as his successor a practical architect and builder—presumably a Democrat, who would have some intelligent conception of the work to be performed. This added fuel to the flames, and as a consequence enraged Doctor Henry to the fighting point. He had ample reasons for knowing that Douglas was the author of the objectionable articles in the *Republican*. Notwithstanding this well-founded conviction, in order to make assurance doubly sure, he determined to call on George R. Weber, the editor and publisher of the *Republican*, and demand from him the name of the author of the articles in question. In this he seemed utterly to have reckoned without his host. The editor was no novice in the newspaper business, and the irate Doctor was politely but none the less firmly informed that he—the editor—was personally responsible for all that appeared in the columns of his paper, positively refusing to divulge the name of the author of the articles in question.

The nature of Doctor Henry's demand and the peremptory manner in which it was made, so enraged the editor—who as a general thing was slow to anger—that he determined to himself assume the aggressive. He defied the Doctor to do his worst, and—figuratively speaking—he was hurled from the editorial sanctum. And so, the fight went merrily on.

A man by the name of Garret Elkin, one of the Doctor Henry followers, who was sheriff of Sangamon County at that time, appeared at the *Republican* office the next day, and as he imagined, dealt a killing blow to the newspaper by canceling his subscription to the paper. In spite of the loss of this single subscriber, the publication went right along, and in the next issue the editor paid his respects, in a very disrespectful manner, to Sheriff Elkin in no uncertain language, charging that he had violated his oath of office as sheriff to keep the peace of the county to the best of his ability. In spite of his oath, Elkin immediately set about to organize a mob of some twenty ruffians, who late one afternoon repaired to the *Republican* office, which was then located on the east side of Fifth between Monroe and Adams Streets. The office was closed at the time of their arrival, the employees all having departed for their respective homes. The door was locked, but Elkin, with the aid of a stick of cord wood, battered it down, and ordered the mob to enter the building and to proceed to throw out the type and machinery, declaring that he would personally be responsible for the damage that might be done.

George R. Weber and his brother, John B. Weber, both recently married, were keeping house together on North Fifth, five or six blocks from the *Republican* office. A younger and unmarried brother, Jacob J. Weber, who had but lately emigrated from Maryland was at that time making his home with them. The family was seated at the table partaking of the evening meal, when information of the disturbance at the office reached them. The three brothers immediately rushed to the scene of the disturbance, where they were joined by Stephen A. Douglas, and a number of the employees of the

Republican printing establishment, and others in sympathy with the owner.

If the good Lord was not on the side of the newspaper at this time he was ably represented by two ministers of the gospel in the persons of Rev. Peter Cartwright and Rev. Dr. Early, both forceful preachers and aggressive politicians. Dr. Early was known as the "Fighting Parson" of that community, and so he was frequently called. My father once said of him, "*When Dr. Early is in the pulpit he ought never to come out, and when he is out he ought never to go back in.*" Both of these reverend gentlemen had the courage of their convictions, and were always ready to fight for their convictions if it seemed necessary.

Dr. Early was indeed a unique character, and a brief outline of his career may not be out of place at this time. On one occasion he took violent offense at Hon. Ninian W. Edwards on account of an imputation in a public address, that the Doctor was dishonest and untruthful. At this particular time he was the regular minister of the First Methodist Church—the first church in Springfield. He hastily resigned his ministerial position and forthwith sent a challenge to Mr. Edwards to meet him on the field of honor, on Bloody Island, in the Mississippi River, opposite the city of Alton, there to settle the matter according to the rules prescribed in the *code duello*. Mr. Edwards paid little or no attention to the challenge, and the irate Doctor soon calmed down. He subsequently admitted to his friends that he had been hasty and indiscreet and immediately resumed his ministerial duties in the pulpit. Dr. Early, the "Fighting Parson," finally came to his end "with his boots on." He was shot and killed by one Henry B. Truitt, at Spottswood's Hotel in Springfield, for some real or fancied offense.

After this little digression we will resume our story. The formidable array of fighters we have just enumerated, was quite equal to the emergency, and in a short time the building was cleared of the lawless invaders, who were kicked and flung unceremoniously into the street. On the following day

affairs assumed a more serious aspect; the mob had been re-organized under the leadership of Garret Elkin, and as George R. and John B. Weber were walking along one of the principal streets, they suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves in the midst of an infuriated crowd. Elkin approached George R. Weber from behind, and with a heavily-loaded whip-stock, felled him to the ground in a stunned and unconscious condition. This brought "Uncle John" into action. He began making threatening demonstrations, which attracted the attention of one Dr. Merriman, who was reputed to be the most proficient devotee of the so-called "manly art" in Springfield at that time, and who was in full sympathy with the mob element. The Doctor squared himself for an encounter with the aforesaid "Uncle John." But "Uncle," realizing that he would be no match for Dr. Merriman in a fistic encounter under the rules prescribed by the late Marquis of Queensberry, assumed the attitude of a belligerent Billy Goat, and at an opportune instant, he rushed with head down, under the Doctor's well-planned "guard," landing squarely and with terrific force on the solar plexus of his antagonist, with the result that the Doctor—

"Smiled a sort of sickly smile and curled upon the floor,
And the subsequent proceedings interested him no more."

(Apologies to Bret Harte.)

My Uncle John was a born fighter. I think he would rather fight than eat, and according to my recollection, he always enjoyed his meals. His triumph over Dr. Merriman, at this time, was a great satisfaction to him. In after years I frequently listened to a recital of this episode from his own lips, the narration no doubt losing none of its heroic features by the lapse of time.

But the end was not yet. At this juncture Jacob J. Weber, seeing his brother, George R., prostrate on the street, and supposing him dead, whipped out a long and ugly-looking knife, and plunged its keen blade in the body of Garret Elkin. He fell fainting and was immediately carried to his home in

a critical condition. This ended the activities. The members of the mob, seeing Elkin, their leader, in an apparently dying condition, immediately dispersed, each anxious to disavow any participation in what promised to be a serious affair.

Jacob J. Weber was in due time indicted and arraigned in court on the charge of assault with intent to commit great bodily injury. He was defended by Stephen A. Douglas and was acquitted.

The sequel to this story is the most strange and unbelievable part of it. In after years George R. Weber and Garret Elkin became very good friends, and often together talked over the events I have just narrated.

WINCHESTER CELEBRATES ITS ONE-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY.

During a three-day period, beginning July 4, 1930, Winchester, Illinois, held a celebration of its Centennial, which included the unveiling of a Soldiers' Monument and the dedication of the Stephen A. Douglas Monument.

The first event was the historical parade on Friday morning, July 4, at 10:30 o'clock. Early events in the history of Winchester were beautifully portrayed in the many floats which helped form the parade. Education, patriotism, religion, agriculture, pioneer times, war times, and welfare work, were all ably represented. The Winchester School Band made its first public appearance. Boy Scouts in uniform marched. Decorated cars and floats representing local business houses were in the long parade. Following this, short band concerts were given by the Roodhouse Band and the Winchester School Band.

At 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the unveiling of the Soldiers' Memorial at Monument Park took place. Mayor A. C. Booz gave a pleasing address of welcome, ending with the introduction of Hon. Scott Lucas of Havana, who delivered the dedicatory address. He said in part: "Today we honor the memory of the men of this community who fought and died in all of America's wars for the great humanitarian principles of liberty and equality. We have met on consecrated ground. A century has marked its way down through the avenues of time, leaving behind sacred thoughts and ties which bind this community as one when national emergency arises.

"If future America has the same vision of the past as is expressed in this noble and patriotic exercise, there can be no question about the continuance of this Republic. This is the nation's birthday. . . . Throughout the length and breadth

of these United States, yea, wherever the Stars and Stripes are unfurled to God's comforting breeze, contingent upon contingent of patriotic Americans are paying a tribute of affection to the basic and standardized principles of a free and independent nation."

After speaking briefly of the courageous pioneers of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War; the patriotic veterans of the Civil War, of whom a few still remain and were present; the Spanish-American War soldiers, who were "crusaders in the true sense of the word," and, more fully of the soldiers of the late World War, and the various resultant conferences for the consideration of peace, Mr. Lucas ended with these words: "This is not the hour for America to beat her swords into plowshares and her spears into pruning hooks, and if the hundreds of Americans of Scott County who spilled their life's blood upon the altar of liberty, and those who have passed on in peace, could speak from their earth walls of deification, they would confirm and approve the utterance of George Washington in his address, when he said, 'the best assurance of peace is to be prepared for war.'"

Following this address, Samuel W. Peak and Thomas Summers, veterans of the Civil War, then unveiled the bronze tablets which contained the names of about 2,200 soldiers who went from Scott County during the various wars, from the Revolutionary to the late World War. A song by the chorus concluded these exercises.

On Saturday morning the Perry Band gave a splendid concert in the park down town, while the crowd was assembling for the exercises dedicating the Stephen A. Douglas Monument.

Judge J. M. Riggs opened the exercises and gave an address telling of the arrival in Winchester of Stephen A. Douglas, the teaching of his first and only school, his removal to Jacksonville, the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, and the intense fidelity of Douglas to Lincoln at the outbreak of the

Civil War. Judge Riggs then introduced Mayor Booz as chairman.

Mrs. Mary C. McAdams of Quincy, and State Representative, told how it had been made possible for Scott County to have this monument, and said the Douglas Memorial Bill had the honor of being the first bill of the Fifty-fifth Session to bear the Governor's signature. The sculptor of the statue was Fred Torrey of Chicago.

Chairman Booz then introduced the dedicatory speaker of the day, Hon. C. J. Doyle of Springfield, Illinois, whose address in full is found in another part of this Journal.

The day's exercises closed with an interesting address by Hon. Henry Polk Lowenstein of Kansas City, showing the relationship of Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and Josiah Lamborn, in American history and between each other.

The three days' successful celebration closed on Sunday, a basket dinner being held at the Monument Park at noon, and a sacred concert being given in the Community High School Auditorium in the evening.

LOGAN DAY MEMORIAL.

The memory of General John A. Logan was honored on May 24 and 25, 1930, when a Veterans' Pilgrimage and the dedication of a tablet and monument to General Logan took place at Murphysboro, Illinois.

A tablet bearing Logan's famous Order No. 11 was placed in the wall in the splendid Jackson County Courthouse. The presentation was made by Mrs. Katherine Siems, President of the Illinois Woman's Relief Corps. She lauded Logan and his greatness of heart which prompted him to write the Order.

Supervisor H. J. Busch, Chairman of the Public Buildings Committee, made the speech of acceptance, saying he considered it an honor of honors bestowed on the home county of the great Civil War General.

The dedicatory address was given by Mrs. Flo Jamison Miller, National Secretary of the Woman's Relief Corps. She said that Murphysboro, Jackson County, was the appropriate place for the placing of the tablet to General Logan's memory, as he was born and reared here, and it was here that he earned the right to the honors given him.

Mrs. Mary Logan Tucker, daughter of General Logan, unveiled the tablet. With tears in her voice she called this "hallowed ground," and said it touched her heart to appear among citizens whom she remembered as her father's own people. She expressed gratitude for the placing of the tablet, and at the conclusion of her talk was made a member of the Woman's Relief Corps and given a membership badge.

H. B. Davidson, State Commander of the G. A. R., made a pleasing address to the assembly, honoring the name and memory of General Logan.

At 2:00 p. m. Saturday, the unveiling and dedication of the equestrian statue erected to the memory of General John

A. Logan on the Murphysboro High School Campus took place. Leon Hermant, noted sculptor of Chicago, designed the statue, which was made possible by the appropriation of \$15,000 by the Fifty-fifth General Assembly of Illinois. Col. E. A. Wells presided at the dedication, and the following program was given:

Music—By High School Band—America.

Invocation—Rev. Frank E. Harris.

Unveiling of the Monument.

Introduction of Members of the Logan Family.

History of the Monument—Mayor Joseph H. Davis.

Address—Hon. Edwin J. Foster, National Commander-in-Chief, G. A. R.

Song—Illinois—High School Chorus.

Address—Senator Harry Wilson.

Address—Mrs. Estelle Gersenslager, representing Logan Circle, Ladies of the G. A. R.

Music—By High School Band.

Address—Senator Adelbert Roberts, Chicago.

Address—Hon. Otis F. Glenn, United States Senator from Illinois.

Song—High School Chorus.

Dedicatory Address—Col. Paul V. McNutt, Past National Commander of the American Legion.

Music—By High School Band—Star-Spangled Banner.

General Logan's regimental flag was obtained for the unveiling at the Monument. This flag was issued to the 31st Illinois Volunteers by the Government in July, 1864. It was carried through many battles, and in one of them the flag-bearer was killed. Stains of his blood are still on the flag. Mr. W. T. McCormick, of Carbondale, in whose care the flag has been for many years (it having been given to him by his soldier father), presented it to Mrs. Mary Logan Tucker, who kissed the torn and bloodied flag which her father had followed.

The original Logan Memorial Flag, which has been in the custody of the Logan Circle of the G. A. R., and used in Gen-

eral Logan's honor fifty years ago, was again brought out for the unveiling at the Monument. It was raised by the Boy Scouts just prior to the program of dedication.

On Sunday morning, memorial services were held in all of the city churches. American Legion speakers occupied the pulpits. At noon a large basket dinner was held at Riverside Park, and at 1:30 p. m. the parade of the Veterans of all wars started from American Legion Hall to the Monument where a program of music and speaking was held. Col. T. B. F. Smith of Carbondale read a brief message from Governor Louis L. Emmerson, who was unable to be present.

It was estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 people attended the great Logan Day Memorial.



Abraham Lincoln Statue on Victory Drive, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Replica of St. Gaudens' Statue.

**LINCOLN'S STATUE UNVEILED AT G. A. R.
CEREMONY, MINNEAPOLIS, MONDAY,
MAY 26, 1930.**

A towering figure stands today high above the hundreds of elms planted in memory of World War veterans that line Victory Memorial Drive, looking down meditatively on the rows of crosses and markers.

On the site reserved for soldiers of the World War, heroes of another great war gathered in pretentious Memorial Day ceremonies to erect a statue of the great emancipator and unite the spirit of the fighters of two generations.

City and State officials, members of the Grand Army of the Republic and World War veterans gathered with more than 3,000 men, women and children to take part in the dedication ceremonies of the statue, which was presented to the city of Minneapolis by Minnesota units of the G. A. R.

Members of the Third United States Infantry Band, under the direction of Captain Henning Linden, marched down the drive and took places near the statue, which was veiled with a white covering.

David L. Sutherland was officer of the day, and Arthur A. Sturdevant, aid.

Rev. John E. Bushnell gave an invocation, and short talks were given from a specially erected platform, equipped with amplifiers, by Captain T. H. Peacock, state commander of the G. A. R.; Samuel R. Van Sant, past national commander, and A. G. Dunlop.

Ell Torrance, past national commander, gave the dedicatory address and presented the statue to the city.

Miss Marjorie Peacock then pulled the cords that held the covering in place, revealing a replica of Lincoln as he looked at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The troubles that were to line his face had not yet come, and his face was serious.

Following the unveiling, Civil War veterans, some of them in their uniforms, stood with bowed white heads while the Hennepin County American Legion Auxiliary Glee Club, under the direction of Mrs. H. A. Patterson, sang, "Where Are the Boys of the Old Brigade?"

The dedication meant the climax of years of work. The veterans worked unceasingly to raise funds which were augmented by pennies from school children.

"The people of Minnesota have ever held Lincoln close to their hearts, and we must believe Lincoln had a tender regard for Minnesota," Governor Theodore Christianson said.

"Through a greater part of Lincoln's life, Minnesota was one of the prairie territories of the frontier. Its pathway to statehood paralleled his rise to the presidency," he said. "Despite its youthfulness, our state was among the first to offer him military aid after the attack on Sumter.

"Lincoln must have had a warm spot in his heart for Minnesota. In 1860, Minnesota had but 172,000 people, yet it furnished more than 22,000 men to the Union Army.

"In company with their fellow citizens everywhere, Minnesotans find in Abraham Lincoln their nation's most representative figure. He most truly incarnates the potency and progress of democracy. He truly was the birth of our new soil—the first American."

Turning to the elderly veterans, he said, "As you men of the Civil War remember, all too well, his greatness was not always recognized. He was doubted and questioned. But as the years have come and gone, the great emancipator has more and more been accepted and depicted as a dignified figure, a benign countenance, appealing to our regard and affection. As you veterans of the Civil War shared the tragedy and heart aches which he bore, so you also partake of the nobility and glory which are now his.

"Today, in reverence and esteem, we give his figure an enduring form and place it where the generations may stand at his feet, gaining strength and courage as they look up into

his furrowed, kindly countenance. It is appropriate he should stand on this memorial drive where living trees, row on row, commemorate the sons of a new day who gave their lives on foreign shore for the same cause of freedom and unity."

This statue is a replica of the famous St. Gauden's statue of Lincoln in Chicago, Illinois.

Acceptance talks were given by Mayor William F. Kunze and Lucien C. Miller, president of the Minneapolis Park Board.

Following the program, members of patriotic, fraternal and civic organizations placed wreaths of flowers at the base of the statue. Representatives of each organization read 100-word tributes to the G. A. R. Stafford King, past state commander of the American Legion, led the parade, which included about forty organizations.

Minnesota Posts of the G. A. R. who planned the statue are John A. Rawlins, Levi Butler, George N. Morgan, L. P. Plummer, Dudley P. Chase, Appomattox, James Bryant, William Downs, Jacob Schaefer and Billy Mortimer.

LINCOLN MONUMENT, BUNKER HILL, MACOUPIN COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

The Lincoln Monument in Bunker Hill was dedicated September 7, 1904, and was a gift to the City of Bunker Hill by Captain Charles Clinton of Company B, First Missouri Cavalry, Volunteers.

It stands 17½ feet high and weighs 22 tons. The first base stone is 9 feet 3 inches square and 1 foot 1 inch thick. The second base is 6 feet 1 inch square and 1 foot 2 inches in thickness. Immediately above this is the third base 1 foot 4 inches square. Resting upon the third base is the die, which stone supports the finely sculptured statue of Abraham Lincoln, the statue being 7 feet 2 inches in height and the bronze figure was over 1,200 pounds. Resting upon the first base is the bronze statue of a woman in the act of inscribing upon the stone "With Malice Toward None," the crayon in her hand resting upon the finished letter "e" of the word "none." Upon the opposite side of the monument are two bronze plates upon which is inscribed:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT,
BORN, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1809,
DIED, APRIL 15, 1865.

Just below the bronze plate containing the above inscription as follows:

1904

IN EVERLASTING MEMORY OF
THE CONFLICT BY WHICH THE UNION
WAS PRESERVED AND
IN WHICH THEY
TOOK PART THIS STATUE OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
WAS PRESENTED TO THE
CITIZENS OF BUNKER HILL
BY THE SOLDIERS OF COMPANY B
OF THE FIRST MO. CAV.,
CHARLES CLINTON, CAPTAIN.

This last is misleading because the monument was not contributed to Bunker Hill by the soldiers of this Company but was a gift to Bunker Hill by Capt. Charles Clinton himself, who organized a company of soldiers and took them to the seat of war, rendering excellent service as a part of the Missouri organization.

The sculptor of this monument was Granville W. Hastings.

DEDICATION OF THE MEMORIAL TO JAMES BUTLER HICKOK, "WILD BILL."

By WALLACE RICE.

The rugged and unhewn mass of granite with its appropriate tablet in bronze to the memory of James Butler Hickok, internationally known as "Wild Bill," was dedicated on Friday, August 29, in the new State Park at Troy Grove, La Salle County, near the house in which he was born. Twelve hundred or more from the countryside were present at the ceremonies, including many members of the great scout's family and a score or more of his neighbors, many with vivid recollections of his boyhood in the little town of about three hundred souls.

The Hon. R. C. Soderstrom, assemblyman from the district, spoke on behalf of Governor Emmerson, who was unable to be present, and others present and speaking were John Boyle, director of State Parks; the Hon. John T. Buckbee, of Rockford, congressman from the Twelfth District; Doctor Otto L. Schmidt, president of the State Historical Society, and Wallace Rice, of Chicago, who delivered the address of the day, as follows:

Nothing of the funereal lies in these ceremonies, which are rather a celebration of the virtues of a native of this place who has attained almost universal fame, in whose honor this monument has just been unveiled. James Butler Hickok, "Wild Bill," was dead square, dead honest, and a dead shot, and the sure foundation for these fine qualities was laid in this place.

His people were of excellent Presbyterian Scotch-Irish stock. His grandfather, Otis Hickok, came to this country in the eighteenth century, and distinguished himself at the battle of Plattsburg on September 11, 1814, when a British expedition down Lake Champlain was put to rout and its commander slain. His father, William Alonzo Hickok, was born at North

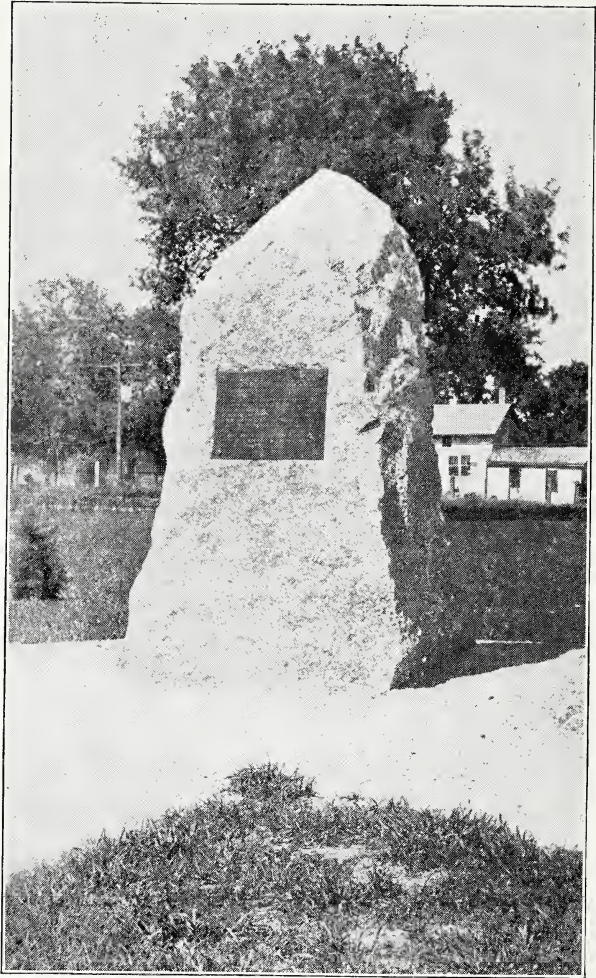
Hero, Vermont, on December 5, 1801, was educated for the Presbyterian ministry, studied himself into a brain fever and was forced to embark in business, married Polly Butler in 1827, kept a store in Broome County, New York, in 1831, moved three years later to Bailey's Point, Illinois, and in 1837 settled finally in Troy Grove, then called Homer, and here James Butler Hickok was born, on May 27, 1837. He had three elder brothers, one of whom, Lorenzo, went out to the frontier where he was named, for no reason in particular, "Billy Barnes," which was duly transferred to his younger brother when he followed him west. There were also two sisters, younger. The father, universally beloved for his fine qualities, first the keeper of the general store and later a farmer, died here in 1852, when James was in his fifteenth year. It is to be said that James did not like his sobriquet, and preferred to be addressed as Mr. Hickok. In this, as in everything else, his preferences were respected. And it is also to be said that his speech was soft and well schooled; nothing does him more injustice than the uncouth and vulgar language put in his mouth by those who drew on their imagination for their facts, which in this as in telling of his really marvelous exploits, was done to an extent almost incredible and wholly unnecessary. What he actually did is quite sufficient without exaggeration. And yet the wide circulation of these wild legends bears additional proof of his prowess, and the belief he instilled that nothing was impossible to him which demanded utter courage and a skill in markmanship which leaves him among the greatest of the world's shots.

Discussion of markmanship reveals the fact that accurate firing comes to be second nature; to such an extent that good shots cannot tell just how they come to possess deadliness of aim. It appears to be a gift, requiring special abilities of several sorts, coupled with insistent practice, and best developed at a tender age. It was so with Hickok. He was the proud owner of a single-barrelled flintlock pistol at the age of eight. At fourteen he had a better one, with caps and balls, a revolver, and soon after his father gave him an excellent rifle

With these he went hunting for gray wolves, then abundant and rapacious, and added to the family treasury with the state bounties for their scalps. He himself says he perfected his shooting after he reached the western mountains, shooting at dimes for fifty cents a shot.

Hickok's revolvers were worn at his hip, and it was from his hip he shot; no time was wasted in raising them to aim. He stripped them of their trigger pull, polished their hammers, on which his thumbs reposed when he drew, and it required the mere lifting of the thumb to fire them. He was thus able to fire successive shots with a rapidity fairly equalling that of the modern automatic, as some of his authentic exploits prove. Proofs are numerous, but perhaps the best of them is afforded by Buffalo Bill Cody, whom he met in 1857, when Cody was eleven years old. By him Hickok was rated as the greatest of shots, when Buffalo Bill was traveling with the famous Doctor Carver, esteemed as having no superior; and Carver was not the man to let such a statement go unchallenged if it could be successfully. General Custer bears testimony to his having put all six shots from his revolver into a knot-hole in a telegraph post as the two of them galloped by it. He was equally skilled in both hands, and was able to draw and hit two poles, standing between them, an accomplishment which saved his life on one occasion. But he is never known to have fired at a human being unless attacked, or to have fired without hitting, almost invariably killing, his opponents, however many.

It was in his Illinois home he drank in to the full of his being those principles of law and order which stood by him throughout his brief career. As he was in Cody's statement "the most deadly shot with rifle and pistols that ever lived," as Emerson Hough stated, "All the army men rated Hickok as the best shot with rifle and revolver that the West ever saw," so his biographer, Frank J. Wiltach, sums up his reputation thus: "If greatness consists of an unswerving courage, an unquestioned honesty, a gentle and generous spirit, as well as a willingness at all times to endanger one's life for the



"WILD BILL" HICKOK MEMORIAL.
Dedicated August 29, 1930.

sake of public order or to save a friend, then Wild Bill Hickok has a considerable claim to fame. He was, in his time and in his environment, the country's greatest peace officer. He stood for law and order when there was neither." Furthermore, a point which has escaped all previous writers about him, he died a veritable martyr to this cause, as will be shown, laying down his life, murdered, because of his reputation, again in Wilstach's words because "as a pistoleer in the presence of bad men running wild, he was the *ne plus ultra perfectio*," an observation containing more of truth than Latinity.

It is known that when James Butler Hickok was still a youth of fifteen he came into possession of "The Life of Kit Carson" and of "The Trapper's Guide." Already adventurous, as his hunting of the fierce wolves of that day shows, his imagination was fired by the tales of life on the frontier, and the years intensified his desire to share in it. He set out on foot from Troy Grove with pistol, rifle, and hunting-knife with the determination, stated to his brothers, "One day I'll beat anything that Kit Carson ever did or attempted." This was in the spring of 1855, just after he turned eighteen. He walked to St. Louis and took passage in a river steamer to Leavenworth, when Kansas was a seething mass of assorted troubles, bloodshed, massacre, arson, and rapine. It is to be noted that through all his life he headed unwaveringly for the spot where there seemed to be the most and worst troubles, and that his arrival there ended them to an extent fairly incredible.

Hickok promptly joined Jim Lane's Red Legs, in open warfare with the Border Ruffians, making his first choice of the party that was resisting slavery in behalf of a better state of living recently arrived in the territory from Indiana, winning the needed equipment by his marksmanship through which he became widely known. In 1857 he preempted a claim for a quarter section of land in Monticello, and his reputation caused his election as constable, his first office on the side of peace. As usual, peace ensued. Here a story emanates that he married an Indian squaw, but William E. Connelley,

the late secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, investigated the tale and found no support for it. The cabin he built on his claim was burnt during his absence in revenge for his work with the Red Legs, and a second cabin was also destroyed by them.

He thereupon, in 1858, became a driver for the Overland Stage Company, covering territory from points in Missouri, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska through to Santa Fé and Salt Lake City, and it is reported that no man ever covered his journeys with fewer accidents. When the Indians rose and began attacking the coaches, and the officials of the company sent for Wild Bill, he recruited fifty of his fellows, left St. Joseph, Missouri, with them September 29, routed the Indians completely, and the depredations ended. Bill Cody was in the party, a mere lad. The next year he was employed by Majors & Russell, freighters, plying between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fé. About this time he happened upon a cinnamon bear with her two cubs. It took Hickok several months to recover, but he slew the bear. So passed the months until the eventful afternoon of July 12, 1861, arrived, and with it the encounter with David C. McCanles, which, grossly exaggerated, was recounted by Henry M. Stanley in the *New York Herald*, by George Ward Nichols in *Harper's Magazine*, and several others down into the living present, and gave Hickok, as many think, his sobriquet of Wild Bill.

This bit of frontier legend states that McCanles and nine fellow ruffians attacked him in a cabin at Rock Springs, Nebraska. Hickok shot the leader and three others, and slew the rest with his knife, six more in hand-to-hand fighting, and emerged sadly wounded, the only living thing in the cabin. Connelley gave the tale his attention, and it appears that only three were slain, McCanles and two young men, his followers, who came to the cabin to end Hickok's life because he had prevented their stealing the stage horses for the Confederates. In the trial before Justice Albert Towle which followed, it was shown that Hickok's quickness and accuracy caused the

death of the three armed men, his would-be assailants, before they fired a shot, and the prosecution was dropped, so strongly was the sympathy of the neighborhood in favor of their slayer, certainly acting in self-defense. But it is a whale of a story, *ben trovato è non vero*, and mere facts will never suppress it.

There followed the brilliant exploits performed for the cause of the Union as a volunteer scout and spy, never as an enlisted man, as vivid as any ever written into the history of war. They begin with Hickok's engagement as brigade wagon-master under General John C. Frémont, conducting a division wagon train from Fort Leavenworth to Sedalia. Attacked by a company of Confederates, they surrendered without a struggle, with the exception of their leader, who disdained surrender, opened fire and killed four of the enemy, and got to Kansas City. There, supplied with cavalry, Hickok returned on his tracks, surprised the foe, recaptured the train, and reached Sedalia with it. He entered the service of General Samuel R. Curtis as wagon-master, operating against a Confederate force under Generals Van Dorn, Price, and McCulloch, and utilizing his marksmanship as a sharpshooter in the battle of Pea Ridge on March 6 to 8, 1862. Stationed behind a log for four hours, it is stated that he killed thirty-five of his adversaries, including General McCulloch.

General Curtis transferred him to his personal staff and sent him as a spy into General Price's lines. By the time the two armies met at Elk River, Hickok had so far won General Price's confidence that he sent him with special dispatches to General Joe Shelby. By a stratagem Hickok escaped with these to the Union lines when the armies were in battle array. Knowledge that his plans had been disclosed sent General Price into prompt retreat. Again setting out, Hickok succeeded in joining the army of General Kirby Smith, and once more escaped with valuable information. For the third time he set out and was duly enlisted in General Price's advancing force, where he was recognized and sentenced to death as a spy. During the stormy night that followed, he freed himself of his bonds, killed the sentinel and put on his clothes, and

reached General Curtis with important information the next day.

But he declined to enter the enemy's lines again, being too well known, and in the uniform of a Confederate officer devoted himself to scouting. On July 25, 1864, he was suddenly set upon by three mounted men, who demanded his surrender. He shot them all, and got away with their horses, one of which became famous as Black Nell, so carefully trained by her owner that she obeyed his commands with an intelligence not always found in human beings. Legends throng about her, enhancing Hickok's reputation, and enhanced by it. Together they served General Curtis during the conflict with the Choctaws in January and February, 1865, when Hickok acted as his chief of scouts, which eventuated in a famous duel between the scout and Conquering Bear, who had sought to betray him. The Indian perished, as was usual with Wild Bill's adversaries; though, which was unusual, Bill was severely wounded.

Hickok went to Kansas City after his recovery, trapped beaver and otter on the Niobrara River the next season, and the summer following found him in Springfield, Missouri, the nearest town in which diversion was to be found, among them poker, Hickok's favorite recreation, although he was never known to have made much by it. In connection with a game arose the duel between him and Dave Tutt, who had been as strong for the Confederacy as Hickok for the Union, and was a gambler by trade. He asserted that Hickok owed him thirty-five dollars; Wild Bill, a man of his word, said twenty-five dollars; thereupon Tutt picked Hickok's watch up from the table and said he would keep it till the debt was paid on his terms. Moreover, he gave out publicly that he was going to wear the watch across the town square the next day. His supporters, all Confederate sympathizers, gathered to see him do it. Tutt came out on one side of the square, Hickok was on the other, Tutt's friends all about him. At seventy-five yards both fired. Tutt dropped with a bullet through his heart. Having fired, without waiting to see the result, Wild Bill

turned around on the crowd behind, pistol in hand, and asked them if it was a fair fight. They decided it was. This was one of several occasions when Hickok felt himself, as he said, put upon; and he did not like being put upon. Those who knew him best did not make a practice of it. The duel was fought on July 20, 1865.

Nothing definite is known about the months that followed, beyond the fact that Hickok left Springfield. But we know that in 1867 he was in Santa Fe, and there met Kit Carson, the hero of his youth, then fifty-eight years old and within a year of his end, and not only met him but was told by him that in all his life he had never known Bill's equal for personal courage, a most satisfying estimate from so expert a source. Soon after he gave a demonstration while on a hunting trip in southern Nebraska. Peacefully intentioned, he went into a saloon, ordered, and was given a drink. The place was full of cowboys with more whiskey aboard. Five of them thought Hickok an apt subject for hearty jest, and one of them gave him a hearty slap on the back as the glass reached his lips. In one moment Bill swung and that cowboy was not interested in the subsequent proceedings. The four survivors moved upon Bill, who parleyed, offering to fight the four of them at from five to fifteen paces. They chose fifteen and lined up four feet apart. The bartender gave the word. Bill killed the first man, and was shot in his pistol arm. Shifting it to his left hand he killed the next two and tore away part of the face of the last, who survived. Bill felt he was being put upon. He did not recover from his wound until the spring of 1869.

He spent the autumn and winter on the Canadian River, chief of scouts for General W. H. Penrose; Buffalo Bill serving in the same capacity for General E. A. Carr, who commanded the second column. Nothing happened of note, but a gorgeous story relating to Wild and Buffalo Bill, who were said to have charged through fifty Indian braves to kill Chief Black Kettle, emerged from it. It is only known that Hickok received somewhere else a serious wound, and that while con-

valescing received a letter from his sister Lydia saying that his mother was ill. He came east, reaching Troy Grove on April 3, 1869, his first visit for thirteen years. On that journey he went to Chicago for the first time, was put upon by seven hoodlums while he was playing billiards, laid them all out with his cue, and returned home with his head in bandages. It is a pity there is no frontier now, to supply Chicago with this sort of man.

By this time James Butler Hickok, as Wild Bill, was known the country over, which led in May, 1869, to Senator Henry Wilson's asking him to act as guide during a journey to the West. The letter came to Troy Grove while Hickok was at home, and he replied, fixing his terms at five hundred dollars. This was accepted, and on June 12 began their journey from Hays City, Kansas, then the western terminus of the Kansas Pacific Railroad. They travelled far, visiting the scene of the Cheyenne massacre on the Republican River and the canyons of the Arkansas, returning after five weeks to their starting point, where Wilson, who was afterward Vice-President of the United States in Grant's second term, gave the guide a testimonial banquet, and also presented him with a pair of the best pistols obtainable, the ivory-handled pair which dictated the fashion in pistols throughout the West for many years.

Hays City was a shipping point for Texas cattle, and a wicked frontier town for its size, or any other size. It needed revision and supervision, and the better class of people there elected Hickok their town marshal on September 8, 1869. Jack Strawhorn, a resident desperado, came into the saloon where Hickok was sitting, went to the bar, drew his gun—and died; Bill was quicker. It is a pleasant sentimental touch that the citizens were so grateful they gave their marshal a serenade that night. This was October 19. Somewhat later Bill Mulvey arrived from St. Louis and proceeded to shoot up the town, which was bad form under Wild Bill's marshalship. He was hunted up and informed of the turbulence. He came up to Mulvey, who had his two guns in his hands, and told him he

was under arrest. Mulvey's reply was to point his weapons into Bill's face. Bill backed off a pace or two, and said suddenly, his voice following his glance past Mulvey, "Don't shoot him—he's only in fun." Mulvey turned his head; and died. This device seems to have been Hickok's own invention.

Tales abound of Hickok's marshalship in Hays City, all bearing out his growing reputation as an insurer of peace and order. One of them concerns a professional pugilist named Patterson, who informed Wild Bill that he was going to be boss as long as he stayed in town. He declined his choice of Bill's pistols, explaining about fists. He made himself clear, Bill's fists promptly made it clearer, and peace reigned once more. Hickok went to Ellsworth frequently, a town not far from Hays City, and his attentions to the lady there caused the local bad man, one Thompson, to plan his death. Bill had just ordered an oyster stew in the local eating-house, and fright on the waiter's face made him turn in time to see Thompson taking aim. Bill slid down in his chair so quick that the bullet smashed the plate in front of him, and fired before his foe could pull his trigger again. Thompson died.

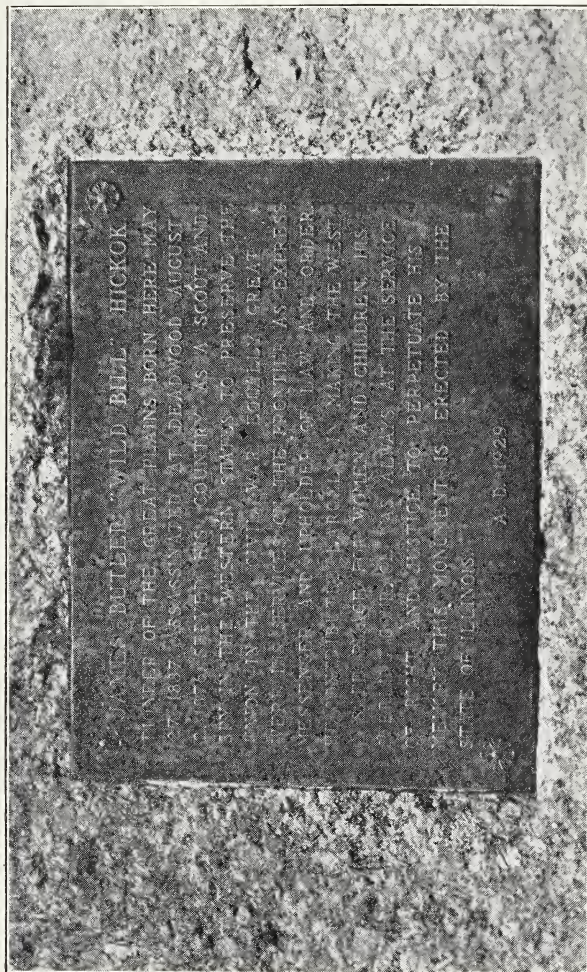
Fort Hays, a regular army post, was near, and the soldiers patronized the town saloons. They were filling themselves with whiskey on the afternoon of February 12, 1870, and the town with turbulence, when Wild Bill came in, picked out a tall sergeant who was the noisest of them, told him he was under arrest, and compromised by agreeing to fight him. He shared the usual fate of Bill's adversaries, though the lighter—he weighed 165 pounds at that time—whereupon his comrades, a dozen or more, started beating him to death. Paddy Welch, the saloon-keeper, got Bill's guns for him, and three soldiers died from them. Bill was badly hurt, though he walked away, and hid himself in a friend's cabin for several weeks, General Sheridan having ordered his arrest, dead or alive. He left town as soon as he was able. Six months later, Sheridan having been transferred, he started back by way of Abilene, whose efficient marshal, Tom Smith, had just been

murdered, with a county fair and the promise of red Hades only two days away.

Hickok accepted the town marshalship, while the gamblers and cowboys drew lots to see who should send Bill to join Smith. Phil Coe, a faro dealer from Texas, had the doubtful honor fall to him. The fair opened, and the local Hades with it, and Bill reminded those about him that the town ordinance forbade shooting. Firing was heard in the Alamo, a saloon near by, and Bill, going over to see about it, was confronted by Coe, pistol in hand. Coe fired, and grazed Bill's side. Bill shot him with both guns. He died. This was the last man Bill ever had to kill, and his record remains clean to the end: he was never the aggressor. Bill resigned his marshalship, both at Hays City and Abilene, where he returned in 1871, but not until he had disarmed John Wesley Hardin of Texas, most redoubtable of men by repute.

Hickok lived in Kansas City in peace for a time, and invented the general idea of a Wild West Show, interesting Cody in it. Going himself for the bison needed for the exhibition, he undertook their capture for the first time, and actually took six of them by main strength and awkwardness to Omaha from the Republican River country. Comanches came next, and in getting these he found himself possessed of a trained cinnamon bear and a big monkey. With the outfit he left Omaha for Niagara Falls on June 22, 1870, the buffalo chase being advertised for July 20, in a somewhat enclosed lot on the Canadian side. The exhibition was an exhibition, but not a success otherwise, though five thousand people came to see it. He contrived to get himself and his Indians back to Kansas City by selling his bison. But it was the first Wild West Show, and Cody profited by his mistakes fifteen years later.

It was in 1873 that Hickok, with Bill Cody and Texas Jack Omohundro went on the stage. Ned Buntline, whose name was Judson, wrote the play, "Scouts of the Prairie," and it opened to a crowded house in Nixon's Hall in Chicago, and in the autumn of 1873 at Niblo's Garden in New York.



Inscription on Memorial to "Wild Bill" Hickok.

Hickok did not like the stage, being notably of a retiring disposition, except in real emergencies, throughout his life. It was as advance agent for this show that Captain John Burke, Arizona John, came into connection with Cody, later performing the same services for his exhibition of Rough Riders. He, with many more, bears willing witness to Wild Bill's remarkable popularity wherever he went, but he did not enjoy acting and he returned to the West, interested in the Black Hills discoveries of gold, and soon reached Cheyenne, somewhat disguised by having to wear colored spectacles for eye trouble.

Always enjoying gambling, he went into Bowlby's Gold Room to play faro. He bet \$50, and his money was swept in through an adverse turn of the cards. He bet again, his last \$50, and won, but the dealer paid out only \$25, stating that this was the limit. Bill felt he was being put upon, and the shortened billiard cue he carried by way of walking-stick came into play. He used it on the dealer and the lookout, and helped himself to the bank, only to be attacked by the bouncers. In the scuffle his glasses came off, as well as his hat, releasing his flowing locks. He was recognized—one man cried out, "It's Wild Bill," and he was left in solitary possession of the place with practical immediacy. The next day Bowlby and the town marshal visited him; they had a grievance against him for not disclosing his identity upon his arrival, pointing out that it might only too easily have ended in loss of life. A compromise was effected, whereby Wild Bill split the captured roll with Bowlby, only too glad to get it on terms so easy, and adjournment was duly made to the nearest bar. Wild Bill's usual popularity followed this episode.

It was in Cheyenne that Hickok met Buffalo Bill's wife, who testifies to his manly beauty, his modesty, his gentle speech and manners, and his anxiety not to be taken for a desperado. Others who met him there are quick to bear out this impression, which was also that of General Custer's wife, set forth at length in her memoirs of her gallant and ill-fated husband.

It was in Cheyenne that he met Agnes Lake for the third time; the first being at Hays City when he enabled her, then recently widowed, to give her circus without having to pay license, and the second when he was himself showing in Rochester, New York. She was a great horseback rider, Alsatian by birth, and with an international reputation. They were married in Cheyenne on March 5, 1876, left that night for Cincinnati on their honeymoon, and within a fortnight, Hickok, impressed by the need of providing for his wife, left for the Black Hills country to make his fortune. He never saw her again, but she lived to pass eighty, dying in Jersey City in 1907.

Whether it is Victorian reticence, or James Butler Hickok's preoccupation with dangerous life amid men and wild beasts, his name was seldom connected with that of a woman before his marriage, a remarkable fact, for he was one of the handsomest of men, six feet two inches in height, broad of shoulder, thick of chest, slender hipped, tapering down from a beautifully shaped and well set head, as graceful on foot as on a horse, which is to be said of few plainsmen, features admirably modelled, light brown hair worn long in the western manner, hazel eyes, piercing yet kindly—in fact, a man of beauty who was rightly compared to a young Greek god. Yet he was not without his interest in womankind, to all of whom at all times he was respectful. Both the McCandles and the Thompson episodes had a girl in the background. He was said to have married a squaw, which lacks proof, but an Indian maiden, Mary Logan, adored him and was protected by him quite without passion. He was mentioned in connection with Calamity Jane after his going to Deadwood, and she characterized the gossiping, even scandalous remarks as “All blankety-blank lies.” Never was there a man more wholly a man than James Butler Hickok, and never one who presumed less upon his manhood in any of his relations with human people.

In company with Colorado Charlie Utter, Wild Bill left Cheyenne for Deadwood on April 12, 1876, and to his depart-

ure is due the fact that he was not with Custer, who had sent for him to act as scout of his last expedition, at the calamitous battle of the Big Horn on June 26, 1876. Legend attended Hickok's last stage ride on this journey, a cheerful little story of his shooting jack rabbits from his seat with the driver until only four shots were left in his pistols, which he failed to recharge, of the stage's being held up by five desperate road agents, all heavily armed, of their demanding that hands be held up, of Wild Bill's shooting four of them with his remaining cartridges, and killing the fifth by hitting him in the head with an empty revolver thrown from his place. It's not a bad story at all, and there seems to have been no other man of which such a tale could be told, in spite of all the marvelous shots on the frontier.

Once in Deadwood, indeed, on his way there, Hickok had presentiments of tragedy, well attested, and particularly strong on his last evening. But he went about his business, took up mining claims and went prospecting, and still had time to preserve his character from false imputations. Six bad men from Montana had a great deal to say of an unpleasant nature, until Wild Bill went over to the saloon they frequented, stood them up against its wall, all six of them, and took away their weapons. There were many such villains in Deadwood, and again the decent folk of the town were talking of putting an end to their villainy by making Hickok town marshal. Of the result there was no doubt in any man's mind, least of all in that of an offender.

In direct consequence a number of these outlaws raised a purse, and promised \$200 to a young man of little wit and that all wicked, Jack McCall, if he would kill Hickok, who was sitting playing poker in a saloon across the street. It was his invariable custom so to sit that his glance commanded all the entrances, but a jesting friend jockeyed him out of it on that fatal afternoon of Wednesday, August 2, 1876. McCall sauntered in behind him, took a drink at the bar, drew, whirled and fired, sending a forty-five calibre bullet through Hickok's brain

from a few yards' distance. He died a veritable martyr to his repute as a peace officer.

He was buried the next afternoon, and a statue marks the site. McCall was placed on trial before an informal judge and jury, and acquitted. But he went later to Laramie, and there bragged of the murder. He was placed on his defense for murder in a lawful court, found guilty, the sentence sustained on appeal, and he was hanged on March 1, 1877, and society well rid of a human reptile, ugly and deadly.

And therefore Illinois, honoring one of her most famous sons, honors herself in this memorial to keep alive so fine a memory. May James Butler Hickok never be forgotten!

DIXON'S ONE-HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

(From Chicago Tribune.)

On Sunday, September 21, 1930, the Past and Present met over a span of one hundred years as Dixon, county seat of Lee County, opened a four-day centennial celebration.

A caravan of sixty airplanes of all types swooped down on the Municipal Airport to participate in the air carnival to christen the field, a gift of Charles R. Walgreen of Chicago. As the planes streaked across the sky, a remnant of the tribe of Winnebago Indians, led by Chief Short Wing, wound their way along the Rock River to a camp site near the Lincoln Highway.

More than a hundred years ago the chief's forefathers led raids from Wisconsin against the proud Blackhawks in contest for the fertile river valley. Today, planes hummed overhead as the Indians in tribal feathers danced the war dance.

All Dixon was at the airport where a program of races, stunt flying, glider competition and other air contests was presented under the direction of Major Reed Landis of Chicago. Jimmy Doolittle and his mystery ship, Anse Perkins, a member of Byrd's antarctic expedition, Betty Lund and scores of flyers thrilled the crowd of 20,000 persons.

The air carnival continued on Monday with demonstrations by army and navy fliers and balloonists. In the afternoon a plane came from the West and picked up the city's first air mail. The airport was officially dedicated by Major Landis. On Monday evening a five mile parade with one hundred floats depicting the history of the city from Indian days to its present position as the lusty key city of northwest Illinois, was witnessed by many.

Dixon is now a city of 10,000 in a community of 15,000 nestled in the picturesque Rock River Valley. It was founded April 11, 1830, by John Dixon, who left his home in New York because he was told that the pioneer country would build up his health. Dixon was a friend of Robert Fulton, and was one of those who made the trial trip on the latter's first steamship, the Claremont.

Dixon secured from the government the contract to deliver mail between Peoria and Galena, then famous for its lead mines. He induced a half breed, Joseph Ogee, to establish a ferry at Dixon. Later Dixon took over the ferry and induced others to settle in the fertile country. To bear out the advice of his friends Dixon lived to the age of ninety-two.

It was while Dixon operated his ferry that Abraham Lincoln, the youthful captain in the Blackhawk War, was stationed at Fort Dixon. After he served his enlistment of thirty days Lincoln reenlisted as a private and was mustered in by Robert Anderson, then a captain, who achieved national prominence as the defender of Fort Sumter. Here, too, Lincoln first met Jefferson Davis, fresh from West Point as a lieutenant of engineers. Historic data bears out the meeting of the men who were to gain the helm of the warring states during the Civil War.

With them at the fort were Zachary Taylor, another president, and General Winfield Scott of Mexican War fame. Although records are not certain they must have met William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton, who came, a civilian, attached to relief troops, and Albert Sidney Johnston, general in the Confederate Army.

Not far from the site of the fort stands the original of one of the first log cabins in the community, built by Judge J. B. Charters. Here was born the first white boy in the area, Joseph Shellhammer, who still lives here. Shellhammer, a Civil War veteran, eighty-nine years old, participated in the ceremonies.

A military and industrial parade was held Tuesday afternoon, followed by the dedication of the Memorial Bridge

across Rock River, which was built to commemorate the city's service in the late war. Former Governor Frank O. Lowden gave the dedication address. Mr. Frank E. Stevens, authority on the Blackhawk War, revealed the discovery of a muster roll of Lincoln's Company, written in the captain's hand. State Commander Poorman of the American Legion also gave an address.

The Blackhawk tradition culminated in the unveiling, on Wednesday afternoon, of a new Lincoln statue, a large bronze by Leonard Crunelle. It stands on the north bank of the Rock River near the Lincoln Highway. The statue is the gift of the State of Illinois.

It is a clear-eyed young man that Crunelle has fashioned. His shirt is open at the throat and unbuttoned. He is wearing a loose coat and his trousers are stuffed into boots well up on his long shins. The right hand grips his belt and the left clasps a sword. There is a hint of the troubled waters ahead and the firmness which brought the forgiveness of millions towards millions in the erect, thoughtful face.

After a parade led by the Rawleigh Band of Freeport, the unveiling ceremonies took place. The program was as follows:

Invocation—Rev. A. Turley Stephenson.

Address of Welcome—Hon. Frank D. Palmer, Mayor.

Unveiling of the Statue.

The Star-Spangled Banner—Rawleigh Band.

Salute.

Introduction of the Sculptor—Leonard Crunelle.

Addresses—By General Milton J. Foreman, Lorado Taft, Judge Henry Horner, Frank E. Stevens.

Introduction of persons who heard Mr. Lincoln speak in Dixon, July 17, 1856, and those who heard one of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in 1858.

After the unveiling of the statue, a mardi gras carnival closed Dixon's one-hundredth birthday party.



NECROLOGY

STEPHEN ALFRED FORBES.

1844-1930.

By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

When Stephen Alfred Forbes died at Urbana, Illinois, March 13, 1930, the United States lost a patriotic citizen who had testified to his patriotism on the field of battle, the State of Illinois a devoted servant, the universe of education an inspired teacher, the world at large one of its great scientists; those privileged to call themselves his friends retain the inspiration of a great and unselfish career.

He was born at Silver Creek, Illinois, May 29, 1844, the son of Isaac S. Forbes and his wife, Agnes Van Hoesen Forbes. His Scotch ancestry bequeathed him little in the way of worldly wealth but left him the priceless heritage of a character whose outstanding traits were courage, public spirit, integrity, intellectual curiosity and mental power. His father died when Stephen was ten years old and the boy took up the burden of helping to support his family on a pioneer farm. His entrance in public life came on a memorable occasion at Freeport, August 22, 1858. A boy of fourteen, already an ardent Republican, he dared to interrupt the great Douglas when he thought the Little Giant took an unfair advantage in debate; silenced by the older men about him, he found himself vindicated by the opening words of Lincoln's rejoinder.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Forbes, then seventeen years old, enlisted in the 7th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, a regiment in which before the end of the war he rose to the rank of captain. He saw his full share of hard fighting; near Corinth in 1862 he was taken prisoner while carrying an important despatch which he succeeded in destroying. He was a prisoner for four months; then was exchanged sick with malaria and scurvy. Restored to health after three months in the hospital, he returned to participate with his regiment

in Grierson's raid, and in its remaining service, climaxing with the battles of Franklin and Nashville.

Here it might be appropriate to deal with Stephen Forbes' education; but dealing with it in a formal way is impossible. He attended Beloit Academy for a time, he studied medicine a year at Rush Medical College, he attended Illinois State Normal for a term; and that is all. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Indiana University in 1884 on the presentation of a thesis and the passing of an examination. Otherwise, he taught himself what he wished to know; and he was a marvelous teacher. James Harvey Robinson, in an inscription in a book found in Professor Forbes' library, bears testimony to the profound influence his old teacher had had on his mental development. Professor Alvord, beginning his career in Illinois history, owed his grounding in French, and priceless training in literary style, to the same man. The bounds of Forbes' educational influence are so widespread that it is impossible to trace them. Not merely do they include the thousands of students in his classes at Normal and at Illinois in half a century; or the many scientists who sat at his feet. No man with even the shreds of a character ever came in contact with him for five minutes, without catching from him the impulse to rigorous and scholarly work.

As an educator, he was perhaps more responsible than any other man, for the introduction of genuine scientific study in the schools of Illinois, and for its wise guidance in after years. As a student of the problems of higher education, two generations of university administrators sought his sane and courageous counsels. Four years before his death on a committee studying the educational organization of the University of Illinois he made the outstanding contribution in a keen study of instruction in the University departments of exact science.

His intellectual interests were infinite. They penetrated far in psychology, philosophy and the social sciences, to say nothing of his admitted world mastership in the zoological

sciences. His language equipment was admirable; one language he acquired during his imprisonment, another during his three months in hospital. He was acquainted with Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, German, Italian and Russian. He had sufficient interest in history to make him an invaluable member of the Illinois State Historical Society. One or two little historical studies—an account of Grierson's raid, a little account of the Gui-Annee celebration of the turn of the year which he observed in the French settlements of the American bottom, bear on their face the profound thoroughness and accuracy which he brought to every investigation in any field. He would not trifle even with trifling things; he would touch no piece of work to which he could not give the best that was in him. He was master of a literary style, acknowledged the best on the Illinois campus at the time when Stuart Pratt Sherman was a member of its faculty—a style the perfection of which was the fruit of the clear thinking so characteristic of the man.

The center of his intellectual interest was, of course, in the zoological sciences. In 1872 he became curator of the museum of the Illinois State Natural History Society. Three years later he began to teach zoology in the State Normal University at Bloomington. In 1877 he established the Illinois State Laboratory in Natural History, remaining its director until 1917 when he became Chief of the Natural History Survey of Illinois. In this position, also, was merged the position of State Entomologist which he held between 1882 and 1917. In the year 1884, the center of his activities was shifted to the University of Illinois, then the Illinois Industrial University, in which he served as Professor of Zoology until 1909 when his title was changed to Professor of Entomology. He was Dean of the College of Science of the University of Illinois from 1888 to 1905. He became *emeritus* Professor of Entomology in 1921, but continued actively in charge of the State Natural History Survey until a week before his death. A list of his scientific honors, national and international, is a very long one; the list of his scientific achieve-

ments, longer still. Among those may especially be mentioned the fact that he organized the International Congress of Zoologists at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893; that he practically organized and directed throughout the exposition the great aquarium of the United States Fish Commission. He vainly endeavored to get the South Park Board to adopt the aquarium as a permanent exhibit in Jackson Park; as in many other things, he was a full generation ahead of his time.

When the layman asks of the scientist an estimate in simple terms of Professor Forbes' achievements in science, he learns that Forbes introduced the method of analyzing life in relation to its environment, of fishes in connection with the marine plants and more primitive marine life on which they subsisted; of studying the plant, animal, bird and insect life of a land area as a whole; of investigating interrelations and dependencies which coordinated the bird and beast with the insect and vegetable life that supported and sheltered them. In this respect, the studies of the life of the Illinois River regions which he inaugurated, are still looked up to as models by the world's scientists. The specialist in birds, in fishes, in fresh water crustacea, each one claims Forbes as a pioneer in his field whose work needed not to be done over. In the remotest zoological laboratories of the world the basic connotation which the name of Illinois had was with the name of Stephen A. Forbes. And he was so single hearted in his devotion to his State that he would never accept an appointment elsewhere, however flattering or desirable, so long as Illinois claimed his services.

As Professor Forbes' scientific career advanced he became increasingly interested in entomology. The battle between man and insect for the possession of the world enlisted the old soldier with courage to face the facts, industry and enthusiasm to ferret them out, integrity of character, content with nothing less than the whole truth, and an ordered mind to marshal ascertained scientific truth with matchless clarity; with marvelous patience, cunning and wisdom he studied the enemy chinch bug, codling moth, Hessian fly, army worm, in

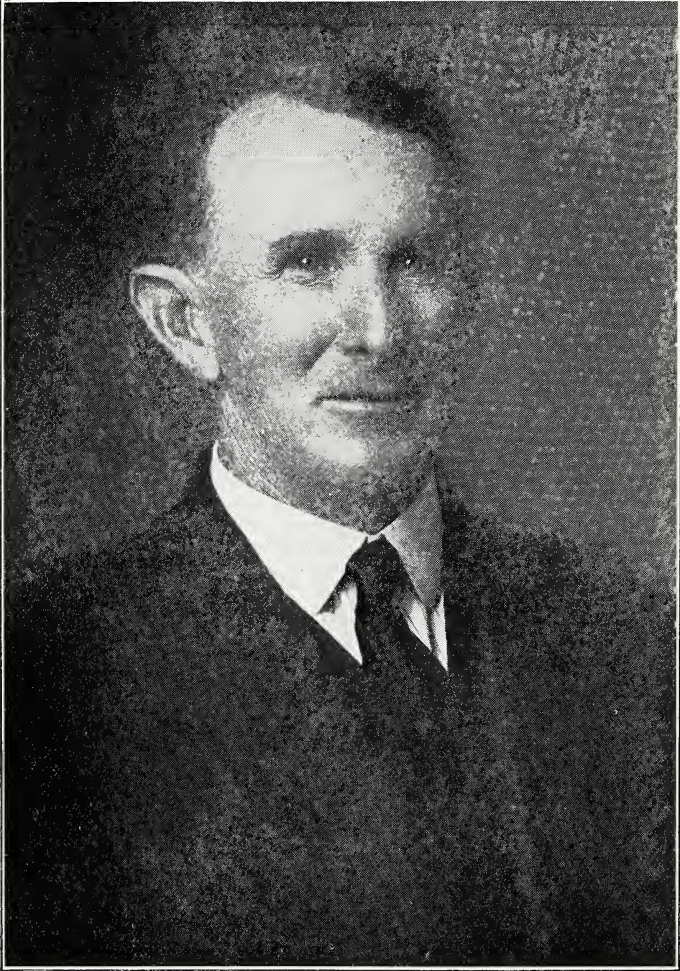
thousands of different examples till he knew minutely the whole life story of each, and could select the stage of development in which it could be most surely destroyed.

Professor Forbes' scientific career began two generations ago; to those of us who knew little of the details of science was handed down, when we had the privilege of knowing him, the tradition of a great accomplishment. The full story of what he had meant to the world of science of the two preceding generations, we could only imagine. The man whom we knew was a man in his eighties, seemingly in the very prime of his intellectual powers; a man who day by day went about his duties as director of the Illinois Natural History Survey, toiling to enlarge the bounds of man's understanding of the zoological world about him. With keen intellectual interest he was still living very much in the present; he delighted in the best of music and literature that his own age could give him; he was a simple and unassuming neighbor, a good friend. Years had mellowed a quick and impatient temperament born of high energy; he was scrupulous to be just and kind to all, and a critic who accorded a generous meed of praise to the efforts of younger men.

He had a helpmate worthy of him. He had married Clara Shaw Gaston on Christmas of 1873 and they had reared a family of four children to useful and important careers. Mrs. Forbes' interest in her seventies was not merely confined to her home, her garden, her church and her friends—dear as all these were to her; to the very end of her life she preserved intellectual keenness and curiosity about the best the current day could afford. In every way she was a kindred spirit for her husband.

On his eighty-sixth birthday, Professor Forbes still had a physique marvelous for his age with intellectual faculties seemingly at their peak; it did not seem possible that the end was less than a year off. First Mrs. Forbes' heart began to fail; she grew weaker and weaker, dying with her children around her, January 24, 1930. Professor Forbes met the loss, crushing as it must have been, with splendid courage and out-

ward composure. He pressed on with the ordinary routine of his duties. He told his doctor that he was too busy to be sick; but apparently the long strain of anxiety over Mrs. Forbes' condition had weakened his resistance and he was taken with a digestible disorder that at first appeared slight. Just as he was leaving his home for the hospital, he talked of his plans of having a permanent landscaping established in Mrs. Forbes' little garden. In the hospital he failed rapidly, dying on March 13, 1930. Within nine days of his death he had been in full responsible charge of the Survey he had founded. His mind retained its vigor to the very end.



R. E. BONE.

ROBERT EDGAR BONE.

1862-1930.

Robert Edgar Bone was born March 27, 1862, in Rock Creek precinct, Menard County, Illinois. He was the youngest child of Robert Smith and Nancy McCoy Bone and a grandson of Elihu Bone, one of the pioneer settlers of Rock Creek community, where the Bone family has been prominent in civic and religious life for over one hundred years. He died April 22, 1930, at his farm home, located on the site of his father's home in which he was born. While he had been in failing health for several years, his condition was not regarded as serious by his family and close friends, hence his death came as a tremendous shock, a shock made more poignant by the fact that his eldest son, Keach Bone, had died only the week before.

Mr. Bone obtained his education in the public schools of his community and in Lincoln University at Lincoln, Illinois, from which institution he graduated in 1883. Soon after his graduation, he was united in marriage to Miss Alice Keach, a college classmate, of McDonough County, Illinois. To this union were born five children: Keach, Alice, Wesley, Otis and Eugene. Only one of the children, Wesley, together with the widow and eight grandchildren now survive him.

Immediately following his marriage, he brought his bride to the home farm and took over its management, continuing its personal supervision throughout the remainder of his life with the exception of a few years spent in Kansas City, engaged in the manufacturing business in partnership with his brother, David M. Bone.

Although he was regarded as one of the most prosperous farmers and stockmen of his vicinity and was deeply interested in every phase of his farm work, he himself considered it of secondary importance. Like William Carey who said, "My business is serving God but I cobble shoes to pay expenses," so Mr. Bone regarded whatever degree of financial

success he achieved as a mere index to his church and community obligations. Community service through the medium of the church was the ruling passion of his life.

In 1887 he was made an elder in the Rock Creek Presbyterian Church, succeeding his father in that capacity who previously had succeeded his father as one of the original board of elders. The Rock Creek Church, which was organized in 1822, before much of the land in that vicinity had been entered, early became the social and religious center of this strictly rural community, and has remained such ever since. To the task of keeping it a vital influence for good in the life of the community, Mr. Bone gave himself unstintingly, sparing neither his time, energy nor money in the pursuit of that purpose. Gifted with a pleasing personality and a naturally lovable disposition, he soon became the guiding spirit of the institution and remained so throughout his life, endearing himself to his neighbors by his kindly bearing and his many deeds of personal interest. Their appreciation of his life was strikingly manifested by the vast throng that gathered to attend his funeral and his place in their estimation was suitably expressed by his pastor that day in the following scriptural quotation: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel."

In 1913 he represented the Springfield Presbytery as a commissioner to the General Assembly in Atlanta, Georgia, and for several years prior to his death, he had been a member of the General Council of the Synod of Illinois. On the day preceding his death, he had attended at Springfield in company with his pastor, Rev. G. A. Wilson, a meeting of the Springfield Presbytery, where he was chosen and presided as moderator, an honor rarely bestowed upon a layman, particularly from a rural church. This tribute reveals the esteem in which he was held by his church at large and stands as a fitting climax to a life of loyal and efficient service.

Mr. Bone was a valuable member of the Illinois State Historical Society, contributing to its publications and adding historical data to its collections.

JOSEPH WILLIAM WALTON.

1873-1930.

Joseph William Walton, publisher of the *Jacksonville Journal* and the *Jacksonville Courier*, died suddenly at 10:30 p. m. Friday, July 4, 1930, at his home, 839 West State Street.

He was at his desk in the newspaper office on July 3, and had spent a pleasant holiday with his family and friends on July 4, when the announcement of his death came as a distinct shock to the community. Jacksonville has lost one of its foremost citizens in business, religious and civic endeavors. He was a friend to everyone in all walks of life. The *Journal* and *Courier* lose his guiding spirit. Every employee of these newspapers loses a loyal, true friend.

Mr. Walton's life was a strenuous one. He loved work, and yet he always had time to help others. Many came to him with their problems and he was ready to help solve them. In civic and organization work Mr. Walton was a leading figure. He was a Mason, a member of Rotary, and affiliated with the Knights Templar, Odd Fellows, Elks, Modern Woodmen, Knights of Pythias, the Illinois State Historical Society, and the Westminster Presbyterian Church, taking a very active part in the affairs of the church.

Mr. Walton was born October 13, 1873, the son of Reuben and Sarah Blackburn Walton. Both parents came from England, settling in Morgan County. When William Walton was a baby, the family moved to Jacksonville, where he lived the rest of his life. He attended the local schools, graduating from Whipple Academy. He continued his studies at Illinois College, from which he received his degree.

On July 2, 1903, he was married to Miss Helen Louise Weller, of Montour Falls, New York, who was teaching music at the Illinois School for the Blind at the time of their meet-

ing. He is survived by his wife, two daughters, Mrs. John Hackett and Ruth, and one son, William.

Funeral services were held at the church on Monday afternoon, July 7, 1930, Rev. M. L. Pontius, pastor of Central Christian Church and intimate friend of Mr. Walton, and Rev. William C. Meeker, pastor of Westminster Church, officiating. Burial took place in beautiful Diamond Grove Cemetery.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph.D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph.D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph.D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph.D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-36. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1929. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. civi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph.D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime. 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles, by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D. LL.D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XXI. Law Series, Vol. II. The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809. Edited with introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Illinois. cclxxxii and 734 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1930.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

General Index to Collections, Journals, Publications—1899-1928. Compiled by Juliet G. Sager.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXIII, No. 3, October, 1930.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

REPORT
of the
SESQUI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION
of the
WESTERNMOST CAMPAIGN OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR,
at Rock Island, Illinois,
Sept. 14 to 20, 1930.

BY JOHN H. HAUBERG.

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1. Participating organizations.
2. Guarantors.
3. Officers and committees.
4. Who's Who on the programs.
5. The Week's program:—
 - a. Church themes.
 - b. Special meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society.
 - c. Old Settlers' Meeting.
 - d. Dedication of tablet.
 - e. United States Marine Band program.
 - f. The Pageant.
 - g. The Parade.
 - h. The Museum.
 - i. The Indian village.
 - j. The Why of the Rock Island Sesqui-Centennial.
 - (1) The Sauk and Fox of Rock River Peninsula saved the Great Valley in 1780.
 - (2) The Burning of the Sauk and Fox villages at Rock Island; in the Westernmost Campaign of the Revolutionary War.

6. Papers read at the State Historical Society meetings:

(1) Mrs. K. T. Anderson.—Col. Conrad Weiser, Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Magistrate and Provincial Interpreter.

(2) Dr. Louis A. Warren.—Lincoln's Early Political Background.

(3) Dean Irving S. Cutter, M. D.—Dr. John Gale, Distinguished Army Physician and Surgeon.

(4) Stella M. Drumm.—The British-Indian Attack on *Pain Court*, (St. Louis).

(5) Dr. Milo M. Quaife.—A Forgotten Hero of Rock Island, Sergeant John Keating, of the British Army.

(6) Prof. Theodore Calvin Pease.—1780, The Revolution at Crisis in the West.

1780—1930.

**ROCK ISLAND COUNTY SESQUI-CENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION**

Rock Island, Illinois, Sept. 14 to 20, 1930.

ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING.

Rock Island City Officials, Hon. Chester C. Thompson,
Mayor.

Rock Island County Farm Bureau, John R. Spencer.

Rock Island County Historical Society, Dr. Gustav A.
Andreen.

Rock Island County Home Bureau, Mrs. Charles Craw-
ford, Mrs. E. H. Lyford.

Rock Island County Pioneer and Old Settlers' Society,
Wm. H. Ashdown, Frank L. Morgan.

Rock Island County Public Schools, Justin Wash-
burne and Louis D. Hauberg.

Rock Island Ministerial Association, Rev. A. J. Hollings-
worth, Dr. W. G. Oglevee, D.D., Henry L. Best.

Rock Island Parent-Teachers Association, Mrs. F. E.
Wood, Mrs. W. H. Hay.

Rock Island Public Schools, James F. Witter, R. C.
Mitchell, V. A. Stibolt, John G. Huntoon, A. H. Bowlby.

American Legion, Rock Island Post No. 200, Dr. Stuart
W. Adler, George R. Baker, F. M. Brown.

Col. John Montgomery Chapter Sons of the American
Revolution, William J. Spencer.

Descendants of Veterans of Black Hawk War, Wm. J.
Spencer.

Fort Armstrong Chapter, Daughters of the American
Revolution, Mrs. Edwin G. Frazer.

John Buford Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Rev.
Henry C. First.

United States Naval Reserves, 31st Division, Lieut. Karl
E. Madden.

GUARANTORS:

Dr. Stuart W. Adler	Leithner & Weishar
The Argus	Manufacturers Trust & Sav-
The Athletic Shop	ings Bank.
A. H. Bowlby	Mrs. W. H. Marshall
A. L. Bruner	E. B. McKown
H. S. Cable	R. C. Mitchell
Carse & Ohlweiler Co.	Mosenfelders, Inc.
Cervin & Stuhr, Architects	Mosenfelder & Sons
Channon & Dufva Co.	Peoples Power Co.
H. H. Cleaveland	Rock Island Clearing House
H. H. Cleaveland Agency	Assn. (Central Trust; Rock
B. D. Connelly	Island Savings, and State
S. S. Davis	Bank of Rock Island).
Mrs. T. B. Davis	Rock Island Lumber & Mfg.
Dimock, Gould & Co.	Co.
Driffill Printing Co.	Rock Island Rubber Co.
Economy Motor Sales Co.	Rock Island Steam Laundry
The Electric Construction &	Rock Island Transfer & Stor-
Machinery Co.	age Co.
Charles Esplin, Jr.	C. E. Sharpe
Fort Armstrong Hotel	C. J. Shaw
Galbraith Motor Co.	Mr. and Mrs. V. A. Stibolt
Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Hauberg	Sturtevant Ice Cream Co.
Horn & Sandberg, Archi-	Voss Brothers
tects	Mrs. Mary Wadsworth
Johnson's Cafeteria	I. S. White

OFFICERS OF THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL
ORGANIZATION.

President—JOHN H. HAUBERG.

Vice President—COL. DAVID M. KING.

Secretary—C. L. CHANDLER.

Treasurer—ROBERT C. MITCHELL.

Executive Committee—JOHN H. HAUBERG, COL. D. M. KING,
CYRIL J. SHAW, JAMES J. HAGAN AND WILLIAM
F. HANSGEN.

COMMITTEES.

Advertising—C. Ray Wilson, Dr. Clifford Myers, and Harry
Davis.

Banquet—R. A. Jacobson, William N. Phillips, Frank L.
Patterson.

Decorations—Ben A. Horn, Joe R. Tuckis, John G. Evans,
John Casto, Tully White, James W. Armstrong, J. F.
Witter, F. B. White, Lieut. J. W. Slattery and A. B.
Carlson.

Finance—C. J. Shaw, Wm. F. Hansgen, N. B. Gosline, F. B.
White, Charles P. Ainsworth, Jr., L. B. Wilson, Ben
H. Potter, George R. Baker, and Ed. A. Applequist.

Indians—Olof Z. Cervin, William McLean Stewart, A. L.
Fleu, Chas. P. Ainsworth, Mrs. J. J. Burgess, Georgia
T. First, Mrs. John H. Hauberg, Mrs. Wm. H. Guthrie,
Barbara Ross, Agnes Koerber, Mrs. A. L. Fleu, Lulu Mor-
rison, Mary Scott, Henry T. Horst, George C. Rausch.

Marine Band and General Publicity—C. L. Chandler.

Motor Corps of the D. A. R.—Mrs. George Sheldon, Mrs.
William J. Sweeney, Mrs. Clinton Searle, Miss Doro-
thy McCabe, Mrs. John Searle, Georgia T. First.

Music—Mel Hodge.

Newspaper Publicity—Frank E. Brandt, Morris Colehour,
J. W. Mossman and R. V. Boom.

Pageantry—James J. Hagan, Gertrude Hickman, Dorothy Peterson, William Rozeboom.

Post Cards—Jay Clarkson.

Program—John H. Hauberg, J. G. Youngquist and J. J. Hagan.

Publications—John W. Potter.

MUSEUM.

Hon. Harry H. Cleaveland, Wm. T. Hoyt, Percy Eklund.

SUB-COMMITTEES FOR COLLECTION OF MUSEUM RELICS.

Moline—Carlson Bros., Albert Hallquist, Ed. Kittlesen, Clarence Trevor and John Holt.

South Moline—Joseph King.

East Moline—Dan Dahlen Drug Store, Mrs. Frank T. Shearman, Mrs. Carl Mitchell, Mrs. Roy William, Mrs. J. H. Fowler, Mrs. F. O. Lovins.

Silvis—B. H. Schultejann Drug Store.

Carbon Cliff—Claude Miller.

Watertown—J. F. Shave, Wm. McNeal.

Hampton—Chas. E. Sikes, Morris Heagy, David Cook.

Port Byron—Kessen Drug Co., C. R. Lamb, A. H. Wendt, Wm. H. Ashdown, Frank L. Morgan, J. J. Simpson.

Cordova—J. W. Sallow, Robert Marshall.

Coal Valley—Mr. and Mrs. T. R. Leas, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Spargo, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Bailey

Milan—Henry Dibbern, Robert Little, Wm. O. Neal, Ira Zahn, Paul Matthew.

Taylor Ridge—J. C. Baker, Geo. T. Harris, Chas. Crawford.

Edgington—Henry Carpenter, W. W. Elliott, J. H. Patterson, Dr. A. H. Mosher.

Hillsdale—Clyde Fowler, W. W. Cain, Louis Hauberg.

Reynolds—J. S. Ellis Hardware Store, W. J. McIntire, Misses Sherrard.

Illinois City—E. E. Brisbim, R. M. Duffield, F. C. Mewes, Chas. Blanchard.

PARADE.

Judge Benj. D. Farrar, Chairman; Maj. E. H. Dunavin,
Vice Chairman.

A. L. Bruner, Retail Merchants.

Mrs. Jas. L. McNamara, Parent-Teachers' Ass'n.

Jos. P. Kelly, Parochial Schools and Misc. Ass'ns.

R. C. Mitchell, Board of Education.

Wm. J. Woodin, Fraternal Organizations.

Justin Washburn, Rural Schools.

Harry Davis, Bands and Drum Corps.

E. A. Applequist, Manufacturers.

Mel Hodge, Dinner Clubs and Charitable and Character
Building Organizations.

WHO'S WHO ON THE SESQUI CENTENNIAL
PROGRAMS.

Mrs. K. T. Anderson, A. M., member Board of Directors
of Rock Island County Historical Society.

Dr. Gustav A. Andreen, Ph. D., President Augustana
College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island.

William H. Ashdown, President, Pioneer and Old Settlers
Assn. of Rock Island County, Port Byron.

Dr. Edward Fry Bartholomew, D. D., ex-President Carth-
age College, Professor Emeritus, Augustana College and
Theological Seminary.

Hon. H. H. Cleaveland, State Director Public Works and
Buildings, Rock Island.

Dr. Irving S. Cutter, M. D., Dean of Northwestern Uni-
versity Medical School, Chicago.

Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian Missouri State Histori-
cal Society, St. Louis.

Rev. Henry C. First, Senior Vice Commander, Dept. of
Illinois, Grand Army of the Republic, Rock Island.

Dr. Claude W. Foss, Ph. D., Prof. of History, Augustana
College, Rock Island.

John H. Hauberg, LL. D., General Chairman, Rock Island County Sesqui-Centennial Committee, Rock Island; Vice President, State Historical Society.

Rudolph A. Jacobson, Secretary, Rock Island Chamber of Commerce.

Col. David M. King, Commandant Rock Island Arsenal.
Rev. Fred. S. Nichols, Pastor Community Church, Table Grove, Ills.

Dr. William G. Oglevee, D. D., Pastor South Park Presbyterian Church, Rock Island.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Librarian, Illinois State Historical Library, and Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

Dr. Theodore Calvin Pease, Ph. D., Professor of History, University of Illinois; Editor, Illinois Historical Publications, Urbana, Ill.

William N. Phillips, President Rotary Club of Rock Island.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-Editor of the Burton Historical Collections; Editor, Mississippi Valley Historical Journal, Detroit.

Rev. Hugh Robinson, Pastor, Presbyterian Church, Edgington, Ill.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, M. D., President, Illinois State Historical Society, Chicago.

William J. Spencer, President, Col. John Montgomery Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, and organizer of Descendants of Veterans of the Black Hawk War, Rock Island.

Hon. Chester C. Thompson, Mayor of Rock Island.

Hon. Samuel R. Van Sant, Ex-Governor of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Dr. Louis A. Warren, LL. D., Director Lincoln Historical Research Bureau, Fort Wayne, Ind.

CHURCH THEMES FOR SUNDAY,
SEPTEMBER 14, 1930.

“The Saddleback Preacher”

Rev. A. J. Hollingsworth, Memorial Christian Church

“Our Heritage”

Rev. W. G. Oglevee, South Park Presbyterian Church

“The Place of Religion in the History of Our Country”

Rev. W. N. Brown, First United Presbyterian Church

“Rock Island’s Religious Heritage”

Rev. Edward Williams, D. D., Broadway Presbyterian Church

*“Stopping to See the Burning Bush and Discovering Our
Fathers’ God”*

Hon. Justin Washburne, at First M. E. Church

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 10 A. M., AT THE
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE GYMNASIUM.

Call to Order by John H. Hauberg, General Chairman,
Sesqui-Centennial Committee.

Introduction of Dr. Gustav A. Andreen, President of
Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Chairman
Local Committee for Historical Meeting.

Dr. Andreen will in turn introduce Dr. Otto L. Schmidt,
M. D., President Illinois State Historical Society, who will
preside over the meeting.

Invocation—Dr. Edward Fry Bartholomew, D. D.

Address of Welcome—Hon. Chester C. Thompson, Mayor of
Rock Island.

Music—

“Banjo Song”Homer

“Shipmates o’ Mine”Sanderson
Henry Veld

Address—Mrs. K. T. Anderson, A. M., Col. Conrad Weiser,
Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Magistrate and Provincial
Interpreter.

Music—

“Caro Nome” Rossini
“A Birthday” Huntington Woodman

Hazel Jackson

Address—“Lincoln’s Early Political Background,” by Dr.
Louis A. Warren.

Adjournment.

Tuesday Noon Meetings—

Visiting Historians and officers of the State Historical
Society will be entertained at lunch at the home of Mr. and
Mrs. John H. Hauberg.

A reception and luncheon will be given in honor of Dr.
Irving S. Cutter, Dean of Northwestern Medical School, at
Peacock Inn, Rock Island, by the joint Moline-Rock Island
Physicians’ Clubs. Addresses will be given by Dr. Cutter,
and by Doctors A. E. Williams, A. T. Leipold, George D.
Hauberg and Phoebe Pearsall Block. Dr. Joseph DeSilva,
president of the Rock Island Physicians Club, will preside.

HISTORICAL PROGRAM.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2:30 P. M., AT
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE GYMNASIUM.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Presiding.

Music—

“Night” Rubinstein
“Dawn” Curran

Mrs. Kathryn Thul

Address—“Dr. John Gale, Distinguished Army Physician
and Surgeon, at Fort Armstrong,” by Dr. Irving S.
Cutter, M. D.

Address—"The British Attack on St. Louis, One Hundred Fifty Years Ago," by Miss Stella M. Drumm.

Music—

"Caprice Valse"Wieniawski

"Melodie" Dawes

Address—"A Forgotten Hero of Rock Island, Sergeant John Keating, of the British Army," by Dr. Milo M. Quaife.

Adjournment.

A tour by automobile will be made following the close of the afternoon's meeting, and historic spots of this locality will be visited.

6:30 P. M.—An Address, "The Significance of the Rock Island Sesqui-Centennial" will be broadcast over Radio Station WHBF, Rock Island, by John H. Hauberg.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(In co-operation with the Rock Island Rotary Club.)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 6:30 P. M., AT THE
BANQUET HALL, FORT ARMSTRONG HOTEL.

PROGRAM.

Call to Order, by R. A. Jacobson.

Invocation—Rev. Henry C. First.

Music—Rock Island High School Concert Band, G. A. Berchekas, Conductor.

The New Colonial March.....Hall

Dawn, A Revelry.....Bennett

Our Director, March.....Biglow

Indian LamentDvorak

March of Illini.....Alford

Tanawanda, Indian Dance.....Wendland

Semper Fidelis, March.....Sousa

Introduction of William N. Phillips.

Announcements.

Mr. Phillips will introduce Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Toast-master.

Music—The Voss Vagabonds.

Address—"1780, The Revolution at Crisis in the West," by
Dr. Theodore Calvin Pease.

Music—The Voss Vagabonds.

Adjournment.

SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REUNION OF THE OLD
SETTLERS ASSOCIATION OF ROCK
ISLAND COUNTY.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, AT BLACK HAWK STATE PARK.

10:00 A. M.

Registration of Members.

Call to Order, by W. H. Ashdown, President.

Song, "America," Audience.

Invocation, Rev. Hugh Robinson, Pastor of Edgington.

Reading of Minutes.

President's Address, W. H. Ashdown.

Memorial Service, Rev. Fred S. Nichols, Table Grove, Illinois.

Song, "Illinois," Audience.

Pictures will be taken of pioneer families and their descend-
ants, and old settlers, families and descendants.

Basket Dinner at Pavilion.

2:00 P. M.

James Jacob Simpson, and his daughter, Mrs. Miller from
Port Byron, will play two old-time tunes. (Mr. Simp-
son's Fiddle Stradivarius is 213 years old this year.)

Address, Ex-Governor Sam R. Van Sant, Minneapolis, Minn.,
"Our Gratitude to George Rogers Clark."

Old-Time tunes, James J. Simpson, assisted by his daughter,
Mrs. Miller.

Election of Officers.

Report of Committees.

Remarks and Resolutions.

Presentation of Historical Cane to newly elected President.

Remarks by newly elected President.
The audience will join in singing "Auld Lang Syne." Songs
led by Rev. W. G. Oglevee of South Park Presbyterian
Church, at the piano.

DEDICATION OF TABLET IN MEMORY OF SAUK
CHIEF LA MAIN CASSEE.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 4:30 P. M.

*and Constitution Day meeting of Col. John Montgomery
Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution at*

BLACK HAWK STATE PARK.

At Marker—East of Black Hawk Inn.

4:30 P. M.

- Bugle Call, "Assembly".....Boy Scout
- Presiding.....William J. Spencer
- President, Col. John Montgomery Chapter.
- Invocation.....Rev. W. G. Oglevee
- Chaplain, Col. John Montgomery Chapter.
- Dedication of Marker.....Col. John Montgomery Chapter
- To the memory of "La Main Cassee."
- Address: "La Main Cassee, A Sauk Chief".....
-John H. Hauberg
- Acceptance of Marker in Behalf of the State.....
-Hon. H. H. Cleaveland
- Recess.
- Dinner (informal).....Six-thirty o'clock
- Black Hawk Inn.
- Address: "The Origin and Nature of the Constitution"
-Dr. C. W. Foss, Ph. D.
- Benediction.....Rev. W. G. Oglevee
- Please send your reservations early.

UNITED STATES MARINE BAND CONCERT.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2:15 P. M. AT THE
ROCK ISLAND HIGH SCHOOL STADIUM.

The Rock Island High School Band will be directed in two numbers by Capt. Taylor Branson, Director of the U. S. Marine Band, preceding the regular Marine Band Concert, which will be as follows:

1. Overture, "Carneval," Opus 92.....Anton Dvorak
2. Morceau Characteristique, "Pan Americana".....
.....Victor Herbert
3. Solo for Cornet, "Hungarian Melodies".....Vincent Bach
Winfred Kemp, Cornet Soloist.
4. Second PolonaiseFranz Liszt

INTERMISSION.

5. Grand Scenes from "I Pagliacci".....
.....Ruggiero Leoncavallo
6. Solo for Xylophone, "Valse Caprice".....
.....Joseph Wieniawski
7. Rhapsodic Dance, "Bamboula".....
.....Samuel Coleridge Taylor
8. "Reminiscences of Tschaikowsky".....Dan Godfrey

UNITED STATES MARINE BAND CONCERT.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 8:15 P. M. AT THE
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE GYMNASIUM.

1. Escort of the Colors by the American Legion Post No. 200.
2. Star Spangled Banner.....Bana
3. Introduction of the Band by Col. David M. King.
4. Overture, "In Bohemia".....Henry Hadley
5. Nocturne, "Dreams of Love".....Franz Liszt
6. Solo for Cornet, "Creanonian Polka"....Fred Weldon
Arthur S. Witcomb, Cornet Soloist.



Pageantry characters in the Sesqui-Centennial Parade.

7. Tone Poem, "Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks"
.....Richard Strauss
- INTERMISSION.
8. Grand Scenes from "Andrea Chenier".....
.....Umberto Giordano
9. Solo for Trombone, "Love's Enchantment".....
.....Arthur Pryor
Robert E. Clark, Trombone Soloist.
10. "Pasquinade".....Louis Moreau Gottschalk
11. "Carneval in Paris".....Johan Severin Svendsen

PAGEANT "THE SPIRIT OF SAUK-E-NUK".

BY GERTRUDE A. HICKMAN.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 8:00 P. M. AT THE ROCK
ISLAND HIGH SCHOOL STADIUM.

PROLOGUE.

Trumpet Call.

Interpretative Dance, "The Spirit of Sauk-e-nuk."

Explanatory Note.—Slowly from the ground the flames begin to rise until they leap into the air in a mad dance. Gradually their life is spent and they return to earth, while from the glowing embers, the ashes rise and whirl about in a fantastic whirlwind. As they settle into oblivion, from their midst rises a beautiful Indian maiden, "The Spirit of Sauk-e-nuk." She speaks. The ashes again take up the dance, and as they settle down to the embers Sauk-e-nuk has disappeared.

Fanfare of trumpets.

Drums.

Processional of all characters in the pageant.

CAST OF CHARACTERS.

Spirit of Sauk-e-nuk.....Mary Elizabeth Soper
La Main Cassee, Indian from Sauk-e-nuk Village (Watch
Tower).....A. W. Schafer

- Silver Cloud La Main Cassee's daughter.....
Mrs. Charlotte Anderson Warren
- Jean Baptiste, Canadian Indian, in love with Silver
 CloudEdwin Behrens
- Captain Charles Gautier, British Army....Stanley Nothstein
- Indian Woman from River la Roche (Rock River
 Country).....Mrs. Mary Behnamann
- Philippe de Rocheblave, commandant at Fort Gage....
J. Lawrence Magrum
- Madame de Rocheblave, his wife.....Doris Larkin
- Father Pierre Gibault, priest of the parish...William Sperry
- Captain Robert Dixon, British forces.....Forrest Dizotell
- Francois Gasquet, sentry on duty.....Elbert Schmick
- George Rogers Clark, lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia
 forcesIrving Wright
- His men:
- Captains:
- John Montgomery.....Jack Rasley
- Leonard Helm.....William Kinney
- Joseph Bowman.....Roger McRoberts
- William Harrod.....Richard Schwenker
- Privates:
- Shadrach Bond.....Edward Carr
- William Edwards.....Robert Wynes
- Daniel Henry.....William Maucker
- Monsieur Calvé, British Recruiting Officer....Harold Grams
- Monsieur Du Charme, British Recruiting Officer.....
George Starleaf
- Indian Runner.....Lyle Hagan
- Captain Emanuel Hessee, British Army....Lowell Dunavin
- Matchekuis, Chippewa Chief.....Robert Theus
- Black Hawk, a Saukie lad of thirteen.....Ben Tallman
- Indian Spy at Ft. Gage.....Beryl Oris
- Villagers, Indians, British Soldiers, etc.....
Rock Island High School Students

Riflemen.....American Legion Drum Corps

Ray Wilson.....President

Francis Barker.....Drill Major

Harry Davis.....Drill Sergeant

Dances under the direction of Miss Maureen Bennett:

The Flames: Rosemary Gotthardt

Lucia Mae Thompson Carolyn Pierson

Phyllis Grant Katherine McKown

Irene Applequist Eleanor Bort

Dorothy Lindstrom Helen Hanks

Billie Mae Wolters Ruth Ann Heisey

Margaret Hollingsworth

Maxine Hunker

Evelyn Montgomery Mary Elizabeth Soper

Dorothy Liljeborg Mardelle Meurling

Jane Wolters Jennie Shields

Millie Morris

The Ashes: Elaine Steenburg

Virginia Hubbard Mary Wiggins

Margaret Bliesner Ruth Taube

Evelyn Camp Aree Costigan

Dorothy Manhard Dorothy Battles

Bonita Dunlap

Solo Dance, Episode IV, Dance of the Indian Brave....

..... Miss Bennett

Pop Goes the Weasel:

Pupils from Lincoln School directed by Miss Rosemary

Huntoon and Miss Frances Medill.

Indian War Dance and Indian National Dance—Students

from Rock Island High School under the direction of

Harry A. Behnamann and H. L. Best.

Orchestra—R. I. H. S. students under the direction of Clif-

ford Julstrom.

Choruses—R. I. H. S. Glee Clubs under direction of Wm. G.

Rozeboom.

Rock Island High School Band.....G. A. Berchekas, Director

MUSICAL SELECTIONS.

Vocal.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Waters of Minnetonka. | 12. Massa Dear. |
| 2. Indian Dawn. | 13. Adeste Fidelis. |
| 3. Chant of the Corngrinders. | |
| 4. Pale Moon. | |
| 5. Indian Love Call. | |
| 6. Sunset Trail. | |
| 7. Carry Me Back to Old Virginny. | |
| 8. Stars of the Summer Night. | |
| 9. Swing Low, Sweet Chariot. | |
| 10. Steal Away. | |
| 11. O Mary, Don't You Weep. | |

Orchestra.

- | |
|----------------------------|
| 1. Indian Love Call. |
| 2. Planters' Dance. |
| 3. Flames and Ashes Dance. |
| 4. Pale Moon. |
| 5. Quadrille. |

Band.

- | |
|-------------------------|
| 1. Pop Goes the Weasel. |
| 2. Indian Lament. |
| 3. Indian War Dances. |
| 4. Dawn. |
| 5. March of the Illini. |
| 6. New Colonial March. |
| 7. Energy Overture. |

SYNOPSIS.

Episode I.

At the Trading Post
Prairie du Chien, 1778.

La Main Cassee with a group of Sauk and Fox Indians from the Rock River Country has arrived at the log trading post at Prairie du Chien to trade their furs. Captain Charles Gautier of the British Army arrives with recruiting officers and Canadian Indian recruits. His mission is to secure recruits from the Indians along the Mississippi river and push on to St. Louis, where he will be joined by other British forces, and capture the fort at that place, giving the entire Mississippi country to the British.

La Main Cassee, who is pro-American in his views, defeats his purpose. Jean Baptiste, a British recruit, falls in love with Silver Cloud, La Main Cassee's daughter, who has journeyed to Prairie du Chien with her father.

Episode II.

The Capture of Fort Gage,
Kaskaskia, July 4, 1776.

Fort Gage at Kaskaskia is held by the British; the commanding officer, Philippe de Rocheblave, a Frenchman, is in charge of a small garrison of British soldiers. The other habitants are French, Creoles, negro slaves and a few Indians.

George Rogers Clark, a lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia expeditionary forces, with a small company of riflemen takes a backwoods trail from Louisville and arrives at Kaskaskia, where he surprises the habitants and captures the garrison. Through the influence of Father Pierre Gibault, the French inhabitants at Cahokia and Vincennes pledge allegiance to the American cause.

Episode III.

Springtime in Sauk-e-nuk.
April 4, 1779.

It is the time of planting and the Indians of the village are making preparations for it. As the young women finish a tribal dance, "The Dance of Planting," Captain Charles Gautier and his British recruits arrive from the north and with gaudy presents attempt to enlist the braves of the Sauk and Fox nations. La Main Cassee again succeeds in defeating his purpose. Half of his men desert and as a runner arrives with news that the Americans have taken Vincennes, Gautier disheartened returns to Canada.

Jean Baptiste tells La Main Cassee of his love for Silver Cloud and expresses a desire to join the Americans. Cassee disbelieves him and sends him away to prove his loyalty.

Episode IV.

On to St. Louis.
Sauk-e-nuk (Watch Tower Village)
A year later, May 16, 1780.

Du Charme and Calvé, British recruiting officers, have arrived and attempt to enlist the Sacs and Foxes. La Main

Cassee again denounces the British, and at least half of the Indians share his views. Captain Emanuel Hessee of the British army arrives with a number of American, French and Spanish prisoners of war, together with about a thousand whites and Indians whom they have forced into the war. He threatens to destroy the Indians if they refuse to march with them to St. Louis. La Main Cassee advises his followers to go without protest, as they are powerless to resist. He remains in Sauk-e-nuk.

Episode V.

The Burning of Sauk-e-nuk,
May, 1780.

The only inhabitants left in Sauk-e-nuk are the old men and women, the youths and maidens and the children. They engage in "The National Dance" until the evening is spent and they return to their lodges. La Main Cassee and Silver Cloud alone remain when an Indian runner, who proves to be Jean Baptiste, arrives exhausted to tell of the American victory at St. Louis, and that the Americans under Col. John Montgomery are coming to burn Sauk-e-nuk and the other Indian villages to the north in retaliation, ignorant of the fact that many of the Indians were forced to march with Hessee, but deserted him at St. Louis.

La Main Cassee tells his people to take their belongings and hurry to their canoes on Rock river. Jean Baptiste and Silver Cloud exchange their marriage vows, and in a moment Sauk-e-nuk is in flames. With a last look at his beloved village, now in flames, La Main Cassee goes forth into the night.

PAGEANT COMMITTEE.

Superintendent J. J. Hagan.....	Chairman
Miss Gertrude A. Hickman.....	Author of Pageant
Miss Dorothy Peterson.....	Dramatic Director
Mr. W. G. Rozeboom.....	Musical Director

STAGE AND SCENERY.

P. J. Martin, Chairman.

Leslie Cooper Earl Peoples Robert Baker Irvin Forgy

Miss Sara Mae McElhinney, Art Supervisor.

Members of Rock Island High School Art Classes:

Nicholas Gartellos

George Welbourne

Theodore Gowdy

Evelyn Nelson

John Hibbert

Marie Rexinger

Edward Collins

Lucia Mae Thompson

COSTUMES.

Miss Dorothy Peterson, Chairman.

Mrs. F. E. Wood, President P. T. A. Council.

Members of the P. T. A. Council:

Mrs. Mary Noack

Mrs. Henry Lambach

Mrs. George Scherer

Mrs. H. A. Wiedenhoeft

Mrs. Earl Miller

Mrs. Guy Wilson

Mrs. W. N. Haskell

ANNOUNCER.

Floyd Shetter

PARADE.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 10:30 A. M.

Historical Parade will be divided into five divisions.

HOOR OF ASSEMBLY.

Units will take positions assigned not later than 10:45 a. m.

At ten o'clock the first division will move North on 20th Street. When first division clears 7th Avenue, second division will follow, other divisions will follow as preceding divisions clear.

ROUTE OF PARADE.

Parade will move North on 20th Street to 2nd Avenue, thence West on 2nd Avenue to 15th Street, thence South on

15th Street to 3rd Avenue, thence West on 3rd Avenue to 11th Street, counter-marching on 3rd Avenue, the Parade will move East on 3rd Avenue to 19th Street, thence South on 19th Street to 4th Avenue where units will disband.

MUSEUM.

The Sesqui-Centennial Museum collection will be found at the Rock Island Public Library, corner 4th Avenue and 19th Street. Open free to the public throughout the Sesqui-Centennial week.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE.

Visit the Indian Village at the Milan Bridge, south end of Ninth and Twelfth Streets. Ancient Indian dances, songs, etc., will be given daily. The village is open to visitors all hours of the day, and evenings. Basketry of excellent quality, made by these (Winnebago) Indians, bead work, etc., are on sale.

WHY THE ROCK ISLAND COUNTY SESQUI-CENTENNIAL.

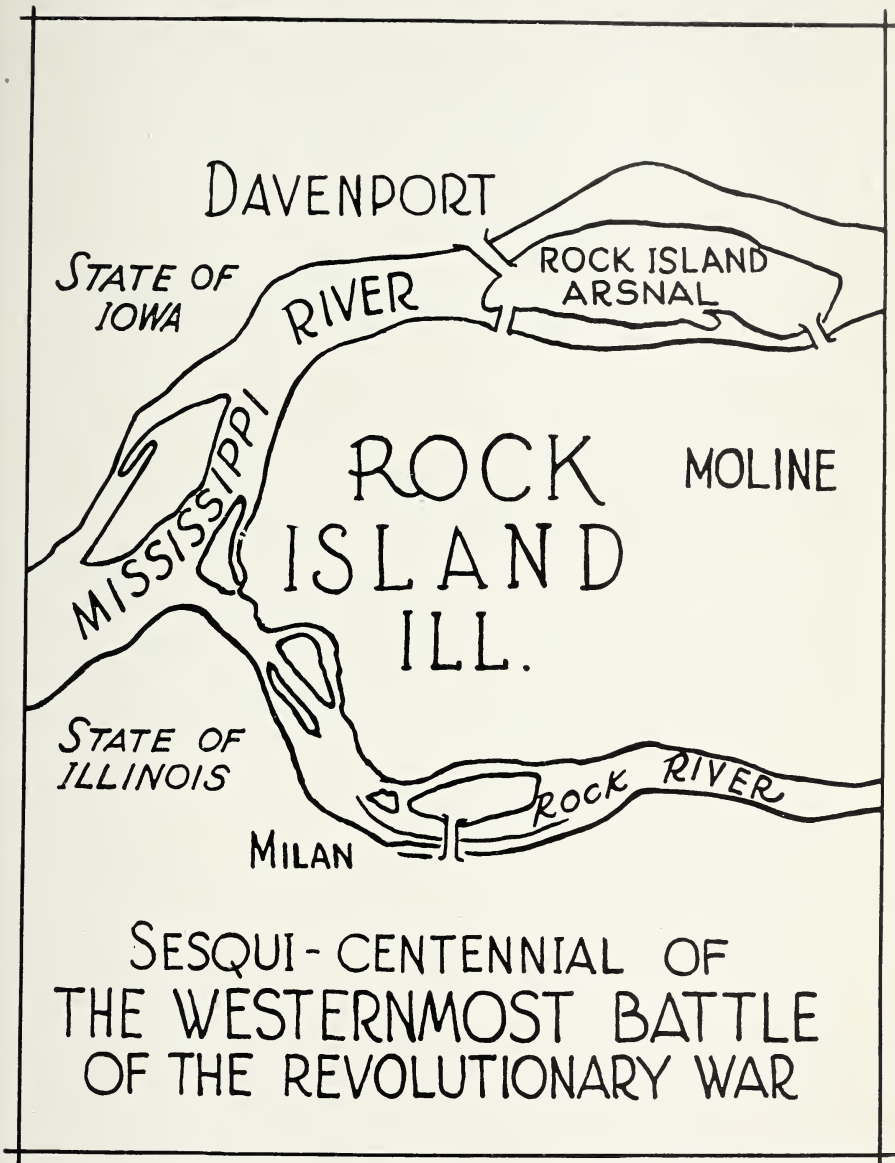
By JOHN H. HAUBERG.

Part I.

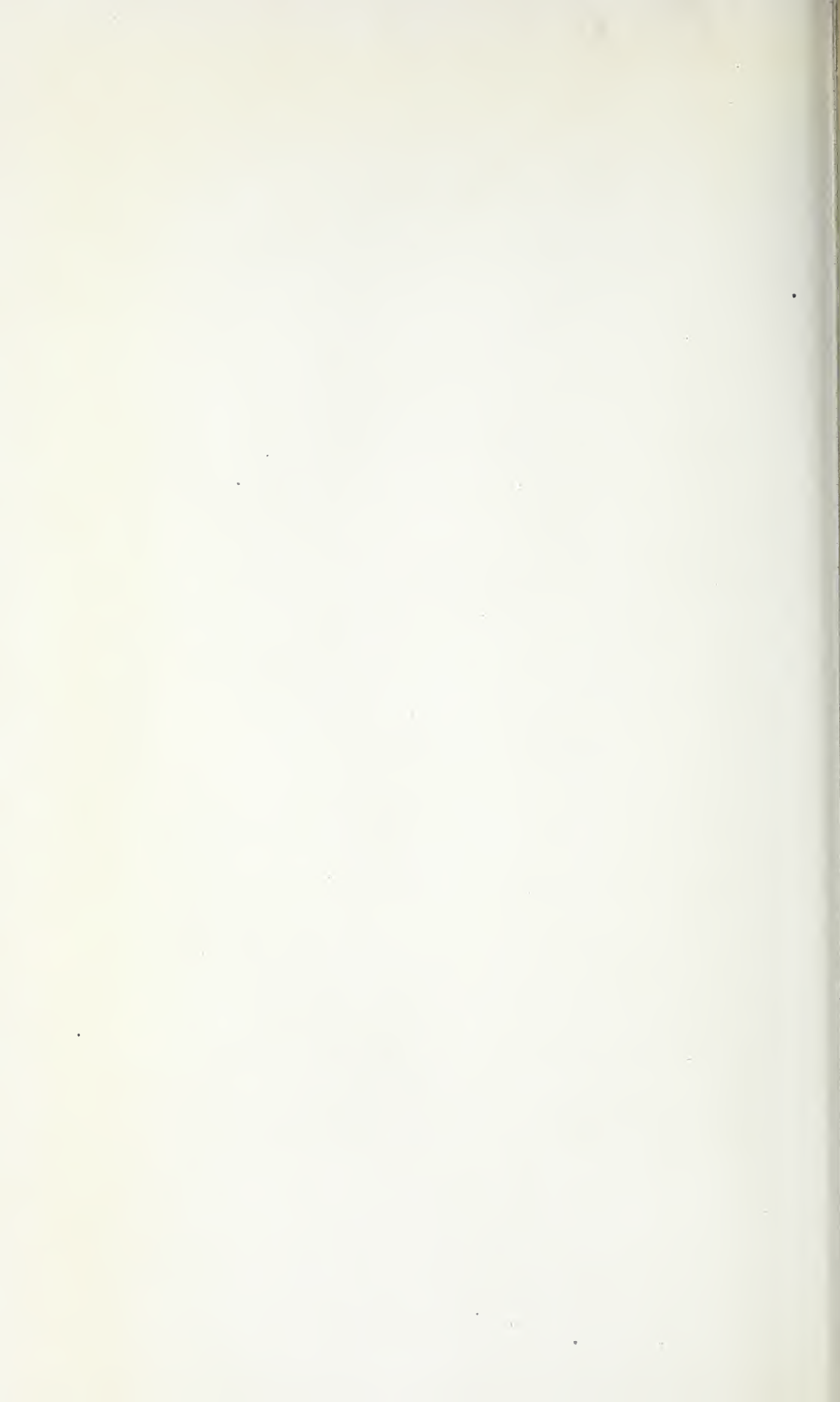
THE SAUK AND FOX OF ROCK RIVER PENINSULA SAVED THE GREAT VALLEY IN 1870.

The peninsula formed at the junction of Rock River with the Mississippi, now occupied by the city of Rock Island, harbored the villages of two Indian tribes—Sauk and the Fox. Though forming a united nation, they had each their own assemblage of bark-covered houses and Wick-i-ups. The Sauk village fronted southward on the right bank of Rock River,¹ while that of the Fox faced to the north on the left bank of the Mississippi. Dwellings were scattered back from the respective rivers, and the extensive cornfields, covering hundreds of acres, joined, so that in effect there was but a

¹ p. 62 Black Hawk Autobiography.



Map showing Rock River Peninsula where Sauk and Fox Villages were located.



single community covering both tribes. Major Long said it was by far the largest Indian village situated in the neighborhood of the Mississippi between St. Louis and the Falls of St. Anthony,² and Schoolcraft declared it to be one of the largest and most populous Indian villages on the continent.³

Other Sauk and Fox villages were to be found at various distances, the principal of which was located on the Wisconsin river at the present site of the twin cities of Prairie du Sac and Sauk City, Wisconsin.⁴

Treaty makers of succeeding years as they purchased the holdings of the Sauk and Fox, required them to sign Quit Claims to all territory bounded on the east by the Fox river of Illinois, and the Illinois river; bounded on the west and south by the Missouri river, and on the North by approximately the southern line of the State of Minnesota, thence down the Mississippi to the Wisconsin river and up this stream some distance, and then eastward to the Fox river of Illinois.⁵

The villages located at Rock Island were on British territory. These Indians here were noted for their fighting qualities, and so it was natural that on the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the recruiting agents of King George III were soon at hand to enlist their red brethren at this point against the rebellious colonists. Presumably at least, if Indians must be used, the King had a prior claim on their services.

The Mississippi river for a stretch of Five Hundred miles lay within the possessions of the Sauk and Fox.⁶ At the northern extremity lay Prairie du Chien, emphatically British. To the south, just beyond the Sauk and Fox boundary were to be found the Illinois French towns, Cahokia being the nearer, and just across the river from the latter was St. Louis which was under Spanish rule, all of these, militantly anti-British.

² 69 Minn. Historical Collections, Vol. 2.

³ 347 Schoolcraft's Narrative.

⁴ 48 Carver's Travels, and 248-9, Vol. VIII, Wis. Hist. Collections.

⁵ Indian Treaties, by Kappler.

⁶ 63 Black Hawk Autobiography.

At the time of which we are writing, A. D. 1780, the Illinois country had for two years been under the American flag and was valiantly holding out against great odds, while the Spaniard, on his own account, had in the year preceding, declared war on Great Britain, and thus the two nations, while, each had its own ambitious⁷ program, found themselves joined in a common cause against a common enemy.

Midway of the two belligerent white peoples lay the now unhappy villages of the Sauk and Fox of Rock Island. They were between two fires: two elements contended for their friendship and support.⁸ They became a divided people and their villages were soon giving active support to both sides of the conflict. One group of friendly Sauks appeared at Cahokia to confer with Captain Joseph Bowman, right hand man of General Clark, and reported that the principal chiefs of their nation were with the British at Montreal to fight the "Big Knives."⁹ To Rock Island came each in turn, Jean Marie Ducharme and Capt. Charles Gautier seeking recruits to fight the Americans and Spaniards. Here too, came Benclo with a party of twenty horsemen¹⁰ to purchase horses for Gen. Clark for use against the British. To Rock Island came Joseph Calve to prepare the Indians for participation in the British attack on St. Louis-Cahokia, and during Calve's presence here, there arrived Capt. John B. Cardinal¹¹ of St. Louis, with a boat load of goods—the property of Charles Gratiot of Cahokia, expecting to trade with the local Indians. While British traders may have had first right to the trade of these people because of the fact that they resided on British territory, it is equally true that the Spaniard claimed a first right also, because so much of the hunting and trapping was done on his territory on the west side of the Mississippi. In response to a call sent out by Gen. Clark, many tribes including the Sauk and Fox sent delegates to Cahokia to sign treaties of peace with the Americans, while at the same time

⁷ 200 *Life of George Rogers Clark, James*. Spain wanted whole valley.

⁸ 296 *Journal, Ills. Hist. Soc.* Vol. XXI, Nasatir.

⁹ 71, *Ills. Hist. Soc.* VIII.

¹⁰ 381, Vol. IX, *Michigan Pioneer Colls.* and 128, Vol. XI, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

¹¹ 206, Vol. I, *History of St. Louis*, Scharf.

all of these tribes were represented on the British side with rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife.

Throughout the struggle these unhappy people of Rock Island served two masters to the best of their ability, and for thanks, the British heaped curses upon them, and the American-Spaniard burned their villages to the ground.

The Indian like his white brother had a mind of his own; made his individual contacts; formed his own opinion and acted accordingly. With relation to the white man he was influenced by trade; by friendships formed in process of trade¹², by selfish motives as his opportunity for trade was threatened or enlarged by war. Speaking of the Revolutionary war period we recall also, that the British influenced the Indian by lavish distribution of gifts and by giving him opportunity to win glory in war. The Frenchman of the Illinois country on the other hand, gave the Indian a place in his heart; they exchanged hospitality, they inter-married and formed blood relationships; there was real friendship and sympathy of a quality which did not exist in the English breast. The Briton under King George II had promised the Indian an exclusively Indian territory from which the white settler was to be forever barred, and with British victory in this war, the hope for such territory might be made a realization. Thus advantage on this side or the other, intensified by the usual high lights of war time propaganda, played upon the Indian mind and gave him a plenty of argument on which to meditate and determine his course.

The Britons apparently held the "lion's share" of the fur trade with the Rock Island Indians, and were firmly of the belief that by this means they held them in the hollow of their hand. So certain were they on this point that they expected that a mere threat to deprive them of British traders would turn all of the villagers undividedly to their cause.¹³ They actually made the threat with this in view, but as to a large part of the Sauk and Fox population the

¹² 292 *Journal, Ills. Hist. Soc.* XXI, and 159, Vol. XI, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

¹³ 116, Vol. XI, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

threat was unnecessary, for the principal chiefs of these tribes had already taken their stand on the side of the Briton.¹⁴ Their faces were familiar throughout the line of British Posts all the way from the Mississippi and Great Lakes to Montreal on the St. Lawrence. They marched down Lake Champlain with Burgoyne in 1777, and were doubtless found in every major undertaking of the British throughout the Western frontier.

Fortunately for the American cause, these Indians owned the lead mines of the Galena-Dubuque District,¹⁵ and the Briton offered no market for this commodity.¹⁶ Only to the south was to be found a place where lead could be exchanged for such things as the Indian desired. The French had in fact brought to the great valley the first large addition of their countrymen for the very purpose of working the mines to be found in the valley. They had built Fort Chartres for the express purpose of providing a guard for the hoped-for wealth of the mines. The "Mississippi Bubble" of John Law had now long since passed into history, and Fort Chartres had been for some years abandoned.¹⁷ Whatever may have been the situation as to the mines before the outbreak of the Revolution, the war created a new, a positive demand for lead. Immediately upon the signing of the Declaration of Independence the Patriots had sent to New Orleans for a large order of gunpowder,¹⁸ and in due course of time, 9,000 to 10,000 pounds of this war necessity was forwarded to them via the Mississippi-Ohio river waterway. The trade of our Indians in lead, with the French and Spaniard down the river was meanwhile going merrily on, and the same water courses doubtless carried this bullet material in close company with the gunpowder. This trade in lead brought about friendships between the Rock Island tribesmen and the white merchants who favored the American cause. Nor was this friendship a mere

¹⁴ 71 Vol. VIII, Ills. Hist. Colls.

¹⁵ 346 Schoolcraft's Narrative. Foxes owned both sides the river.

¹⁶ 133, Vol. IV, Wis. Hist. Colls. and 46 Publications, Ills. Hist. Library, Vol. 31.

¹⁷ 105 et seq. Vol. 8, Publications, Ills. Hist. Library.

¹⁸ 282 Clark of the Ohio-Palmer, and 92, 93 Life G. R. Clark-James.

rope of sand. It was a bond which in a crisis was to save the Mississippi Valley to the American.

In every nation, tribe, or fraction thereof, there must be a leader. In the local situation it was a Sauk Chief called "LaMain Cassee" the Broken Hand, who lifted this community above the commonplace and gave it a prominence worthy of a sesqui-centennial celebration.

Earlier even than the coming of George Rogers Clark in 1778, had this son of the forest "received a belt of the Bostonians," that is, he had entered into a bond of mutual friendship with the Amercians, and to him this meant action wherever opportunity offered. It is conceivable, that with the principal Chiefs in the service of the British, that a less determined man than La Main Cassee would have sought his associates to the South, among congenial company where the population shared his views, but Cassee was of heroic mould, and we find him instead, up at Prairie du Chien, where the British Military Pot was seething at its fiercest. Here the presence of a horde made up of many tribes, with the lure of gaudy presents and a copious flow of hard liquor, the King's Agents sought their victims—or noble-defenders-of-their-great-father-across-the-ocean, according as one may choose to view it. The poor deluded Indian was wanted mainly for a service which would have turned any but an unfeeling savage away in disgust. He was wanted not so much to march with a British Army against American soldiers, but was to be used largely in slaughtering defenseless old men, women and children, in their lonely cabins on the frontiers of the Colonies, and proof of diligent service was to be evidenced by the scalps with which he returned. This hideous plan appears to have been suggested by Lt. Gov. Hamilton,¹⁹ of Detroit, who henceforth was called the "Hair buyer." The suggestion met with the approval of Lord George Germain, British Secretary for the Colonies, who as early as 1777, sent the order directing

¹⁹ 215 et seq. *Conquest of Northwest, by English*; P. 52, Vol. 36, Publications of Illinois State Historical Society.

the enlistment of the Indians for this type of service. The argument in its favor was, that the Americans would be thus obliged to so scatter their armies for the protection of the frontiers, that they would lose all their effectiveness at any one point, and thus the rebellion would be the more speedily put down.

It was in the midst of these morbid scenes of recruiting at Prairie du Chien that we have our first introduction to La Main Cassee. Drunken Indians; talk of murders, settlement with relatives for murders committed, threats and counter-threats of inter-tribal wars; prohibition of traffic in hard liquor; grumbling of traders and violation of the prohibition rule; with liquor men triumphant until His Majesty's agent seeks safety in flight! A great Sauk chief is found dead a few feet from the Agent's tent, "purple and foaming at the mouth" and more outcry against him until he hides himself from them. Such are the scenes in the midst of which La Main Cassee finds his opportunity for service.²⁰

Capt. Charles Gautier was the British Agent and in the written account of his service and the scenes and difficulties encountered by him, he relates, that La Main Cassee arose and spoke "without reserve,"²¹ denouncing the British for their "wishing to destroy the Indians through drink and war," and that through his opposition Cassee kept many Sauk and Fox from enlisting in the British cause.

La Main Cassee was reported to be constantly dispatching runners, even to Milwaukee,²² working everywhere against the British causing them much expense. At a Sauk village on the Wisconsin River, one of Cassee's delegations of three men which was making the rounds of all the Wisconsin villages, appeared in one of Capt. Gautier's meetings where he hoped to enlist their warriors. This delegation succeeded in having the Captain stripped of his regi-

²⁰ 105 and 107, Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. XI.

²¹ 106, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

²² 110, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

mentals,²³ and a good Indian woman warned Gautier not to come to Rock Island, for he would be killed.

The principal Chiefs of the Sauk and Fox were however, on the side of the British and so, nothing daunted, Capt. Gautier appeared at Rock Island with 280 men—Winnebagoes, Menominees, Foxes, Ottawas and Seauteaux and probably a few white assistants. Gautier was on his way South expecting to join Governor Hamilton²⁴ who had wintered at Vincennes. This was the 1779 campaign, to drive the Americans out of the Illinois country and Gautier was but one of several heads of expeditions which were to co-operate with Hamilton for this purpose.

We can but imagine the scenes which follow Gautier's arrival at Rock Island. The pro-British receive him with pleasure. The antis are resentful. The council is held, formalities of smoking are over, and the red-coated officer states his mission, that of increasing his number by addition of some of the Rock Island Sauk and Fox. He makes it a special point that it is decreed by his superiors that unless the Rock Island Indians drop their friendship with the Americans no British traders will be permitted to come down to these villages. Thus there can be but one response—that of full support to the cause he represents, and they must be on their way to attack, and reconquer the Illinois for their Great Father.

To this La Main Cassee makes reply, saying in part that they were not worrying about the absence of the British traders, for they had arrows for their support. Whether by sheer eloquence or by main strength and awkwardness we do not know, but incline toward the belief that it was the former means by which Cassee not only persuaded his fellow citizens to keep out of the British ranks, but in addition to

²³ 108, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

²⁴ 126, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

this he forced Gautier to leave 120 of his men.²⁵ This was the limit beyond which the pro-British Rock Islanders and Gautier's remaining 160 men would not permit him to go, but by no means was Cassee satisfied with only this partial success, for, says Gautier, in his written report, "I believe that had they been strong enough they would have made me a prisoner and turned me over to the rebels."

If La Main Cassee had previously made himself odious to the British, what should we say of this piece of high handedness against them? To the British authorities and their Indian allies he had now become an intolerable nuisance. He was an enemy who must be made to feel the strength of British arms; an obstruction on the Mississippi Highway that must be removed.

²⁵ 22, Black Hawk Watch Tower, 1927. There are different translations of Gautier's letter which was written in the French. We give the translation of Prof. C. L. Esbjorn in full, below. Two other translations are to be found, viz. on p. 126, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls. and p. 397, Vol. XIX, Mich. Pioneer Colls.

PROF. ESBJORN'S TRANSLATION OF GAUTIER'S REPORT.

To Major DePeyster (British Commandant at Michilimacinae):

"Sir:—

"Having learned that Governor Hamilton was in winter quarters at the Post (Vincennes), to continue in the spring his expedition, I set out to reinforce him by way of the Mississippi river with 280 men—Puants, Feauxavoines, Foxes, Ottawas and Seauteaux. After having made all the absolutely necessary expenditures, I descended the Mississippi to the Rock River (it was then the 4th of April), where I found the Sauks in small numbers, and a man named La Main Cassee (the Crushed Hand), to whom I began to speak in your name, at which he stopped up his ears and would listen to nothing, and even ridiculed the threats you had made against the Sauks and Foxes last fall, to the effect that if you noticed that they were with the Bostonians (Americans), you would cut them off from the traders, and he answered me, he and all the others, that they had arrows to obtain a living, and that they were not worrying about that. Not satisfied with this insolence, I was forced to leave 120 men, and I believe if they had been strong enough, they would have seized me to deliver me to the Bostonians.

"I continued on my way again with the rest of my party, to where I supposed the Feauxavoines were, as well as the Sauks from Wisconsin, who were all there, having arrived the 6th. I did not find any of your children, but I found some Bostonian Sauks. They refused my request, after I had spoken to them in your name, having received word from the rebels, and even threatened me to give information about my movements to the Bostonians. While this parleying was going on, news arrived that Governor Hamilton was captured (at Vincennes, in February). This caused murmuring in my little camp, and still the Puants and the Feauxavoines assured me that they would never forget me, their father, and that they would sooner die. For the time being it was necessary to leave there, the 7th.

"With reference to the outbreak of the Sacs, you will learn about this by inquiring of the Turtle as to what is going on. He was one of my war chiefs. I expect the Puants will see you. If Carminis appears before me, I hope you will reprimand him. He has done everything he could to stop the young Puants. I have told Quindinaque that you wish to see him to speak to him, and he has promised that he will come, and I have withdrawn a Bostonian commission which I send you in this letter, which I have the honor to write you.

"You are hereby informed that a certain person named Annigom has killed a Fox woman, and he has been killed for his crime by the Foxes. I hope shortly to have the honor to render an account of my mission and to inform you more in detail concerning these scoundrelly tribes. Allow me, sir, to assure madame of my respects. I am with a profound (illegible),

"Your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) "C. GAUTIER."

"From LaBaye, April 19, 1779."

Gautier's report to Major DePeyster, secured from the British Museum, London, by the author (J. L. Haubergs).

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"From LaBaye, April 19, 1779."

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The first to volunteer for a war upon Rock Island's Pro-Americans was Wabasha,²⁶ a noted Sioux Chief. His village was located on the Mississippi at the present site of Winona, Minn., and he had a thousand warriors²⁷ at his command. He was rated as of all Indians, the most devoted and zealous for the British cause. Like Gautier, he was on his way to re-inforce Gov. Hamilton when news overtook him that the Governor had been defeated at Vincennes, and was now a prisoner of war at the hands of the Americans. Every school child knows the thrilling story of how Gen. George Rogers Clark, in the month of February, 1779, waded the overflowed lands and performed through sheer will-power what otherwise would have been an impossibility. How he captured the British Fort at Vincennes, and thereby cut off every hope of British success for that year before Hamilton had even so much as started.

The Briton feared to permit Wabasha to attack Rock Island because there was now a very considerable division of sentiment among the various tribes with regard to the war. Such service as had been carried on by La Main Cassee; the runners which General Clark had dispatched to all the tribes; and the consequent peace treaties with him; the knowledge that the Illinois French were assisting the "Rebels"; Hamilton's defeat at Vincennes which had "Cooled the Indians in general,"²⁸ for it showed that the Briton was not invincible as some had supposed,—all these agencies had worked upon the Indian mind so that in October of 1779, Lieut. Gov. Sinclair wrote that he finds "The disposition of the Indians very wavering."²⁹ Should the zealous Wabasha be permitted to attack the pro-Americans at Rock Island there was danger of starting a general Indian war.³⁰ The Briton wanted to save the Indian as much as

²⁶ 132 and 134, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

²⁷ 156, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

²⁸ 133, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

²⁹ 141, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls. and 69 Publications, Ill. State Hist. Library, Vol. 15; P. 55, Vol. 36 Publications, Ill. State Hist. Library.

³⁰ 134, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

possible, so that he might be used for his own purpose against the American.

The second rumblings of a war against the Indians of Rock Island came in late winter of 1780, as the British campaign for that year was in course of preparation. It was contained in a letter to Gen. Clark from Pierre Prevost dated at Salt River, Pike County, Mo., under date of Feb. 20, 1780. We quote part of it as follows:

"Sir: It is fitting that I should acquaint you with what is happening here against the United States of America.

"Two Collars and two Bostonian scalps have been brought to the Sauk and Fox by the Potawatomie of Detroit who say to these people that if they do not attack you, war will be declared upon them by all the other nations and by troops of the king. But as they have not yet assembled together they have decided nothing as yet and have put off their response until they meet at the River Des Moines, where they are invited by a certain Calvee, a trader and an employee in the service of the king for the tribesmen."³¹

The writer has found no account of any meeting on the Des Moines River, but Joseph Calve was found with the Sauk and Fox at Rock Island that Spring,³² and remained with them until after the attack on St. Louis and Cahokia in the Month of May following. Nor do we know just who the Potawatomes of Detroit had in mind when they warned these Indians that unless they turned, they would be attacked by all the (Indian) nations and the troops of the king. It is a fact, however, that the threat turned into a living reality, as a veritable carnival of watercraft swung down the rapids, and turned in at the present site of Rock Island. Their number was variously estimated at from 750 to 1500, and included Winnebagoes, Sioux, Ottawas, Chippeways, Iowas, Outagamies, Mascoutins, Kickapoos, Potawatomes, Menominee, Sauk and Foxes; twenty Canadian volunteers; traders and servants, all under command of Capt. Emanuel Hesse.

³¹ 394, Vol. VIII, Ills. Hist. Colls.

³² 206, Vol. I, History of St. Louis, Scharf.

With the odds now overwhelmingly against the local pro-Americans discretion became the better part of valor—and they marched under the British command.

From the moment that Lt. Gov. Hamilton, the “Hair Buyer,” heard of the seizure of the Illinois country by Gen. Clark in 1778, he made every effort to organize a campaign for the swift expulsion of the Americans from this Western country.³³ Before the end of the year he had already retaken Vincennes, and his runners were on the trails calling the various tribes to his assistance. We have already noted that Gautier and Wabasha were on the way to re-inforce Hamilton in the early Spring of 1779, when they learned of his capture and imprisonment. Thus the 1779 campaign ended before it had been fairly launched. The only thing to be done now was to proceed with plans for the year 1780, and these were to be quite comprehensive. It was expected that they would be crowned with success.

Spain had in 1779 joined the war against the Briton,³⁴ and the entire Mississippi Valley had now become open territory for nations lusting for Empire. The British authorities came to the conclusion that it would be an easy³⁵ matter to sieze the entire valley. It was the most ambitious scheme of the Revolutionary war³⁶ aside from the problem of saving the thirteen colonies. The immediate gain would be found in the rich fur trade of the Missouri River, from which the Spaniard now kept them, but the ultimate gain, when judged by the great cities, immense stretches of cultivated farm lands, the forests and mines of One Hundred Fifty years later, shows that even had the Briton lost the Atlantic Coast Colonies and won the Mississippi Valley, there would still have been a world of consolation in it.

The condition of affairs which made a conquest appear an easy prospect was that St. Louis had no defenses, either in the matter of fortifications or fighting men; that the

³³ 225, Vol. I, Conquest of the Northwest—English.

³⁴ 200 Life of George Rogers Clark—James.

³⁵ cxxv, Ills. Hist. Colls, Vol. VIII, and 144 and 148, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

³⁶ p. xxi, Vol. XIX, Ills. Hist. Colls. and 103 Miss. Valley Hist. Review, Vol. XVII.

Americans had worn out their welcome among the Illinois French; their provincial paper money was worthless; their credit gone. There had been a crop failure in Illinois; American soldiers were openly quarreling with the French inhabitants over the barest necessities of life, and Gen. Clark was finding it necessary to withdraw his troops. Thus the path lay apparently open. A good army of fighting men; a surprise attack, and the prize would be won.

The Briton planned as carefully and thoroughly as the times would permit. Gen. John Campbell would land an army at New Orleans, defeat the Spaniards there and proceed up the Mississippi,³⁷ occupying the posts as he came Northward. The army from the North which was to be assembled at the Fox-Wisconsin portage and at the mouth of the Wisconsin, would descend the great river,³⁸ and the two armies would meet and close like a nut cracker upon the American-Spanish allies. In order that there might be no interference of Americans from the Eastward, a British force was to advance down the Illinois River; another was to patrol the country between the Wabash and the Mississippi Rivers. Still another force, in large numbers was to march directly down to the present site of Louisville, on the Ohio River,³⁹ to capture that post and cut off any American communication from that quarter. Joseph Calve, a British trader, who in previous years had served his country among the Sauk and Fox, was sent to Rock Island to prepare the Indian mind there for what was about to transpire. It appears that Dominick DuCharme, or Jean Marie DuCharme, as he was also called, was sent to assist Calve at Rock Island.

The detailed plans for the upper Mississippi party was as follows:

- (1). Sergt. Phillips of the 8th Regt. who was breveted Lieut., is to garrison the fort at Prairie du Chien.
- (2). Capt. Hesse who was to command the expedition down the Mississippi, is to remain at St. Louis.

³⁷ p. xxi, Vol. XIX, Ills. Hist. Colls.

³⁸ cxxviii, Vol. VIII, Ills. Hist. Colls.

³⁹ 680 Vol. 2, Conquest of Northwest—English.

(3). Wabasha, chief of the Sioux, with 200 warriors, is to continue down the river to attack the Americans at Kaskaskia and the French and Spaniards at Ste. Genevieve, and proceed on down to Natchez to meet Gen. Campbell's army.

(4). Matchekuis, the great Chippewa chief, is to return north by way of the Illinois river, bringing whatever prisoners are taken. Two vessels will leave Michilimacinae June 2nd, to meet Matchekuis at Milwaukee.

(5). All traders who conquer the posts on the Spanish side of the river, are to enjoy the exclusive trade of the Missouri River for the following winter, and their canoes (i.e. boat-loads of traders' goods) will be forwarded to them.

(6). The two lower villages of the Illinois country are to be laid under tribute to support the different garrisons.

(7). The two upper villages of the Illinois are to send cattle to Green Bay, to be forwarded to Michilimacinae, to feed the Indians on their return.

(8). A part of the Menominees who are to come here, some Winnebagoes, Sauk and Foxes are to go immediately to watch the lead mines.

(9). Orders will be published at the Illinois for no person to go there who looks for quarter, and the Indians will have orders to give no quarter to anyone without a British pass.⁴⁰

Previous to its arrival at Rock Island this army had already enjoyed a measure of success. They had captured at the mouth of Turkey River "a large armed boat with 12 men and a rebel Commissary."⁴¹ This proved to be Captain John B. Cardinal, of St. Louis with a barge load of goods and food supplies. The food was especially prized and was used to provision the Indians on the way down. At the lead mines seventeen American and Spanish miners were made prisoners and "50 tons of lead intended for the rebels" was confiscated together with a generous amount of food supplies. Among

⁴⁰ 152, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

⁴¹ 151, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

other Agencies which kept up the good spirits of this great Company were such personalities as Wabasha, the zealous Sioux Chief, and particularly, the widely famed Matchekuis. The last named had distinguished himself seventeen years now gone, during Pontiac's war, when he was given the task of capturing the Fort at Michilimacinac. Instead of opening the attack with deadly weapons, he had outwitted the whites by means of a ball game, played between the Ottawa and Fox Indians, and when the soldiers were off guard and had opened the gate to the fort, the Indians rushed in, taking their weapons from the hands of the squaws, who had kept them hidden under their blankets, and in a few moments, hardly a white man was left to tell the tale.⁴²

Doubtless Matchekuis felt that the task down the Mississippi would be practically as easy, and radiated this confidence among the men.

We have found no report of just what happened at Rock Island between the British force and La Main Cassee and his following. In fact, since his scene with Gautier here in April, 1779, we have found no mention of him in the records. We hope sometime to again pick up the thread of his career. His followers, however, were now so greatly outnumbered that they found it necessary to join in the movement down the river. The old familiar song of a later age comes to mind. "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." Whether Cassee's body lay mouldering we do not know, but there is no question about his soul marching on, as the rank and file of his partisans were buffeted along in an unwilling service.

Events do not always occur in accordance with a pre-arranged program. The British plans failed miserably at every point. Firstly, Gen. Campbell, who was to come up the river made scarcely so much as a start, for the young Spanish Governor at New Orleans, all impatience, all eagerness, could not wait until the British came to his town, but sallied forth to meet him. Campbell was not able even to move his fleet

⁴² 286, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Vol. 1—Parkman.

out of Pensacola. Then the young Governor himself moved up the Mississippi and seized the British Posts at Baton Rouge, Manchac and Natchez. The Britons were effectually subdued in that quarter.⁴³

The army under Hesse attacked St. Louis and Cahokia. They killed Spanish subjects and Americans; carried away many prisoners, both white and black, destroyed cattle and other property, but they were decisively defeated. After their attacks and defeat they fled precipitately back to their native lakes and forests like whipped dogs. It has been one of the problems of the historian to discover the reason for their hasty retreat.

News that the British were to attack them had preceded Hesse's army both at Cahokia and at St. Louis. At the last named place defenses were hastily built,⁴⁴ and Gen Clark who was building a fort at the mouth of the Ohio at this time, was urged to come at once, which he did, arriving just preceding the attack.⁴⁵ Clark's presence together with fortifications would have made British success more difficult, but it was not to these that they laid their failure. The Briton places the blame upon the Sauk and Fox, and their leaders, of Rock Island. We will quote from a British report, dated June 4, 1780, viz:—"They (the British) have brought off forty-three scalps, thirty-four prisoners, black and whites and killed about seventy persons. They destroyed several hundred cattle, but were beat off on their attacks on both sides of the river, at Pencour, (St. Louis) and at Cahokia, owing to the treachery of Mr. Calve and the Sacks and Renards (Sauk and Fox) (for whom he is paid by the crown as interpreter). His partner in commerce, a Mons. DuCharme has kept pace with him, in preferring the little underhand commerce of the country to the advantages I held out to them all, in promising them the trade of the Missouri, provided they could gain and garrison the Illinois. * * *

⁴³ Vol. I, Hist. of St. Louis—Scharf.

⁴⁴ xxii, Vol. XIX, Ills. Hist. Soc.

⁴⁵ 205, Vol. I, Hist. of St. Louis—Scharf.

“That want of secrecy which is and must always be hurtful to the service, I cannot help lamenting upon this occasion. The Spaniards received their information of the meditated attack against the Illinois in the month of March last, and threw up in consequence of it a breastwork round a Store House.

“The Winnebago Indians without exception, attempted to storm it and lost a Chief and three men on the spot, four are wounded and one of them (I fear) mortally.

“They are enraged against the backwardness of the Canadians and the base conduct of the Sacks, who have been debauched by the Rebels on account of their lead mines and by traders in their Country, who drew advantage from them.”⁴⁶

From the above we find the blame is placed principally upon two heads:—the “Backwardness of the Canadians,” and the “base conduct” of the Sauk and Fox and their traders, Calve and DuCharme.

We will quote from another report written by the same officer, Patrick Sinclair, Commandant at Michilimacina. This second report was dated July 8th, a little more than a month after his first, as given above, and it is to be presumed that he was now in possession of all the facts:—viz:

“On the 26th of May, Mr. Hesse with the Winnebagoes, Sioux, Ottawa, Chippeway, Iowa and a few Fox, Sauk, Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Pottawatomies; twenty of the volunteer Canadians sent from this, and a very few Traders and the servants, made their attack against Pencour (St. Louis) and the Cahokias. The two first mentioned Indian Nations would have stormed the Spanish Lines if the Sauk and Foxes under their treacherous leader Mons. Calve had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two fires. A Mons. DuCharme and others who traded in the country of the Sacks kept pace with Mons. Calve in his perfidy. They have long

⁴⁶ 154, Vol. XI. Wis. Hist. Soc.

shared the profits arising from the Lead Mines and from a commerce with the Illinois.”⁴⁷

This account eliminates the Canadians and places all the blame on the Sauk and Fox and two Frenchmen, Calve and DuCharme. We know, however, that the two men had a financial interest in British success in that it would permit them to join in the rich trade of the Missouri River—from which they were otherwise barred. Both Calve⁴⁸ and DuCharme were regarded as among the prime movers of the British campaign. The latter had a special reason, aside from the financial interest, for wishing to bring to St. Louis a victorious British force, for he had the year previously taken a boat load of goods to the Missouri for trade, hoping to escape discovery by the Spaniards upon whose territory he was a trespasser. A Spanish officer, with some soldiers, however, came upon him and confiscated his boat and goods and DuCharme escaped with only his gun and his life. “This made him swear vengeance” against the Spaniard and “All winter he was active in raising his savage friends for an attack on St. Louis. His war whoop was heard from Lake Superior to the Falls of St. Anthony and down to Rock River, and fifteen hundred warriors responded to the call.”⁴⁹ Thus we conclude that Messrs. Calve and DuCharme were merely present with the pro-American Indians of Rock Island; that they failed to come up to expectations of being able to lead them, and that to La Main Cassee’s followers belongs the credit of having saved the Great Valley to the Americans in this crisis.

Shall we finally succeed? This was the question which the patriots asked from the Signing of the Declaration of Independence to the signing of the Peace Treaty, and Benjamin Franklin uttered the warning that “We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately.” The country did hang together from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It was all one and the same contest and the result was that when

⁴⁷ 155 and 156, Vol. XI, Wis. Hist. Colls.

⁴⁸ 206, Vol. I, Hist. of St. Louis—Scharf

⁴⁹ 99 Pioneer Life in Ills.—Reynolds.

Peace came we had not merely a United States, but from the outset a Greater United States with a vast trans-Allegheny wilderness attached in which to grow.

The question, Shall we succeed? was upon the anxious mind of General George Rogers Clark as he approached the stockaded town of Kaskaskia with his band of 175 frontiersmen. It filled his whole being again as he waded the "Drowned lands" near Vincennes in 1779. Again, in 1780, he was obliged with equal concern, to answer the burning question on two separate occasions, the first, at Cahokia-St. Louis and the other at Piqua, Ohio. Each time all that had gone before was at stake. Kaskaskia and all the splendid achievement of 1778 would have been lost had it not been for the success at Vincennes, and the victory at Vincennes would have meant nothing to American history except as a daring deed had the campaigns of 1780 failed.

Fortunately for the Americans, they were able to make the greatest use of the French and the Spanish people. At no time did they come into hostility one with another. Without them the American could not have won. In the Illinois country, therefore, the armed conflict which the Colonists waged, was solely against the Briton and his Indian Allies. The last crisis on the Mississippi was the one we have stressed—that of the attack on St. Louis-Cahokia. Had the Briton won on that occasion, the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri River and Westward would have remained permanently British under Canadian government, for our country had become so impoverished by the war that it could not have again raised a force sufficient for another re-conquest. In fact, the American authorities in December, 1780, grandly authorized a force of 2000 men for an attack on Detroit,⁵⁰ and after many months of effort only enough recruits were at hand to guard the boats which carried supplies. There were not men enough to even undertake an expedition.⁵¹ The military arm was paralyzed as to any further major event.

⁵⁰ p. cxliii, Vol. VIII, Illinois Hist. Colls.

⁵¹ clviii, Vol. VIII, Illinois Hist. Colls.

It had shot its last arrow in 1780, in the almost superhuman effort which included St. Louis, Cahokia, Piqua and Rock Island, but we had won.

The fact that out of Rock River peninsula came the friends who saved the day in the 1780 crisis, was cause enough for Rock Island County to celebrate the Sesqui-Centennial of so important an event.⁵²

WHY THE ROCK ISLAND COUNTY SESQUI-CENTENNIAL.

Part II.

THE BURNING OF THE SAUK AND FOX VILLAGES AT ROCK ISLAND, IN THE WESTERNMOST CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The heart of a wilderness though it was; peopled only by the Red Children of the Great Father and not a boasted white man among them, the Rock River peninsula was nevertheless a focal point on the western edge of the Revolution. Holding a central position; counting their white contacts among four warring nationals—the French, the Spaniards, the English and the Americans and having both friendly and hostile intercourse with all these at the same time, it is not surprising that somewhere in the situation there should be found some striking event, worthy of notice and celebration, One Hundred Fifty years later.

It is said that an aged man once gave utterance to the following strange truth: "I am now an old man, weary and broken. In my lifetime I have had many, many great troubles, MOST OF WHICH NEVER HAPPENED." So it was in the case of the indians which lived at the present Rock Island. Their greatest troubles did not occur. We are referring now to the attack, great slaughter and conflagration here which existed in the Mind's Eye of Wabasha, the famous Sioux chief, "A man of uncommon abilities, un-

⁵² Opinions that Clark's conquest of the Illinois was primarily the cause of its inclusion in the Peace Treaty as part of the United States, are found in the following: 113 *Miss. Valley Hist. Review*, Vol. XVII, Prof. J. A. James, and p. 72, How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest, by Thwaites.

debauched, addicted to war, and jealously attached to His Majesty's interest." Wabasha offered his services to the British for just this kind of devastation, in 1779, on hearing of La Main Cassee's treatment here of Capt. Gautier. The British however feared it might start a general indian war, so the local Sauk and Fox were spared. Bloodshed in the second Revolutionary war attack, in the Spring of 1780 was avoided only by the acquiescence of the local people in the demands of the British. On this occasion they were required to march against Cahokia-St. Louis and march they did, thereby postponing the agony, and strangely enough, bringing upon their heads the attack and burning of their villages by the Americans instead of the British. Having escaped destruction by the British on two separate occasions, the scourge of war actually visits them in the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary war, executed about the middle of July, 1780,¹ by a force of 350 Americans and Spaniards, under command of Col. John Montgomery.

The great British scheme for the conquest of the entire Mississippi valley had gone down to dismal failure. The attack of their northern army—and in which the Sauk and Fox of Rock Island were expected to fight, had been effectively defeated at St. Louis and Cahokia, on May 26th, by the Americans and Spaniards. Ordinarily, a people saved from defeat might have been content to spend their time in celebration, but we find no such thought in the mind of General George Rogers Clark, the hero of the Illinois country.

Not content with the mere defeat of the enemy, Clark at once directed that a punitive expedition² be fitted out to follow the indian allies of Great Britain to their lairs; to fight them in their own element; to burn their villages and devastate their fields. The British and their allies were to be made to feel that the Americans were too powerful to be beaten.

¹ 59, Vol. XX, Journal, Ills. Hist. Society.

² 101, Vol. XIV, Publications, Ills. Hist. Library.



Site of Sauk Village on Rock River.

Since General Clark's presence was urgently needed elsewhere, he charged Col. John Montgomery, Commandant of Illinois, with the task of raising a force of men, securing horses, boats, and other supplies, and leading the army in the field. The result was that out of almost nothing, Col. Montgomery soon had the material supplies, together with the largest body of soldiers that Illinois had seen under an American commander. Of the 350 men who composed his army, 150 were Americans; 100 were Frenchmen of Cahokia and the remaining 100 were Spanish subjects from St. Louis.³

Leaving Cahokia, a fleet of boats carried Col. Montgomery's army up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois River, and up the last named stream as far as Peoria. Here they disembarked and struck northwesterly across the wilderness of prairie and woodland for a hundred miles, to the bank of Rock River where they came upon the villages of the Sauk and Fox.

James Aird, an early British trader at Rock Island, is authority for the statement that "the Indians had assembled 700 warriors to give them battle,"⁴ and this has been interpreted to mean that a battle really took place.⁵ Montgomery himself reported that he had destroyed the "Towns and crops proposed" but as to the rest it was a case of "The enemy not Daring to fight me as they had so lately been disbanded and they could not raise a sufficient force."⁶ Another writer says the Indians had fled⁷ and still another statement which appears to refer to the Rock Island episode says that far from fighting the Americans, the Indians asked for arms and ammunition that they might join the Americans in fighting their common enemies.⁸ On one point all are agreed. The allied army burned the Indian villages to the ground.

³ 55, Vol. XX, Journal, Ills. Hist. Society, and p. 102, Vol. XIV of Publications of Ills. Hist. Library.

⁴ 43, Appendix to part I, Sources of the Mississippi—Pike.

⁵ 49, Vol. XX, Journal, Ills. Hist. Soc.

⁶ 101, Vol. 14, Publications Ills. Hist. Library.

⁷ 541, Vol. II, Ills. Hist. Colls.

⁸ 442, Vol. VIII, Ills. Hist. Colls.

What did the followers of La Main Cassee think of this ingratitude, after all they had done in behalf of the Americans, even at the risk of their lives, and incidentally at the risk of having their villages devastated, by pro-British Indians, as was actually threatened? All we can say in self defense is that there were Sauk and Fox who throughout the war fought the Americans, and that it is an attribute of war that when the guilty are punished the innocent are made to suffer with them.

As to the conflicting stories that (1) there was a battle; (2) that there was no battle; (3) that there were 700 warriors to give battle; (4) that there were no Indians at all; (5) that some of the Indians actually volunteered to serve with the Americans we are inclined to accept Montgomery's account of it, i. e., "the enemy not daring to fight me" because with the division of sentiment among the Rock Island Sauk and Fox, only part of the population were hostile to his army, the rest were his best friends. This agrees with the statement that some of the Indians actually offered to enlist with the Americans. That there was some skirmishing on the part of some of the more irritated hostiles is likewise probable, without its having been sufficiently serious for Montgomery to make mention of it. It is possible that at some time in the future there may be discovered some correspondence, written by one or more who participated in the event, and we shall have a more detailed account. It was expected that Montgomery would penetrate farther into the Indian Country and carry the dread of the Americans into the heart of the enemy strongholds. Prairie du Chien was mentioned as the goal, and because of inability to reach that place, the expedition was called a failure,⁹ as if 350 whites were more than a match for thousands of warriors in a hilly, rock bound, forested country where the Indians knew every foot of the ground. This is but another way of saying that as a Revolutionary war campaign, it was true to type, for often with inferior numbers

⁹ 541, Vol. II, Ills. Hist. Colls.

and out of tatters and rags and starvation; with undisciplined troops and more defeats than victories did success come to American Arms.

Col. Montgomery could not proceed beyond Rock Island because the commissary supply would not permit it. After hungering for days at a time they slaughtered their horses for food to sustain life until they could reach civilization. Then to keep up with the custom of those hard days, he was hounded with charges of inefficiency, waste, malfeasance,¹⁰—but not with cowardice, be it said to his honor. We add here, part of his reply, his explanation to some of these charges. Since Montgomery was a fighter, living on the frontiers where schools were far between and he had not had opportunity to learn the gentle art of correct spelling, punctuation, capitalization or paragraphing, we are taking the liberty to correct some of these as we copy his letter in order to make the reading less difficult. We in no wise change the sense of his narrative, viz:

Richmond, April 23, 1782.

Sir:

Agreeable to your request I have looked over my receipts and find only two receipts for Bills of Exchange drawn on Mr. Oliver Pollock. * * * The other, in favor of Mr. Molvost to the amount of upwards of \$3000.00 the exact sum I can't certify by the reason I had the misfortune to lose the account by being overset in the Mississippi. The reason of my giving the bill in favor of Mr. Molvost, I was ordered to go in an expedition to Peoria, one hundred and forty leagues by orders from Gen. Clark, where I was obliged to purchase boats and provisions for three hundred and fifty men and could not get them on any other terms. You may think hard of the bill being so high, but notwithstanding the sum, we were constrained to eat our horses on our return after fasting five days, which I did cheerfully in behalf of my country.

Had I made a fortune in the time, people might have had reason to suspected me, but to the contrary, I have spent

¹⁰ 541, Vol. II, Ills. Hist. Colls.

one, or at least my all, but am in hopes to be able to live a poor and private life afterwards. It now almost four years that I have not received one Shilling from Government, notwithstanding I advanced every Shilling I had, and strained my credit until it became shredbare, rather than draw bills on the State, still in hopes of some fund being sent to support the troops, but at last I was compelled to it. I now owe two hundred Pounds in the Illinois which they have my obligations for, for the support of the troops that was left under my command. There will appear a large number of bills drawn which mentions so much money advanced me for the recruiting service, the bounty for one hundred men at \$750.00 each, agreeable to an act of Assembly, for which I hope will be honored as the men are now for during the war, and bills drawn for provisions I have sent you an abstract by Major Crittington.

This I certify to be a true state of the matter, and if anything else appears it must be a counterfeit, and I have the honor sir, to be Your Humble Servant,

John Montgomery,"¹¹

(Addressed to Hon. George Webb.)

The coming to Rock Island of Col. Montgomery and his men, the visitation upon this community of the devastation of war, the destruction of growing crops and of such meagre property as the Indians possessed, the burning of their homes, the destitution of their families, the suffering of the soldiers, gave our citizens, one hundred fifty years later, a cause for laying aside their work for a short interval, out of respect to the extreme hardships of that day and to contemplate the marvelous changes which have come in this comparatively brief span of time.

The bronze tablet which was dedicated at Black Hawk State Park as part of the Sesqui-Centennial program bears testimony alike to La Main Cassee and to Col. John Montgomery, both of whom served as leaders in laying the foundation for our present welfare.

¹¹ 197-8, Vol. V, Ills. Hist. Colls.



Dedication of Tablet to La Main Cassee.



We will add here, as a postscript, that the division among the Sauk and Fox into pro-British and pro-American or neutral, as it was during the Revolutionary War, continued through all the remaining years of their residence at Rock Island. As the Second War with Great Britain opened, the "Peace Party"¹² of these Indians removed to the Missouri River where they remained until the war was over, while the pro-British served actively against the Americans in the campaigns in Michigan, Ohio and Canada, and also in the immediate vicinity of their home villages here, where the battles of Campbell's Island and Credit Island, and the skirmishes at Rock Island and at Port Byron-LeClaire were staged.

When the first settlers located their homes in the midst of the Sauk and Fox villages at Rock Island, the friendly Indians moved peaceably to the West of the Mississippi in accordance with Treaties, while the "British Band" as it was called, unfurled the British flag and defiantly brought on the Black Hawk War (1831-'32) a contest in which they were almost annihilated.

¹² 48, Black Hawk Autobiography and Indian Treaties, Kappler, p. 120.

NOTE: The subject of the burning of the Indian villages at Rock Island was first treated by William A. Meese under the title "Rock River in the Revolution," to be found in Vol. 14, of Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library. The subject appears again under the title "The burning of Saukenuk; The Westernmost Battle of the Revolution," by Rev. J. E. Cummings, in Vol. XX of the Journal of the Ills. State Historical Society. The "Introduction" to Vol. VIII, of the Illinois Historical Collections, by Prof. James Alton James, gives a good outline to this same story. Another good article, by Prof. A. P. Nasatir, appears in Vol. XXI of the Journal of the Ills. State Hist. Soc., under the subject: "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country During The American Revolution, 1779-1783." Vol. XI of Wisconsin Historical Collections with its "Papers from Canadian Archives" is most valuable, to the student interested in this subject.

**COL. CONRAD WEISER, PIONEER, SOLDIER, DIPLO-
MAT, JUDGE, PROVINCIAL INTERPRETER.**

BY MRS. K. T. ANDERSON.

On September first 1928 it was my pleasure to be present on the occasion of what was to me a unique celebration, the formal dedication of the homestead site and private burial plot of my revered ancestor, Col. Conrad Weiser, as a historical memorial shrine which is to be known for all time to come as Weiser Park. This park of beautiful rolling farmland with a background of mountains to the south, lies half a mile east of the town of Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pennsylvania, and comprises some twenty acres, the very heart of the original thousand acre tract that belonged to Col. Weiser. The original historic old home erected in 1730 stands in the middle of this tract and two hundred feet south from the Wm. Penn highway. It is a substantial story and a half, tile roofed, stone building twenty feet wide and fifty long. It was partially destroyed by fire a few years ago but was restored by the Berks County Commissioners and is now furnished with authentic colonial relics and is used as a museum. Beside the house is a large spring that has flowed in undiminishing volume throughout the years. On the other side of the house on a gentle rise some twenty-five feet from the house, is a small private burial plot where rest the bodies of Conrad Weiser and his wife, both graves marked by simple sandstone markers on which the inscriptions are still legible; the graves of his children who died in infancy, and those of a number of Indian Chiefs who desired to be buried close to their friend and whose graves have merely small boulders as markers.

This then was the setting in which Conrad Weiser lived, literally, as another has said, "by the side of the road and became a friend to men. He saw the Red men go by in their

roving, and the white settlers in their neighborhood traffic and he was able to converse with the savages in their tongue, with the German neighbors in theirs and with the English provincial officials, surveyors and map-makers, who chanced to come to this frontier section, in theirs." I can easily imagine with what satisfaction he must have looked out over these fertile acres that have now been beautifully landscaped without disturbing the original contour of the land, laid out in winding drives and paths, long stretches of closely clipped lawn, effectively placed clumps of shrubbery, ancient trees, and here and there a monument, a great rugged boulder, a marker, or a statue, all named to honor the notable contemporaries and friends of Conrad Weiser, who had on occasions shared the hospitality of his roof or were otherwise closely or intimately associated with him in the thrilling life and affairs of our Nation's formative period, such names as the Governors, Robert Hunter, Morris, George Thomas and Joseph Hiester; Statesmen, Benjamin Franklin, James Logan, Richard Peters; Clergymen and missionaries, Spangenberg Zeisberger, Count Zinzendorf and the Muhlenbergs; the Iroquois Chief Shekilemmy, ruler of the Six Nations; the Botanist, John Bartram, the Map-maker of Pennsylvania, Lewis Evans; and last, but most illustrious of all, George Washington.

It was in response to a call sent out to the lineal descendants of Conrad Weiser, that we gathered at the appointed place, thousands strong, at the east gate of the park, while the school children of Berks County and other visitors gathered at the west gate, and at nine o'clock the two great lines moved forward up through the grounds and met in front of the old homestead where the first program of the day was held. From then on until sunset one program followed another, each dealing with some different phase of Conrad Weiser's services in the affairs of the County, State and Nation, and the names of those invited to give the addresses composed an imposing roll of the most prominent men of the State and included the Consul General of New York and the

Governor of Pennsylvania. It was a great day, and as it was drawing to a close, the stately dirigible "City of Los Angeles" accompanied by an escort of airplanes, appeared out of the sunset, circled low three times over the scene of the celebration, dropped a shower of colored Indian bonnet feathers that softly drifted down over the thousands of spectators, dipped its colors in salute and having thus made her contribution to the varied program, turned and sailed away again toward Harrisburg from where she had come; the clear notes of Taps sounded out over the scene and the throngs began to turn toward home, carrying with them perhaps a new evaluation of the life and services of the man who at last is receiving a long belated mete of popular recognition and appreciation.

And just who was this Conrad Weiser? In his manuscript autobiography, he says, "On November 2, 1696, I, Conrad Weiser, was born in Europe, in the land of Wurtemberg, in the County of Herrenberg, in the Village of Afstaedt and was christened in the church of Kueppingen." From time immemorial his ancestors on his father's, as well as on his mother's side, were born, lived and were buried in Gross Aspach, County of Backnag, Wurtemberg. His great-grandfather, grandfather and father, each in his turn was Chief Magistrate of Gross Aspach and they bore a Coat of Arms blazoned as follows: Per fesse, gules and argent, in chief a swan of the second, in base three roses of the first stalked and leaved vert. Crest: a swan as in the Arms.

His father, John Conrad, was of a commanding, dominating personality, a natural leader of men and was a man of means. His mother was of a lovable, gentle disposition, very religious and God-fearing. She was the mother of sixteen children, seven of whom died in infancy, and she trained her children most diligently in a knowledge of the Bible and instilled in them deep religious principles, which training stood Conrad in good stead and was of the greatest comfort and help to him in later years as events developed. The family was industrious and prospered generation after generation



Conrad Weiser as a young man.

until the Thirty Years War settled down upon the country and devastated Germany until it seemed nothing could be worse; but upon the heels of this came the ruthless horde that the Catholic Louis XIV sent down upon this section of Protestant Germany after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to wipe out the Palatinate, and Macaulay tells us they did their work so thoroughly that not a church, market place nor house was left, orchards were cut down, sprouting grain was ploughed under and not a tree left standing.

Then even Nature seemed to combine with these evil ones against the oppressed people and there followed the terrible winter of 1709 with intense cold, pestilence and starvation, when birds perished on the wing, wild beasts died in their lairs and human beings fell dead in the way. In the Spring of this terrible year, Conrad's mother died and shortly after this grief, came the order to the people giving them three days of grace in which to shift for themselves or be wiped out by the murderers. Then it was that the Germans, some 32,000 strong, fled from their native land and sought refuge in England where the Protestant Queen Anne had offered them asylum. Among the refugees was John Conrad Weiser and his motherless children.

In England Queen Anne was at a loss to know what to do with such a sudden accession of helpless people until some Mohawk Indian Chiefs, who were in England at the time, saw the miserable people thrown like so much driftwood upon the Blackmoor, and feeling pity for their wretched condition, offered them part of their lands in Schoharie, New York. So about Christmas some 4000 refugees, headed by Weiser whom they had chosen as their leader, set sail in ten ships, provided by Queen Anne and after a six months' passage filled with untold misery and hardship, they finally were landed in New York on June 13, 1710. But here their disappointments did not end. They fell into the hands of the dishonest Governor Robert Hunter and of Robert Livingstone, a wealthy landlord of the Province, who, instead of directing them to Schoharie where they were to have free land, diverted them

on various pretexts to Livingstone Manor up the Hudson where he compelled them under task masters to slave for him. This condition existed, becoming increasingly unbearable, until 1719 when the people determined to send Weiser and two other delegates to England to seek justice.

When the refugees had fled from Germany, their ardently hoped for objective was to reach Pennsylvania, because even as far back as 1681 they had read William Penn's account of the Province of Pennsylvania wherein he proposed easy purchase of lands and good terms for settlers. Therefore, while Weiser was in England on the mission for the refugees, he visited Wm. Penn's widow and his son John and had almost completed negotiations for land along the upper Delaware near the present Stroudsburg where there was already a flourishing settlement that could be conveniently reached from New York by a good road. But this plan was frustrated by the Provincial Secretary, John Logan, who was much opposed to letting these lands go because of their promise of greatly increased future value. Weiser and the other two delegates found that Queen Anne was dead and that there were many difficulties to overcome on their mission, but finally after an absence of four years and many hardships and rebuffs, they succeeded in having Robert Hunter recalled and a new Governor sent out, and they returned to their people. The new Governor gave patents of lands to those who were willing to settle in the Maqua country but this allotment of land was not satisfactory to all of the people and therefore they scattered, some accepting the land, others buying land in Schoharie. Some of the latter, hearing of land to be had on the Tulpehocken in Pennsylvania, united in 1723 and cut a road from Schoharie to the Susquehanna River, moved their goods there, floated them down to the mouth of the Swatara Creek and from there came to Tulpehocken in the present Berks County and settled in the present Heidelberg Township, and this was the beginning of the settlement to which the subject of my sketch moved with his wife and children in 1729.

In preparing for the writing of this paper, the only original document that I have had access to is Weiser's personal account book which is a treasured possession of our family and which we have loaned for the first time for the historical display at this Sesqui-Centennial Celebration. Written partly in English, partly in German in his own handwriting, it is more than just the pounds and shillings side of his transactions which are recorded in words and deeds on almost every page for 30 years of the Colonial Records—there are names and it mentions journeys and events that stir the blood and fire the imagination. In addition I have had access to reprints of the Colonial Records and of Weiser's Journal and Autobiography, to the proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, to a number of treatises on various phases of Weiser's Indian policy and other activities and to several biographies, but the important and essential facts from all of these sources together with the result of his own research have been so thoroughly, painstakingly, reliably and authoritatively compiled and discussed in a paper on "The Weiser Family" prepared for the Pennsylvania German Society by one of the last living great-great-grandsons of Conrad Weiser, Dr. R. M. M. Richards of Lebanon, Pa., that I cannot possibly do any better than make my sketch a collection of excerpts from his able paper, and therefore, with his own written permission and without further acknowledgment, this is what I shall do.

In introducing his subject, he says among other things: As crises arise and men are needed God produces such as He has been preparing and has ready for the occasion. So it was with Penn, with Washington, with Lincoln, and so also with Weiser. Up to the year 1712 his history is that of his father, but the preparation for the great work assigned him by God began about his 17th year. One day about the close of November, 1713, there visited his family a chief of the Maquas or Six Nations named Quagnant, a friend of his father whom he had learned to know favorably while at Albany on his mission of negotiation for the Schoharie Valley

lands. Manifesting a fondness for the lad Conrad, he requested permission to take him to his own people to which the father assented, knowing him to be trustworthy. Here, he says, he suffered much from cold in the winter and still more from hunger in the following spring owing to a scarcity of provisions among the Indians. He was frequently obliged to hide himself for fear of being murdered while they were intoxicated. He remained with them eight months, during which he became familiar with their language and habits. Another biographer, writing of this winter's experience, says: "During this time the foundation to his future history and efficiency was well laid—hunger, thirst, cold, lying in ambush, engaging in races and chases—courses in such exercises developed lungs, bone and muscle, without a bountiful supply of which the necessary endurance for his subsequent marches over trailing paths for miles and miles would never have come to him.

Conrad Weiser had a call to a mission and this Indian experience was the college in which his qualifications were developed. Besides, he familiarized himself with the Indian life—their manners, ways and habits; their instincts, likes and dislikes, their language—all of which constituted a higher order of education for this future work. We question whether the United States Government or any of our State governments, has ever had an official or public functionary who was better qualified for his post than Conrad Weiser proved."

Continuing from Dr. Richard's paper—because of his father's second marriage in 1711 and the consequent harsh discipline to which he was subjected, his home life was made most unhappy and so, practically forced to leave it, he lived with the Indians the better part of fifteen years, was adopted into the Mohawk tribe and increasingly familiarized himself with all pertaining to their speech and customs. His early Mohawk name was Ziguras, but the name is so old that the present wise men of the tribe are unable to give its meaning. His later Indian name was Ta-racka-wa-gon and is of On-on-dago origin. It means "The one who holds the heavens" or

“He who holds the reins or lines” indicative of power, strength, wisdom and authority.

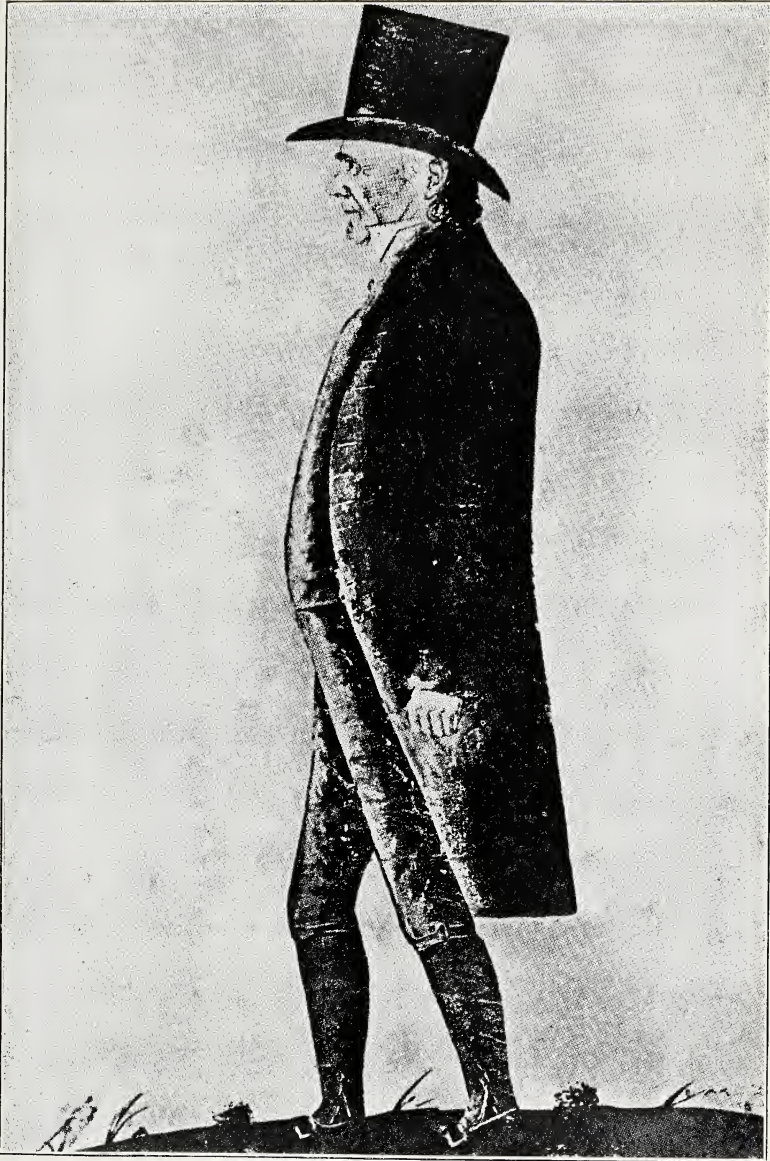
Weiser’s real life began in 1720 with his marriage. Of this he speaks plainly: “In 1720 while my father was in England, I married my Anna Eve and was given in marriage by the Rev. John Frederick Haeger, Reformed Clergyman, on the 22nd of November in my father’s house in Schoharie.” For some time there was a tradition that this Anna Eve was a Mohawk Indian girl, but his son-in-law, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, writing about Weiser in *The Hallische Nachrichten*, said, “Our young interpreter, Conrad Weiser, remained in Schoharie; in 1720 he entered into a state of matrimony with a German christian person of Evangelical parentage.” Her family name remained a mystery until 1907 when there was discovered in Philadelphia the will of Peter Feck of Heidelberg township, dated February 4, 1741, wherein it was shown conclusively that it was his daughter Anna Eve, who married Conrad Weiser. He, with his family, was among the original immigrants who came to New York with the Weisers.

Prepared so thoroughly, under Providence, for the work which lay before him, even in 1721 Weiser took a conspicuous place in Provincial affairs when, for some ten years, he stood between the Indians and English, as well as the English and Germans, in all matters of dispute, until in 1729 he left New York Province and joined his fellow-countrymen who had already preceded him to the Tulpehocken region. Here in 1731 his friend, the Indian Chief Shekallem, the vicegerent of the Six Nations in their dealings with the Delawares, found him and prevailed on him to accompany him to Philadelphia where Governor Gordon learned to know and appreciate him.

From the year 1732 when Washington was born, Conrad Weiser was the officially recognized Interpreter of Pennsylvania and head of its Indian Bureau, so remaining until his death. He was constantly and actively engaged in the discharge of his duties. Many and important treaties were arranged and ratified by him and, through his wise and philan-

thropic policy, many bloody outbreaks were prevented. His entire record has ever been above taint and suspicion. He became a naturalized subject of Great Britain in April, 1744. In the year 1741 he was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace for Lancaster County, continuing in service for many years, and, after the erection of Berks County 1752, filling it within that territory also. He was the first Judge of the Courts of Berks County and President Judge from 1752 until his death in 1760.

When the time came that the French essayed to secure supremacy in this country over the English, all his great wisdom and knowledge were called into action. To cast in the lot of the English with the Six Nations he well knew would arouse the enmity of the Delawares and deluge his beloved Province with blood, yet, looking into the future, he foresaw a mighty empire and did not hesitate to secure the friendship and cooperation of the stronger power. For thirty years it was his aim to keep the savages neutral and it was his wisdom alone which succeeded in so doing. But when hostilities actually began, all his efforts were directed toward placating those who felt aggrieved and largely through him, peace became once more assured. It was in the Fall of 1755 that the horrors of the French and Indian war fell upon the hapless settlers of Pennsylvania. Then again were all eyes turned to Conrad Weiser. On Oct. 31, 1755, he was commissioned a Lieut. Colonel by Gov. Morris and placed in command of the frontier between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. Forts were erected and garrisoned by his troops, the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment; bloodshed was a thing of daily occurrence; details for the protection of the people were constantly necessary; the supplies of his troops and his large correspondence must receive untiring attention; more treaties were to be arranged and all was done as he only could have done it; but, with his advanced years, the strain was too great and, after peace had become once more an accomplished fact and his duty performed, the unassuming but none the less great hero and patriot, went to his eternal



Conrad Weiser in his later years.

rest and reward on July 13, 1760, survived by his wife and seven of his fifteen children.

Conrad Weiser was a sincere and earnest Christian. He was born and baptized a Lutheran in the faith of his fathers. When he came to America and began his active life in the province of Pennsylvania, he found all religious matters in a very chaotic condition. While gatherings were held for the worship of God, it was impossible to obtain duly accredited ministers of character and ability. Weiser's religious convictions were too deep to permit him to remain inactive in the absence of an established church of his own faith, so we find him assisting and associating himself with all apparently proper religious movements. It was largely he who made possible and efficient the missionary efforts of the Moravians, Spangenberg and Zeisberger, whom he accompanied in 1738 in their journeys, as he did Count Zinzendorf in 1742. He taught them the Mohawk language; he was their shield, their propitiating herald, their frequent companion; his toils, dangers and exposures little less than theirs. He was more or less identified with the Reformed denomination at Tulpehocken shortly after his arrival in 1729 and in 1735 he was drawn into the religious enthusiasm of the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata and became a member of the Ephrata community but in 1741 he severed this connection, and upon the advent of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who succeeded in bringing order out of the chaos previously existing, we find him once more permanently within the Lutheran fold. He was instrumental in the erection of the Tulpehocken churches and of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. He composed a beautiful German poem or hymn consisting of thirteen verses on the occasion of the dedication of this latter edifice on June 17, 1753. In addition to his manifold other duties, he was a business man. He acquired much property and at his death was possessed of some 900 acres of land in Heidelberg township, Berks County; of lands beyond the Blue Mountains and of valuable lots in the town of Reading. On one of these in 1751 he erected a fine stone building which

was his dwelling in Reading and also used for store purposes, being the first store erected in that town and was known as the Weiser Wigwam. In 1907 this building was marked by a bronze tablet suitably inscribed and placed in the walls of the building. The money for this tablet was contributed by the children of Berks County.

Just as with Washington and Lincoln, he had his enemies and detractors. His wisdom in forming an Iroquois alliance brought about Delaware hostility and death, so even his own neighbors blamed him. His determination to do justice to the Indians so enraged the frontier men who demanded a scalp bounty that they threatened to kill him. Many of his former friends amongst the Indians turned from him when he accepted the Governor's commission as commander of the military forces along the Blue Mountains. The French had a reward for his scalp and the woods were full of his enemies.

Even for a time the Moravians looked with suspicion and distrust upon the old Interpreter. Notwithstanding all that, during his prosperous, as well as during his declining hours, Weiser never shirked a revealed duty nor departed from his conception of justice. He was of the Governor's party and served the interests of the Proprietors, yet, under no circumstances did he ever swerve from the right as it appeared to him.

The Governor as well as the Proprietors, took advice from him with what grace they could, knowing full well that this blunt-spoken man meant it all for the best.

In 1909 amidst elaborate dedicatory exercises a beautiful granite shaft to the honor of Conrad Weiser was unveiled by the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America in Womelsdorf, but since the establishment of Weiser Park, this monument has been moved there to what is known as the Washington Circle, a granite circle about one hundred feet in diameter enclosing the Weiser burial plot and so called in commemoration of a visit which George Washington and a distinguished company of personal friends paid

to the Weiser homestead and burial plot on Nov. 14, 1793. In this company was Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution; David Rittenhouse, the astronomer and scientist; William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Tench Francis, the land agent of the Penn's estate and General, afterwards Governor Joseph Heister and as they gathered about the grave of this Colonial leader George Washington, with bared head and reverent attitude, gave expression to words of highest laudation as his tribute of esteem among which were those chiseled upon the monument that now guards the sacred tomb, "Posterity Cannot Forget His Services."

The value of Conrad Weiser's life and works to posterity has been variously estimated, but always in terms of highest praise. At the time of his death the Governor, James Hamilton, at an Indian Conference held at Easton, said in reply to a speech by Seneca George, "Brethren: we are very sensible, with you, that both of us have sustained a very heavy loss by the death of our old and good friend, Conrad Weiser, who was an able, experienced and faithful Interpreter, and one of the Council of the Seven Nations; and that since his death, we, as well as you, have sat in darkness and are at a great loss for want of well understanding what we say to one another. We mourn with you for his death and heartily join in covering his body with bark." Thwaites in his "Early Western Travels" in which he reprints Weiser's Journal of his journey to the Ohio, the first official embassy to the Indians, says "Weiser was the most influential German of his section, possibly of all Pennsylvania. His sincerity, honesty, and trustworthiness made him greatly respected throughout the entire Province and his death was considered a public calamity."

Joseph Walton in his "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania" frequently mentions his honesty, diplomacy and his remarkable farsightedness in the affairs of the Province. The Rev. N. H. Richards, in his "German Immigration from New York Province into Penn-

sylvania'' says, ''The Pennsylvania-German has tended more to the useful element than to the brilliant; he has done the work rather than achieved widespread reputation. As an example of this characteristic, take the case of Conrad Weiser. We hear much of the blessed policy of equitable and peaceful dealings with the Indians under the Penn's government. But it was this Palatine immigrant from the New York Province, Conrad Weiser, who was the interpreter and agent, the one man trusted by Indian and white man who managed this affair from 1732, until physical decay and old age in 1760 made it no longer possible. Yet the few hear of Weiser and many laud the Penns who had practically very little part in it except the good sense to trust Weiser and let him manage the Indians and pay his reasonable bills for expenses and services.''

Dr. H. M. M. Richards says this of him: ''Had it not been for Conrad Weiser, our Pennsylvania could never have survived as such, our independence as a nation could then never have been attained, we would never have remained a united and powerful country with the willingness and ability to relieve and succor the down-trodden peoples of the earth and to guide and aid as we have, the nations of our entire world,''' and this from the Rev. Dr. N. C. Schaeffer, one time Pennsylvania State Superintendent of Public Instruction, with which quotation I close this paper: ''Bancroft tells us that the Six Nations remained neutral, but he does not tell how this neutrality came about. Apparently he did not know that the great Indian Interpreter, Conrad Weiser, made a trip of 200 miles to the Six Nations for the purpose of advising them not to side with the French. It was a trip as heroic as that of marching through Georgia or of penetrating into the wilderness of Africa. When Weiser reached the Six Nations, two French emissaries had been at work for two days trying to persuade the Indians that the time was ripe for them to sweep the English Settlements from the Atlantic coast. Weiser succeeded in convincing them that the quarrel of the French with the English was not one in

which the Indians should take part, and thus he made possible the triumph of the English race at Quebec. Conrad Weiser looms up as one of the moulding factors in that epoch-making period of the world's history which gave a continent to the English Nation, and by his influence over the red man, he helped William Pitt and Frederick the Great to give history a new trend, and to save the northern half of the New World from those Latin influences which have cursed Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America. We owe it to Conrad Weiser, who was the pivotal man in the crisis period of our country's formation, that we have an Anglo-Saxon versus a Latin civilization stamped upon our Nation's escutcheon."

Truly, "Posterity cannot forget his services."

LINCOLN'S EARLY POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

BY DR. LOUIS A. WARREN.*

Abraham Lincoln chose to accumulate and systematize that branch of knowledge known as the science of government. His first public declaration of any importance was the announcement of his candidacy for the legislature of Illinois.

He decided that it would be to his intellectual, and also his economic advantage, to study law. The appeal of the bench, however, failed to surplant the call of the open forum. He never gained the same satisfaction in winning a law suit, as he did in receiving the endorsement of the public at the polls. All other activities, including his law practice, were set aside when some vital issue, affecting local or national government, needed a champion.

There is no reason to believe that Lincoln ever changed the desire for public approbation which found expression in his first political address. He remarked:

"Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed."

It is evident that this ambition was built up during the formative years of his life and possibly may have been traced to certain tendencies inherent in the Lincoln family.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some of the influences which contributed to the early political background of Abraham Lincoln and which placed him on the stump in Illinois in 1832 at the age of twenty-three years, a formidable candidate for a place in the state legislature.

Although modern science feels that acquired characteristics can not be passed on to the offspring, there is abundant

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evidence that certain innate tendencies find expression with more or less regularity in succeeding generations.

In studying the paternal ancestry of Abraham Lincoln there seems to be sufficient grounds to conclude that the urge which started Lincoln in the field of political effort was contributed by his forbears.

The first letter which Abraham Lincoln wrote about his paternal ancestry was in reply to Solomon Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts, who had inquired about Abraham's family history.¹ This Solomon Lincoln, who had been a state senator and a recipient of some national political favors, was a descendant of Samuel Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln's first American progenitor. Neither Abraham nor Solomon knew of this common relationship, however.

Some months after writing this letter when Abraham Lincoln, as a member of Congress, was called into Massachusetts for a series of political addresses, he was greeted at Worcester by Mayor Levi Lincoln, Jr. Levi Lincoln's father, Levi Lincoln, Sr., had been attorney-general in Jefferson's cabinet. He also received an appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court under Madison but declined the nomination.

The senior Levi Lincoln had a remarkable family of six children. Two sons, Levi Jr. and Enoch became governors of Massachusetts and Maine, respectively. Daniel, a Harvard graduate, although dead at the age of thirty one, was known as an orator of splendid genius, and already successful in local politics. John, the youngest son, became a Massachusetts state senator and held other elective offices. The two daughters of Levi Lincoln, Sr., both married members of the Massachusetts legislature.²

Levi Lincoln, Sr.'s brother, Dr. Abraham Lincoln, was also a man of prominence in New England. An early history mentions the fact that, "Dr. Lincoln's apothecary shop was noted for many years in his day as the headquarters

¹ Letter written, March 6, 1909.

² History of the Lincoln Farm, Lincoln, p. 162.

of the democratic politicians of Worcester . . . there the politics of the day were discussed . . . Dr. Lincoln loved politics and cigars equally well and all day long he would sit with heels up, smoking his much loved 'Indian weed.' ''³

The family of Levi Lincoln was by no means the only Lincoln group in New England which became distinguished. A book has recently been published by a historical society giving the names of hundreds of the descendants of Samuel Lincoln who occupied prominent places in the civic life of colonial days and the years that followed.

Abraham Lincoln, guest of Levi Lincoln, Jr., in 1848, did not know that he and his host were direct descendants of the same American progenitor, Samuel Lincoln of Hingham.

The state of Pennsylvania had several Lincolns of Massachusetts origin, who occupied prominent places in their respective communities. Among them there was one Abraham Lincoln, own brother to the president's great-grandfather, who was one of the 69 delegates to the state constitutional convention, which framed the famous state instrument.

This Pennsylvania Lincoln had been chosen as a county commissioner in 1772 and served in this capacity until his appointment as an officer in the Revolutionary war. In 1782 he was elected to the general assembly from Berks county and continued to be re-elected until 1786 with ever increasing majorities.⁴

Little is known about the grandfather of the President who was named, evidently, for the Pennsylvania Abraham near whom he lived as a boy. This branch of the family moved to Virginia and was residing there at the outbreak of the Revolution. The president's grandfather, Abraham, became an officer and his service as Judge Advocate, referred to on many occasions in the Rockingham County records, suggests the prominent place he occupied among his

³ Carl's Tour on Main St. Chapter 5.

⁴ Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. 9.

constituents.⁵ He was only forty-two years of age when he was massacred by the Indians in Kentucky.

The father of the president is one of the most misrepresented characters in history. His declining years between the ages of fifty-five to seventy-five which he spent in the Illinois country have been used as illustrative of the activities of his entire life. As a young man there is unquestionable proof that he was considered a substantial citizen in the communities where he resided. He was the recipient of several minor appointments which might be called political favors.

After the death of his father, Thomas Lincoln was found often in the company of his father's own cousin Hananiah Lincoln. This Revolutionary officer was the first sheriff of Cumberland County, Kentucky, and Thomas served as a constable under him at least two terms.

Beginning in 1803 Thomas Lincoln served on many occasions as a guard of prisoners, and in 1805 was chosen as one of the patrollers of Hardin County. His appointment as a road surveyor indicates that he was a dependable citizen who could be held responsible for the duties calling upon the incumbent of this office.⁶

There is much evidence to show that Thomas Lincoln was allied with the anti-slavery groups that were springing up in Kentucky and his church affiliation was with a congregation holding emancipation principles. In writing to a Kentuckian during the civil war Abraham Lincoln said, "I am *naturally* anti-slavery; if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot *remember when I did not* so think and feel."⁷

The innate tendencies which contributed to Lincoln's peculiar qualifications for a statesman must not be minimized, and are traced, as we have shown, through many generations of his paternal forbears.

The atmosphere which permeated Abraham Lincoln's

⁵ Rockingham County (Va.) Order Book, No. 16, p. 222.

⁶ Hardin County (Ky.) Court Order Books.

⁷ Letter to A. G. Hodges, April 4, 1864.

early home, contributed much to his advancement. Thomas Lincoln's own personal influence was supplemented by that of his second wife, Sarah Bush Lincoln.

The widow Bush who came in to the Lincoln home when Abraham was but ten years of age brought with her the reminiscences of a life spent in the very midst of political turmoil.

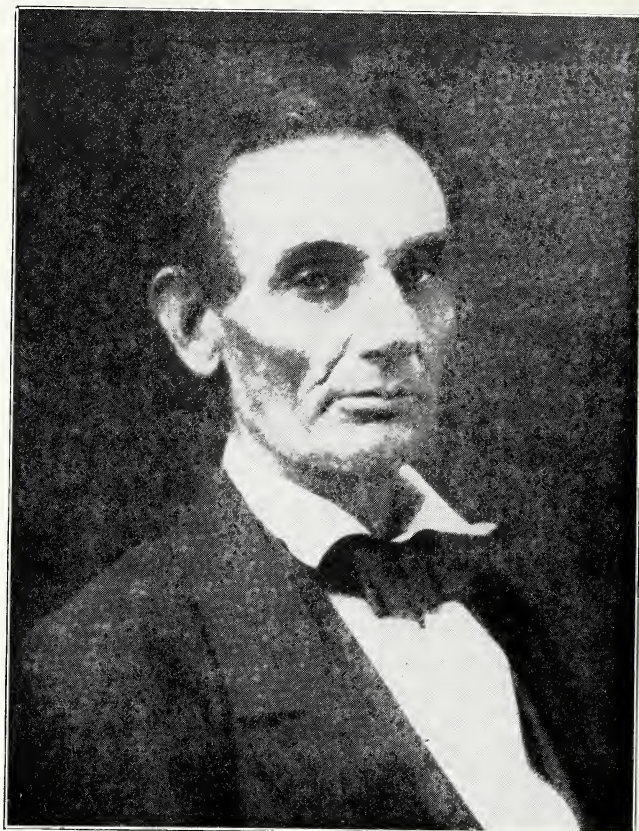
Her first husband was the jailor of Hardin County at the time of his death. The duties of the jailor's wife, among which was the caring for the court house, brought her in constant touch with the lawyers and political leaders of the district.

She not only married in this first matrimonial venture, a man who had political ambitions, but her father and brothers were office holders in Hardin County from the earliest days of her remembrance. Christopher Bush, her father, was High Sheriff of Hardin County for several years. After his decease many of the early offices he formerly held were filled by his sons. A sister of Sarah Bush married Ichabod Radley who was a Deputy sheriff of Hardin County. It would appear from the early records that Christopher Bush, his sons, and sons-in-law occupied about all the enforcement offices in the county and these were not gained without contest. In fact Thomas Lincoln himself served as a patroller with Christopher Bush, Jr., as captain of the patrol.

One can accept without hesitation the testimony of Dennis Hanks, an inmate of the Lincoln Home in Indiana, that the chief topic of an evening's conversation in the Lincoln cabin was politics.

When Prof. John C. Gulliver, of Andover, Massachusetts, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Lincoln before the war asked him how he acquired such a remarkable control of language and speech, he replied:

"Well, if I have gotten any power that way I will tell you how I suppose I came to get it. You see when I was a boy over in Indiana, all the local politicians used to come to



Abraham Lincoln by Hesler.

our cabin to discuss politics with my father. I used to sit by and listen to them but father would not let me ask many questions and there were a great many things I did not understand. Well, I'd go up to my room in the attic and set down or pace back and forth till I made out just what they meant and then I'd lie awake for hours putting their ideas into words that the boys around our way could understand."

His own sister and the three children of Sarah Bush Lincoln, who grew up with Abraham, served as an audience for his early oratorical efforts. It is apparent from the testimony of one of these associates that Abraham's first speeches were of religious or moral character, and the training of self expression became evident when subjects of government were discussed.

The inherent tendencies and environmental influences which guided the youth into the channels of public appeal were further cultivated by his admiration for certain political leaders of the day.

The activities of Ratcliff Boone, pioneer Indiana statesman could not but have impressed him. Ratcliff was a close relative of Daniel Boone, whose cousin Anne Boone had married Abraham Lincoln, the Pennsylvania legislator. Ratcliff Boone lived but a few miles from the Lincolns. In 1818, the year Abraham Lincoln's mother died, Boone was elected to the state senate and was chosen its president. The following year he was elected Lieutenant Governor polling twice as many votes as his opponent. Eight times he was elected to Congress from his district. On one of the two occasions when he was elected Lieutenant Governor, he filled out the unexpired term of the governor who had resigned. His political activities covered that period of pioneer history in which Abraham Lincoln was growing up.

The campaign methods of Boone were not unlike those of the Railsplitter. While Boone's opponent was trying to convince the owner of some cross road blacksmith shop that

he should support him, Boone would hammer out some useful instrument on the anvil.

The speeches of Boone, many of which have been preserved in the early newspapers, may also be responsible for some of the unique expressions used by Lincoln in later years. A brief paragraph from one of Boone's earliest speeches follows:

"In presenting myself to you, gentlemen, as a candidate for the office in question, I have nothing to claim through my ancestors nor from former services, but alone depend on what may be thought justly merit and the disposition of those who have the right to determine who shall be jointly charged with the administration of the state government should my wishes merit the approbation of a majority of my countrymen they will confer on me a lasting obligation for which I shall pledge myself to use every exertion in my power to promote the interest of the state and happiness of its citizens."⁸

An influence greater than the personal contact with Boone and other local political aspirants, was his indirect association with the men he met in books and newspapers. Among them all, even superseding the mighty Washington, was Henry Clay. We have Lincoln's own testimony supporting his admiration for this gallant crusader.

During Lincoln's young manhood he was kept in close touch, by means of the weekly newspapers, with the reforms advocated by Clay.

In the years 1825 and 1826 the *Western Sun* of Vincennes published eighteen long articles by or about Henry Clay, which set forth in detail his philosophy of government. Here without doubt was the seed bed of Lincoln's own political ideals.

At the store of William Jones an opportunity was given the pioneers of the Lincoln community to exchange opinions about political affairs. Jones, for whom Lincoln served as a clerk in the winter of 1829-30 was a warm Clay sympathizer.

⁸ *Western Sun*, May 8, 1819.

In the Evansville Daily Journal of July 19, 1860, is a note from a correspondent commenting on Jones' political attitude.

"William Jones is an old citizen of the county who has taken little active part in politics since the Clay and Polk campaign and who on learning of the defeat of his favorite in that memorable contest was for several days incapacitated for attending to his usual business. He appeals to his friends, to give old Abe their undivided support."

Those who have wondered at Lincoln's early grasp of national and international affairs, even in his young manhood, can easily account for this knowledge, by fingering through the files of the early newspapers. Some of the subjects discussed in these pioneer periodicals are as follows: Free Schools, Colonization of Negroes, Declaration of Independence and its signers, The Tariff Question, Geographical sketches of the western country, Fugitive Slave Law, Foreign Relations, Viewpoints of Robert Owens on National Affairs, Moral philosophy and habits, activities and spirit of youth, Addresses of Napoleon, Liberty of the press, State rights, etc.

The liberal education of Abraham Lincoln was gained through the medium of the weekly newspaper, and he may well be called the product of the early American press.

The Lincolns migrated to the Illinois country less than one month after Abraham had become 21 years of age. The rest of the year was occupied in seeing his father settled and in fencing in the land.

Aside from a few odd jobs in the winter months he had no steady occupation until engaged by Offutt, to build a flat boat and pilot it to New Orleans.

In July 1831 he took up his permanent residence at New Salem and the following month cast his first vote and served as clerk of the election. When he announced himself as a candidate for the legislature in 1832 he had been a resident of the community where he was living but eight months and a citizen of Illinois but two years. He had just passed his

twenty-third birthday and was a stranger to most of the people in the district he hoped to represent.

One fact, however, we must accept; he would not have aspired to the office had he not felt that he was qualified to fill it.

If one has any doubts about his ability to set forth in a clear concise form the principles in which he believed, let him read the first public address of Abraham Lincoln delivered in the interest of his candidacy.

Here we find an orderly presentation of subject matter which dealt with the issues in which the pioneers were especially interested, and discussed by one who apparently understood these needs.

This maiden political speech of Abraham Lincoln's may be outlined as follows:

INTRODUCTION—"Having become a candidate for the honorable office of one of your representatives in the next General Assembly of this state, in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true Republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people whom I propose to represent, my sentiments with regard to local affairs."

ARGUMENT—The Improvement of the Sangamon River.

1. Internal improvements:
 - a. Opening of good roads.
 - b. Clearing of navigable streams.
 - c. Unequaled utility of railroads.
 - d. Prohibitive cost of railroads.
 - e. Improvement of Sangamon River.
 - Best suited to infant resources.
 - Has observed stages of river.
 - Drifted timber greatest barrier.
 - Dam to change river course.
 - Channels to straighten course.
 - Vastly important to the people.

2. A National Bank:
 - a. Loaning money at exorbitant rates.
 - b. Law fixing limits of usury.
 - c. Favors law which cannot be evaded.
3. Education:
 - a. Most important subject before us.
 - b. A moderate education for all.
 - c. Morality, sobriety, enterprise and industry, hastened by it.
4. Existing Laws:
 - a. Alterations may be necessary.
 - b. Estray laws, road laws, etc.
 - c. Framers wiser than myself I should prefer not meddling with these laws.

CONCLUSION—"I am young and unknown to many of you. I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular relatives or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown exclusively upon the independent voters of the county; and, if elected, they will have conferred a favor upon me which I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. But, if the good people in their wisdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined."

Abraham Lincoln, candidate for the Legislature of Illinois who enlisted in the Black Hawk War was more than a champion wrestler and recognized strong man. His mental superiority over most of his contemporaries, if put to the test, would have been as pronounced as his physical prowess.

Most authors in writing on this period of Lincoln's life have considered his service in the Black Hawk War as a very great asset to his political achievements. An event at the close of the war, however, was responsible for his first and only defeat suffered at the hands of the people.

On July 16, 1832, Abraham Lincoln was mustered out of service at Whitewater, Michigan Territory, (now Wiscon-

sin). The election day was set for August sixth. Three hundred miles separated Lincoln from the New Salem voting precinct and the election was but twenty days off.

When he arose the morning following the disbandment of the company intent on making a hurried trip back to the scene of the political contest he found that his horse had been stolen. The stolen horse incident might compare favorably with the Salt River experience of Henry Clay.

Except for a short distance which he covered in a canoe he was obliged to walk the entire way.

It is very doubtful if Lincoln could have arrived in New Salem before August first, giving him but five days to conduct his canvass before the election took place.

His campaigning was necessarily confined to the immediate vicinity of his home and the results of the election reveal what might have taken place in other precincts, had he been given sufficient time to visit the voters.

Of the 281 votes cast in the New Salem precinct Lincoln received all but three votes. In the entire county of Sangamon his total vote was 657, not enough to elect him although he received more votes than five of the other candidates for the office. He needed but 159 more votes to overtake Peter Cartwright. He would undoubtedly have gleaned these extra votes if his return had not been retarded by the absence of his stolen horse.

The Lincoln of the early Illinois days is portrayed by his friend Joshua F. Speed in his very interesting reminiscences as follows: "In the spring of 1836 I first saw Abraham Lincoln. I was then fresh from Kentucky and had heard many of her great orators. It seemed to me then as it seems to me now, that I never heard a more effective speaker."

One must conclude after learning of the illustrious Lincolns in Colonial and Revolutionary days that there was good Lincoln blood in the veins of the western American statesman. One is also convinced after studying the environment of Lincoln's home and his early political contacts that he

came by his political passion, naturally. One must further conclude, after reading similar editions of books and newspapers Lincoln read, that his source of information on the major questions of government, was sufficient for a rich and fruitful early political background.

DR. JOHN GALE, A PIONEER ARMY SURGEON.

BY IRVING S. CUTTER, M. D.

Surgeons and physicians, especially those attached to frontier army garrisons played a not inconspicuous part in the westward march of the pioneer. Outstanding figures may be noted in the Indian campaigns following the War of the Revolution, particularly through Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana, and later in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and along the Mississippi and its principal tributaries. Among these army physicians was one John Gale, whose career is of sufficient interest and importance to merit a permanent record. As with many important pioneer characters, recorded facts concerning him are difficult of access and widely scattered. Records of the War Department show that he was enlisted on the sixth of July, 1812, as a surgeon's mate and assigned to the 23rd Infantry. His birth place is given as Rockingham County, New Hampshire, and his home at the time of enlistment Andover, Massachusetts. His death is recorded as having occurred at Fort Armstrong, Illinois, July 27th, 1830.

Extensive search through the various town histories of Rockingham County, New Hampshire, discloses no reliable information as to the date or exact place of his birth. Of the three John Gales born in Rockingham County, only two would be of sufficient maturity to have entered military service in 1812 as a surgeon's mate: namely, John Gale, born at Raymond, New Hampshire, July 30, 1774; and John Gale, born at Kingston, New Hampshire, October 22, 1790. The Gale family of Kingston, New Hampshire, produced many physicians. While ample data is available relative to many physician members of the family, the John of this family seems to have disappeared from the records of local history. Nor do the vital records of Andover, Massachusetts, shed any

light. The age of twenty-two rather than the age of thirty-eight would incline one to the belief that the John Gale born in Kingston in 1790 is in all probability the subject of our study.

The first official record of Gale's career in the War of 1812 appears as special mention in the report of Brigadier General E. W. Ripley,¹ commanding the second brigade of the Northern Army. Reporting on the action at Fort Erie August, 1814, he says:

"I close this long report by stating to you in the highest terms of approbation, the skilfulness exhibited by Dr. Fuller, Surgeon of the 23rd, and Doctor Trowbridge, Surgeon of the 21st Infantry, with their mates Doctor Gale of the 23rd, and Doctors Everett and Allen of the 21st; their active, humane, and judicious treatment of the wounded both of the enemy, and of our own, together with their steady and constant attention to the duties of their station, must have attracted your personal observation, and I am confident will receive your approbation."

General Gaines, in forwarding the report to the then Secretary of War, John Armstrong, endorses General Ripley's report in the following terms:

"The surgeons, Doctors Fuller, 23rd, Trowbridge, 21st, with their mates, Doctors Gale of the 23rd and Everett and Allen of the 21st, deserve the warmest approbation for their indefatigable exertions and humane attention to the wounded of our army, as well as to the prisoners who fell into our hands."

On August 31, 1814, Gale was transferred from the 23rd to the 34th Infantry and was discharged on the fifteenth of June, 1815. He made application for re-enlistment in the regular army and was appointed surgeon's mate September 13, 1815, and assigned to a detachment of the 3rd Infantry, which at that time was stationed at Fort Selby, Detroit.

¹ The Medical Department of the U. S. Army 1775-1873, Harvey E. Brown, Washington, 1873.

Mention is made of him in the general orders incident to the re-occupation of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, in the following terms:

“Fifth Military Department
Detroit
June 7, 1816.

Surgeon's mate, Gale, of the 3rd regiment, at this point will make requisitions, etc. for medicines and hospital stores for the garrison intended to be established at Chicago and will accompany the troops destined for that post.

The troops destined for Chicago will embark on Sunday next before sunset.

(Signed) Francis A. Bolton, Adjutant
Asst. Inspector General”

Captain Bradley reported the arrival of his detachment of the 3rd Infantry at Fort Dearborn on July 4, 1816. Surgeon's mate Gale remained at Fort Dearborn until April 18th, 1818, when he was promoted to the rank of Surgeon assigned to the Rifle regiment² and ordered to proceed to Fort Bellefontaine³, where that regiment had been ordered mobilized. The Rifle Regiment was destined to form part of the Yellowstone Expedition under the command of Colonel Henry Atkinson.⁴

In September, 1818, the Surgeon-General, Joseph Lovell, had issued a general order which contained this paragraph:

“The Surgeon-General shall receive from every surgeon and mate, performing the duties of surgeon, quarterly reports of sick, with such remarks as may be necessary to explain the diseases of the troops.”

² Created from a portion of the 5th Infantry.

³ First a Spanish military post, later an Indian factory; was located on the south bank of the Missouri River, four miles above its mouth and fifteen miles above St. Louis. From 1809-15 Fort Bellefontaine was headquarters of the Department of Louisiana. It was abandoned July 10, 1826, the garrison removing to Jefferson Barracks. The buildings were retained for storage purposes until 1834.

⁴ Colonel Henry Atkinson was born in North Carolina. Appointed Capt. 3rd Inf. 1808; Col. 4th Inf. 1814; transferred 37th Inf. 1814; transferred 6th Inf. 1815; Bvt. Brig. Gen. May 1820; was in command at Fort Armstrong, Ill., at outbreak of Black Hawk War and played an important part in planning the campaign against Black Hawk's warriors. Died Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, June 14, 1842.

In this connection mention of Surgeon Gale is found in the report of the Surgeon-General to the Secretary of War under date of November 1, 1818. It appears that Surgeon-General Lovell had been successful in introducing numerous reforms in the Medical Corps and had made every effort to secure prompt and accurate vital and statistical reports from the several surgeons attached to troops. In his report of November, 1818, the Surgeon-General says:

“The officers of the Corps, not having been heretofore required to make such reports and returns, as will be necessary in future, some time will probably be required to obtain them in a proper form and regular manner; particularly those relating to the nature and treatment of diseases, which can only be described in general terms, while all their usefulness must depend on their respective surgeons. Those, however, of Dr. Gale of the Rifle corps are notable exceptions to this remark.”

Surgeon Gale remained at Bellefontaine from the time of his arrival early in 1818 until June 15, 1819, when the second battalion of the Rifle Regiment left Bellefontaine and proceeded up the Missouri and joined the first battalion at Cow Island⁵ on the 30th of August. His battalion arrived at Council Bluffs, a distance of 780 miles above the mouth of the Missouri, on the 2nd of October, 1819, where the troops of the 6th Infantry and Regiment of Riflemen established a winter cantonment known as Camp Missouri. This cantonment was located on the right bank of the Missouri, some eight miles above Major Long's Engineer Cantonment, and approximately two miles north of the site named by Lewis and Clark, Council Bluffs. Dr. Edwin James, the chronicler of Long's Expedition notes:

“On the 26th of September, 1819, Mr. Say and Mr. Jessup arrived (at Engineer Cantonment) in the flotilla

⁵ Cow Island (Isle de Vache) near the present site of Leavenworth, Kansas. Captain Martin with three companies of the Rifle Regiment had left Fort Bellefontaine in September 1818, constituting the vanguard of the Yellowstone Expedition. This detachment remained at Cow Island for nearly a year maintaining itself on the wild game of the vicinity.

from Cow Island, in company with Colonel Morgan, Dr. Gale and Captain McGee."

In describing the site of Camp Missouri in his first quarterly Medico-Topographical Report of 1820, Surgeon Gale says:

"The range of hills which at unequal distances everywhere bounds the Missouri runs in upon the river about two miles below the cantonment and breaks off perpendicularly at the water's brink."

The permanent post, Fort Atkinson, which was later established in the immediate vicinity of the Council Bluffs of Lewis and Clark was located at the point where the bluff runs in toward the river "and breaks off perpendicularly at the water's brink." Surgeon Thomas G. Mower⁶ who accompanied the 6th Infantry, in describing Camp Missouri, says:

"An alluvial bottom on the right bank of the river about two miles above the Council Bluffs was designated as the site for the cantonment for the Infantry and Rifle Regiment. The bottom composed principally of clay, is low and flat and constantly productive of a humid atmosphere. The site for the cantonment, as subsequent experience has proven, had little to recommend it excepting the facility of procuring timber. A small lake of about three miles circumference, during the low stages of the Missouri approaches within 600 yards of the cantonment. At the late unusual, and perhaps unprecedented, rise of the river, its waters communicated with those of the lake and inundated the adjacent bottoms, including the ground on which the cantonment had been erected." ⁷

⁶ Thomas G. Mower, born at Leicester, Massachusetts, 1790. Graduated from Harvard 1810 and appointed Surgeon's mate to the 9th Infantry in 1812. Promoted to Surgeon in 1814 and assigned to the 6th Infantry. Stationed at Camp Missouri and Fort Atkinson until 1823 when he was ordered to New York City to become chief purchasing agent of medical supplies for the Army. He was presiding officer of the Army medical examining Board 1831-1851.

⁷ The present channel of the Missouri is some three or four miles east of the channel followed by the river between 1819-1827. The lake referred to does not now exist, but was known to the early settlers as Lake Moores. A personal communication from Henry Rohwer, who has resided at Fort Calhoun, Nebraska, for more than sixty years, states that sixty years ago there was a small lake one and one-half miles north of the village of Fort Calhoun known as Moores Lake.

Dr. Edwin James mentions Gale in connection with the devastating epidemic of scurvy which attacked the troops stationed at Camp Missouri during the winter of 1819-1820. He says:

“Yet it is some consolation to reflect that all the science, care and attention of the healing art have been exerted for the relief of the sufferers by Drs. Gale and Moore.”⁸

The epidemic of scurvy which occurred at Camp Missouri was the most devastating epidemic, in the percentage of mortality, of this disease ever suffered by a body of U. S. Troops, and the history of scurvy has failed to record adequately the severity of the disease and the heroic efforts made by both Surgeons Gale and Mower to combat it. Of the 788 troops stationed at Camp Missouri, 157 died, and the morbidity was above 60%. In connection with their reports on this epidemic to the Surgeon-General, surgeons Gale and Mower presented unusually careful and detailed narratives.⁹

Camp Missouri was abandoned subsequently to the building of the permanent post approximately two miles below on high ground during the years 1820-1821.¹⁰ The health of the troops subsequent to the winter of 1819-1820 was apparently normal and further reports from Surgeons Gale and Mower are not of moment. Surgeon Mower was relieved from duty in May, 1821, and ordered east, leaving Surgeon Gale as chief medical officer at Fort Atkinson.

Major General Gaines in his report of September 30, 1822, on the inspection made of Fort Atkinson, says:

“The buildings constructed by the troops consist of four blocks of hewed log barracks, furnishing 88 rooms with shingle roofs; foundations are of brick. There was

⁸ R. G. Thwaites in his reprint of *Long's Expedition* fails to identify Surgeon Moore with Surgeon Thomas G. Mower of the 6th Infantry.

⁹ See Statistical Report on Sickness and Mortality in Army of U. S., Washington, 1840.

¹⁰ The reservation of Fort Atkinson begins about 100 yards east of the east line of the present village of Fort Calhoun, Nebraska. There seems to be a general misconception among writers dealing with this region relative to the location of Camp Missouri. The reports of both Surgeons Gale and Mower clearly show that this camp was located on low bottom land some two or more miles north of the site upon which Fort Atkinson was built (the Council Bluffs of Lewis and Clark).

a saw mill capable of producing 1,500 planks per day; there was a brick kiln, a lime kiln, a blacksmith shop and a grist mill.

"The harvest of the garrison for the year was 25,000 bushels of corn, 6,000 bushels of potatoes, 1,050 bushels of turnips, 250 tons of hay."

John Gale is mentioned several times in the diary of James Kennerly¹¹, post sutler at Fort Atkinson from 1823-1827. Gale's prowess as a hunter and as an arbitrator in quarrels is duly set forth.

Surgeon Gale is again mentioned in connection with the report on the Arikara expedition of 1823. A trapping party led by General Ashley had been fired upon near the Arikara Indian village on the Missouri, 640 miles above Fort Atkinson, and several men had been killed. Colonel Henry Leavenworth¹², at that time in command at Fort Atkinson, departed for the scene of this difficulty on June 2, 1823, with a command consisting of 220 men of the 6th Infantry and in addition a strong force of trappers under the joint leadership of General Ashley and Joshua Pilcher. The Arikara village was reached on the 9th of August 1823. A band of the Sioux Indian tribe, avowed enemies of the Arikaras, joined the troops in the vicinity of the village and from all accounts did most of the fighting. Surgeon Gale with one companion was the first to enter the Arikara village in an effort to negotiate a surrender.

Surgeon Gale also accompanied the peace expedition of 1825 under the command of General Atkinson to the upper Missouri tribes, which expedition had been made necessary by the disastrous outcome of the Arikara War. Surgeon

¹¹ Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. VI, No. 1.

¹² Col. Henry Leavenworth was born in Connecticut; appointed from New York. Capt. 25th Inf. 25th of April, 1812; Maj. 9th Inf. 15th of August, 1813; transferred to 2nd Inf. May 17, 1815; Lieut. Col. 5th Inf. 10th of February, 1818; transferred to 6th Inf. first of October, 1821; Col. 3rd Inf. 16th December, 1825. Died 21st July, 1834. Bvt. Lieut. Col. 15th July, 1814 for distinguished and meritorious service at Battle of Chippewa; Bvt. Col. 25th July, 1814 for distinguished service at Niagara Falls; Bvt. Brig. Gen. 25th July, 1824 for "ten years faithful service in one grade."

Gale and Assistant Surgeon Richard M. Coleman¹³ were the two medical officers attached to the expedition.¹⁴

Fort Atkinson was abandoned in 1827 and Surgeon Gale was transferred to Jefferson Barracks. The following year, 1828, he was at Fort Leavenworth¹⁵ as is indicated by his quarterly report from that post. He is referred to in the Surgeon-General's report as

"One who has been almost constantly on duty in that country for the last ten years. He is well known to the army as one of the most efficient and experienced officers of the department and is now stationed at Cantonment Leavenworth."

Because of the marked incidence of disease among the troops on the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth, recommendations had been made to the War Department that the post be abandoned, and the Cantonment was without troops for a period of several months. It was due to the urgent representations made by Surgeon Gale that the re-occupation of Cantonment Leavenworth was ordered in 1830. In his quarterly report to the Surgeon-General in 1829, he says:

"Learning that Government contemplates removing the troops on account of unhealthiness of locality, predicated its position on insufficient reports, I have considered it my duty to submit these remarks. I will venture the opinion, matured by eleven years constant duty at the several military posts embraced between Jefferson Barracks and Two-thousand-mile Creek, that no post more salubrious than this can be selected between this point and the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi."

¹³ Coleman, who was later stationed at Fort Crawford, was transferred to Fort Armstrong at the outbreak of the Black Hawk war and died there of cholera on September 2, 1832.

¹⁴ North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1. In this article the editors, Reid and Gannon, err in stating that John Gale was born in New Hampshire July 6, 1812. This is the date of his enlistment as surgeon's mate in the 23rd Infantry.

¹⁵ Fort Leavenworth, stationed on the right bank of the Missouri, latitude 39° 30' north, longitude 94° 31' 30" west, about 500 miles above its junction with the Mississippi. The post was established in May, 1827 by Colonel Henry Leavenworth, commanding a detachment of the 3rd Infantry. It was evacuated in May, 1829 and re-occupied in 1830.

No record has been found ordering Surgeon Gale's transfer from Cantonment Leavenworth to Fort Armstrong where his death is recorded as having occurred on the 27th of July, 1830. It is interesting to note that a change of troops occupying Fort Armstrong occurred on this exact date. The records of the War Department show that on July 27th, 1830, Captain John Bliss with Companies D and H of the 3rd Infantry occupied Fort Armstrong, relieving Captain Green in command of Companies C and G of the same regiment. This was Gale's old regiment to which he had been attached at Fort Selby and Fort Dearborn. His death may have occurred earlier and have been carried on the report of the 27th of July incident to the transfer of the troops, or we may visualize this pioneer surgeon accompanying the command of Captain Bliss, becoming ill en route, his death occurring on the day of arrival. The Missouri Republican of August 10th, 1830, contains the following obituary notice of John Gale.¹⁶

"DIED—At Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, (Upper Mississippi), on the 27th of July, ultimo, DR. JOHN GALE, Surgeon U. S. Army, aged 35 years¹⁷—an officer whose medical skill was surpassed by few of his profession. His services during the late war were of the highest description, at Bridgewater, Erie, and elsewhere; and a station of several years at different western posts, has left him many, and warm friends, in this vicinity. Of his merits and virtues as a man, a companion, and a friend, the sincere regards of his brother officers, bear the highest testimony.

"At a meeting of the officers of the 6th Regiment U. S. Infantry, held at their mess room at Jefferson Barracks, on learning the intelligence of Dr. Gale's death, resolutions were passed expressive of their high respect for their deceased friend. They also resolved to wear

¹⁶ Through the courtesy of Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

¹⁷ Dr. Gale's age at death, viz. 35 years, is probably incorrect as he would have been but seventeen years of age at the time of his enlistment in 1812 as surgeon's mate.



Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois.



the usual badge of mourning (crape on the left arm), for thirty days, and to cause a monument to be erected to his memory. (*Communicated*)."

Of John Gale's domestic affairs the following well authenticated data is of interest. In the year 1821 or 1822, Surgeon Gale took for his wife an Ayeowa girl by the name of Ne-co-mi. In the transactions of the Nebraska State Historical Society¹⁸ there appears a letter from Henry Fontenelle, brother of Logan Fontenelle, which sets forth the facts of this relationship.

"Decatur, Nebraska, January 20, 1891.

Dear Sir and Friend:

.....

Ne-co-mi was the wife of Dr. Gale, army physician at Fort Calhoun (Fort Atkinson), (the present site of Calhoun, Nebraska) before it was dismantled and the troops removed to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. After Dr. Gale left, Ne-co-mi married, or became the wife of Peter A. Sarpy. Mary was the issue of Dr. Gale and Ne-co-mi. Ne-co-mi was the daughter of an Iowa (Ayeowa) chief, so that Bright Eyes really has no Omaha blood in her. She is the daughter of Joe Laflesche and Mary. Laflesch was a half-blood French and Ponca Indian, and was adopted by the Omahas. His father was an employe of Peter A. Sarpy, but had formerly lived among the Poncas, where he got his wife. He left the tribe and came to Bellevue, where he was employed by Sarpy until he died. Joe's mother then married an Omaha man; that is how Joe came among the Omahas. Through brother Logan Fontenelle, Laflesch was appointed one of the delegation with Fontenelle and others, to go to Washington and make the treaty for selling out this territory to the Government.

Very hastily, etc.,

Henry Fontenelle"

¹⁸ Volume V, 1893.

No authentic record has been found relative to any effort put forth by Surgeon Gale to secure possession of his daughter, Mary. There were three grandchildren of Surgeon Gale, offspring of Mary Gale and Joe LaFlesche. Each of the three achieved definite distinction.

Susette LaFlesche, or Bright Eyes, was born at Bellevue, Nebraska, in 1854, and reared on the Omaha Indian Reservation. After finishing a common school education, she was sent to a women's seminary at Elizabeth, New Jersey. She championed the cause of a band of Ponca Indians, who had left the Indian Territory in 1879 filled with a longing for home, and were journeying to their old lands along the Niobrara River when arrested by U. S. Troops and confined at Fort Omaha, then commanded by General George Crook. She wrote to the newspapers and visited Omaha where she met Mr. Thomas H. Tibbles, a former Methodist Episcopal clergyman, then an editorial writer on the Omaha Herald, and in 1882, became his wife. Her efforts on behalf of the Ponca Indians were successful and they were permitted by U. S. Court order to reside with the Omaha Indians. The next year she was invited by people interested in the Indians to lecture in several eastern cities. Accompanied by her husband and Chief Standing Bear, of the Ponca tribe, she addressed hundreds of audiences throughout the United States and Europe. She possessed a charming presence and told her story with force and eloquence. She was accounted a brilliant writer as well as speaker. She died May 26, 1903, on the Omaha Reservation.

The following sketch of her brother, Francis LaFlesche, is taken from *Who's Who in America*. Francis LaFlesche was born on the Omaha Reservation about 1860. He was educated in the Mission School on the Reservation; later he received the degree of LL.B. from the National University Law School at Washington in 1892, and in 1893 he received the degree of LL.M. He served as clerk in the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1881 to 1910 and since 1910 he has been ethnologist for the Bureau of American Ethnology. He is

the author of "The Middle Five," 1900, and joint author of "The Omaha Tribe," 1907.

Susan LaFlesche Picotte graduated from the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia in 1889 and practiced medicine at Bancroft, Nebraska, largely among the Omaha and Winnebago Indians until her death some ten years ago.

Pictures are in existence of Ne-co-mi, wife of John Gale; of Mary, his daughter, the wife of Joseph LaFlesche; and of the three grandchildren.

At best this sketch can be considered only preliminary and fragmentary concerning the career of this pioneer army surgeon. Further investigation no doubt will disclose additional data relative to Gale's later life, subsequent to his 1829 quarterly report from Cantonment Leavenworth. He deserves to be remembered, however, as one of a class without whose presence and sustained courage the occupancy of frontier posts would have been well-nigh impossible.

Fort Armstrong marks the burial place of two of these pioneer surgeons—John Gale and Richard M. Coleman. Arrangements have been made by the medical societies of Rock Island and Moline to erect a suitable marker on the site of the old Fort Armstrong graveyard recording thereon the names of Surgeon John Gale and Assistant Surgeon Richard M. Coleman with brief biographical data.

THE BRITISH-INDIAN ATTACK ON PAIN COURT (ST. LOUIS).

BY STELLA M. DRUMM.

The dramatic incident which forms the subject of this sketch took place during the American Revolution. For a long time prior thereto the English and French had been making use of the Indians as pawns in their game of conquest. Indeed, neither of them had enough men of their own race on this continent to make a first-class war. These Indian alliances persevered to a great extent, so that when the war came on between the British and American colonies the Indian allies of the former were brought along into the conflict. In this war the French were largely sympathetic with the Americans. In 1779, Spain also came in conflict with England, and the British plan to capture all the Spanish possessions in the Mississippi Valley developed, therefore, in natural sequence.

On June 16, 1779, instructions were given the British General Haldimand to reduce the Spanish and Illinois posts, and a body of Canadians, traders, and their servants, were assembled for this purpose early in 1780. To these were added, by order of Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, on February 17, 1780, a number of Indian bands. They comprised the Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, and Sioux, and were commanded by a trader named Emanuel Hesse.¹

One objective of these forces was "Pencour," which was to be attacked by surprise, and was reported to have "only twenty men and 20 brass cannon" for defense. Sinclair thought it would be easy and would secure the rich fur trade on the Missouri, and compensate for injuries done to English traders who had "attempted to partake of this trade."²

¹ "Papers from Canadian Archives," in *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, XI, 145-148; "Documents Relating to Attack upon St. Louis," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, II, no. 6, 41-42.

² *Ibid.*, 41, 44.

Repeated alarms concerning the approach of the English and Indians were received at Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and St. Louis. As early as April 11, 1780, Charles Gratiot, of Cahokia, went to the Iron Banks to inform Col. George Rogers Clark of the impending attack.³ John Montgomery, Valentine Thomas Dalton, and Richard McCarty each wrote letters to Clark, their superior officer, telling him of the approaching enemy.⁴ Apparently, Gratiot laid before Clark a plan to anticipate the attack on the villages, both east and west of the River, by an offensive expedition which would scatter the enemy and strike terror to the Indians. When the inhabitants of Kaskaskia were told that they would have to supply the necessary provisions for the expedition, they said it was entirely out of their power. However, Cahokians were ready and eager to start.⁵

On May 11, 1780, Montgomery left Kaskaskia for Cahokia, "in order to prevent the enemy approaching on the village," and he wrote Clark that "Mr. Cartibona is likewise marched with sixty-five men to join dunliba" [de Leyba].⁶ Later Col. Montgomery, Capt. Rogers, and other officers called on Commandant de Leyba and suggested a joint expedition to meet the approaching British and Indians. The Commandant, according to John Rogers, "seemed to be fond of it and says he will send one hundred men well equipped under command of Col. Montgomery."⁷ All this came to nothing because of the time necessary for Col. Montgomery to send to Kaskaskia for two boats to carry the troops and provisions. Before the expedition got under way, it was too late.

It was the fate of St. Louis to suffer first from these invaders. This was contrary to expectations, as Cahokia was supposed by its defenders to be the first objective. The name "Pencour," as used by the British, was a corruption of a

³ John Montgomery to George Rogers Clark, Fort Clark, April 25, 1780; Richard McCarty to Clark, April 29, 1780, Voorhis Collection of Clark Manuscripts, Mo. Hist. Soc.

⁴ Montgomery to Clark, Fort Clark, Feb. 18, 1780; Valentine T. Dalton to Clark, Fort Patrick Henry, April 19, 1780; McCarty to Clark, Fort Clark, April 25, 1780, Voorhis Coll.

⁵ Charles Gratiot to Clark, Kaskaskia, May 6, 1780, *Ibid.*

⁶ Montgomery to Clark, Fort Clark, May 11, 1780, *Ibid.*

⁷ John Rogers to Clark, Cahokia, May 15, 1780, *Ibid.*

French appellation. The French customarily applied nicknames to their villages, as well as to persons, and upon St. Louis they bestowed the name "*Pain Court*." The literal meaning, of course, in our language is "short bread." This name may have been suggested by small loaves of bread used there, probably due to the lack of flour mills in the village. While St. Louis had a plenty of wheat, it was necessary to send it to Ste. Genevieve to be milled.⁸

At this time the village of *Pain Court* was sixteen years old, and had suffered but one disaster—the death of its founder, Laclede, in 1778. Now on May 26, 1780 was to come *L'anne du Grand Coup*, meaning "the year of the big attack," and thereafter followed the custom of naming the years by the mark of some unusual event. St. Louis was a town of less than 120 houses, built principally of stone. Most of the people were French and numbered about seven hundred.⁹ It was the center of the fur trade, capital of Upper Louisiana, and a prosperous community. Other villages within a radius of twenty miles, Carondelet, St. Charles, and St. Ferdinand, were off-shoots. It was defended by a Spanish garrison under Capt. Fernando de Leyba, consisting of fifty men, or less, and 280 townsmen, although this force had been augmented before the attack by reinforcements from Ste. Genevieve.¹⁰ According to Navarro, the Spanish Intendant stationed at New Orleans, a wooden tower had been built at one end of the town on which five cannon were placed, and two other intrenchments were built and manned by twenty-five veteran soldiers and 280 militia.¹¹

The attack on St. Louis was made by two parties, including the Indians, twenty Canadians, and a party of traders. The total number is said to have been about twelve hundred.¹² These parties were originally directed to travel by separate

⁸ Houck, *History of Missouri*, I, 11; Scharf, *History of St. Louis, City and County*, I, 77; Wilson Primm's Scrapbook, Mo. Hist. Soc.

⁹ *Padron General de los Pueblos de Sn. Luis y Ste. Genoveva de Ylinueses*, 1787, gives 120 houses, 788 inhabitants, men, women and children, free and slave; about 230 were of military age, 15 to 60.

¹⁰ Montgomery to Clark, Fort Clark, May 11, 1780, Voorhis Coll.

¹¹ Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, 167, 168.

¹² *Ibid.*, 167.



Fort San Carlos (St. Louis).



routes, one to go by way of the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, and the other over land, to be united before *Pain Court*. One of these parties was under the command of Jean Marie Ducharme, who was inspired by a personal grudge. His influence may have caused St. Louis to be chosen as the first objective. In 1773, Ducharme as a British subject, came in direct conflict with the Spanish authorities. On that occasion, while engaged in illegal trade, he evaded the Spanish garrison at the mouth of the Missouri, and carried his goods up that River to a place now known as Loutre Island. Here he established winter quarters, but the Spanish found him and confiscated his goods.¹³

A few days before the attack on St. Louis, an old man named Quenelle went over to Cahokia Creek to fish. While there he suddenly espied an old acquaintance on the opposite bank. He recognized him as Ducharme, who had formerly lived in St. Louis, but had absconded on account of some criminal act committed by him. Having heard of the contemplated attack on St. Louis, and perceiving the eyes of several Indians directed at him from a hiding place in the bushes, the old man declined an invitation to "come over." He told Ducharme that he still valued his scalp, even though he was now bald. Crossing the Mississippi River in his canoe, he informed the Commandant of what occurred.¹⁴

The Commandant might well have taken warning from the tale of Mons. Quenelle, for soon there assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a short distance above the village, several Indian bands, and a goodly number of British-Canadians. They were awaiting the day, May 26th, appointed for the attack on St. Louis. The feast of the Corpus Christi was celebrated by the villagers on May 25th, and happily for them the attack was not made on that day. It would, perhaps, have found them scattered in the prairie outside the town, where they went after church services and procession, to gather strawberries and flowers, and make merry in picnic

¹³ *Mo. Hist. Soc. Coll.* II, no. 6, 51.

¹⁴ *Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis* on Feb. 15, 1847; prepared for the Missouri Republican. 1847, 9, 10.

fashion. Unguarded, these unsuspecting people would have been massacred, and the village captured.

Some of the Indians did cross the river on this merry day. So close were they, in their places of concealment, that the picnickers could have reached them with their hands at arm's length. The Indians were not willing then to make an attack in such small numbers for fear that many villagers might have remained in the town. But May 26th, 1780, was another day. The Indians in a body crossed over and made directly for the fields where so many had been on yesterday, expecting to find their prey. Only a few villagers had gone out to view their crops, and some of these saw the approaching foe in time for a retreat along the road that led to the upper gate. A shower of bullets and arrows, and the noise of firing served to alarm the town, and the cry, "to arms!" "to arms!" rang through the village.¹⁵

The attack was made while many of the villagers were at their mid-day meal, and came as a surprise in spite of many warnings. The enemy expected feeble resistance, but was repulsed by the militia. Vigorous firing was kept up by both sides during the whole afternoon. Commandant de Leyba was in the bastion, from which cannon did good service. Urged on by the cries of the women and children, shut up in the house of the Commandant, the spirit of the defenders was raised to a frenzy. Despairing of conquest in this quarter the enemy scattered over the country. They found several farmers with their slaves working in the fields. Upon these unarmed and innocent victims they satisfied their thirst for blood and their cruel impulses. They also destroyed the crops and killed all the cattle they could not take with them.¹⁶

The casualties among the defenders have been variously given in numbers ranging from 86 to 105. Navarro's report, supposed to have originated with de Leyba, gives the total as 99; comprising 22 dead, 7 wounded and 70 prisoners.¹⁷ The nearest estimate to this account is from one of the re-

¹⁵ *Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Founding of St. Louis* on Feb. 15, 1847; prepared for the Missouri Republican, 1847. 9, 10.

¹⁶ Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, 168.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

ports of the Britisher Sinclair, which gives a total of 104; made up of 70 killed and 34 prisoners.¹⁸ It is possible that many prisoners were afterwards killed by their captors, in which case this British report is probably correct. Indeed, Navarro hints at this in his report, where he says: "The information is constantly looked for as to the end of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so."¹⁹

Many charges were made after the attack to the effect that de Leyba was incompetent and guilty of cowardice on this occasion. A letter written by Joseph de Galvez to the Governor of Louisiana gives a different view of the Commandant. The letter is as follows:

"The King has been greatly pleased at the vigorous defense made by Captain Don Fernando de Leyba and Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona in repulsing the English Captain Esse, who intended to surprise them and dislodge them from the post of San Luis de Ylinoeses; and in proof of his sovereign gratitude he has decided to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant-colonel and on the second that of captain, commissions for whom I enclose to your Lordship that you may arrange to communicate them to the interested parties. His Majesty was unable to look with less grief upon the unhappy lot which those innocents suffered who had the misfortune to be victims of the ferocity of an officer so deeply dyed with inhumanity. I enclose to Your Lordship for comparison herewith a letter of the Intendant Don Martin Navarro, dated August 18th last.

God protect Your Lordship many years.

El Pardo, February 3, 1781.

(Signed) Joseph de Galvez.

His Lordship the governor of Luisiana.²⁰

Unfortunately, de Leyba was dead at the time this letter was written; his death having occurred June 28, 1780.

¹⁸ *Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll.* XI, 154.

¹⁹ Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 168.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

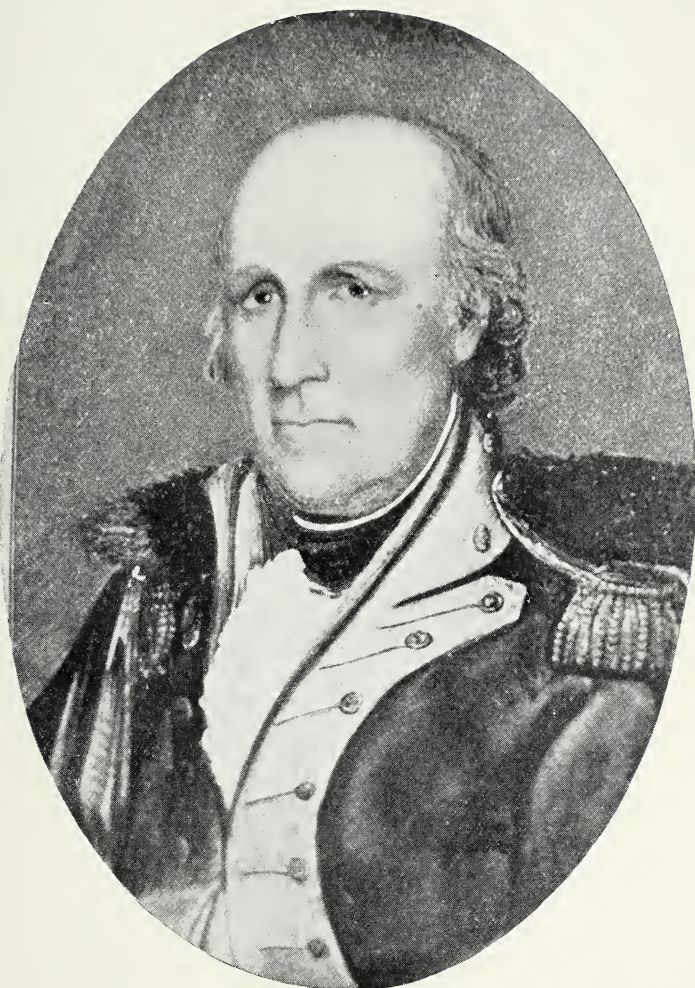
The known lack of adequate defensive works around St. Louis at the time of this attack, has led some to minimize the importance of the incident. Some plans had been made at St. Louis for repelling the attack expected to be made by the British ultimately at that point.²¹ The Spanish authorities say that Commandant de Leyba fortified it as well as its open situation permitted. It seems, however, that the works he planned were not completed in time for the defense. A fund of one thousand piastres was raised among the inhabitants of the village, of which de Leyba personally contributed four hundred. The Commandant began the fortifications by constructing the northwest bastion, which was at a point now known as the southeast corner of Broadway and Franklin Avenue. The northwest demi-lunes were completed and intrenchments were made for the defense. It was planned to have four bastions, a stone tower in the center, and a stockade. The latter was made of a line of pickets, or trunks of small trees, set in the ground and plastered between with mud and bound together at the top with saplings. It was five or six feet high, started from the half-moon river front, and extended to a point slightly beyond the brow of the hill, in a semi-circle. One of the gates was at or near the present foot of Washington Avenue, and two others on the hill at points where the roads from the respective northwestern and southwestern parts of the common fields came in.

The importance of the British defeat at St. Louis may have been underestimated. It was certainly followed by great demoralization among the British allies, and the furious Sinclair even charged that treachery of some of his own men had caused the defeat.²³ This demoralization and delay permitted George Rogers Clark, who was in the vicinity, to organize a force of 350 men, including men collected from the French posts of Illinois, and the Spanish at St. Louis, and to send

²¹ On April 17, 1780, in the presence of Don Fernando de Leyba, Capt. of Infantry, Commandant of the Post of St. Louis, Father Bernard blessed the first stone for the fort on the hill back of the Church, which was named Fort San Carlos. St. Louis Cathedral (old) Baptisms.

²² *Report of the Celebration of the Anniversary of St. Louis.* . . . 11; Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, 136-138.

²³ *Mo. Hist.Soc. Coll.* II, no. 6, pp. 48, 49.



George Rogers Clark.



them under Col. John Montgomery against the Sauk and Fox Indians.²⁴ All these happenings, coming as they did in direct succession, broke up the expedition and the program of the British for capture of the Spanish possessions. It was not only of value to the Spanish, but kept the British from menacing the American colonies from the West.

While no revival of this hostile invasion was ever made, the inhabitants east of the Mississippi River long afterwards entertained fears of renewed attacks by the British and their allies. Cruzat, de Leyba's successor, spent two thousand dollars per month on fortifications at St. Louis, and Cahokia set up a picket enclosure. The poor Kaskaskians "remained sunk with their fears, all their Petitions to the French agent &c are fell into the hands of the English at the overthrow, with a list of every man's name that furnished for La Balms Expedition.²⁵ Provisions at the Carrying Place of Ouisgonsaint [Wisconsin] above the Prairie du Chien for some maneuver in the Spring, this country never had more need of the Exertions of your abilities then now for the ensuing Campaign." . . . "The Spanish Commandant hath forbid any Boats down this Year."²⁶

That there was an alliance of the American colonists, through Col. Clark, with Spain, is shown by letters preceding the attack on St. Louis. Among them is one from Commandant de Leyba of May 30, 1779, to Clark, and another from John Montgomery, dated May 15, 1780.²⁷ It has been said by some that George Rogers Clark took part in the defense of St. Louis, but contemporaneous correspondence disproves that claim. Col. Montgomery said in a letter of February 22, 1783, that Clark would have given the St. Louisans assistance had not the strong winds prevented their signals from being heard.

Some historians have claimed that Clark, knowing of the

²⁴ Meese, "Rock River in the Revolution," in *Transactions Ill. Hist. Soc.*, 1909, 97-103.

²⁵ Col. Mottin de la Balm's unsuccessful expedition against Detroit, October, 1780. Nasa-tir, "Anglo-Spanish Frontier," in *Ill. State Hist. Soc. Journal*, XXI, 42, 43; *Coll. of Ill. State Hist. Lib., Kaskaskia Records*, V, 188.

²⁶ McCarty to Clark, Kaskaskia, Dec. 12, 1780, Voorhis Coll. *op. cit.*

²⁷ Voorhis Coll.

intended attack on the Illinois Country must have given warning to the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis. He was at that time on his way to Cahokia, or had just arrived there, having set out from Iron Banks, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, on May 13th, 1780. Col. Clark some time before had conferred with the Spanish Commandant, as shown by de Leyba's letter, and was on most cordial terms with that gentleman. It is certain that Col. Montgomery, as well as other subordinate officers, knew of the proposed attack, but they seemed convinced that it was directed against Cahokia. Montgomery wrote to Clark as follows:

Fort Bowman, Kahos, May 15, 1780.

“Dear Col.

Sir as the Bad nues of the Enemy Aproching in our Vil-
liges encits me to Exert My Self with the hand full of Trupes
I have to trey to provent there desines I thot it of An ad-
vantage to trey to in corperate with the Spanish trupes
Which desine I put in practus By Going over & consulting
With the Commander. Feeling how Necessary it Was to
Meete them and to Trey to provent them from ataking the
Villiges he Acaquest with Me in a pinion that It Mite Be
atended with Many advantages and proposed to furnish one
hundred Men With Botes arms Artilerey Amonition & provi-
sions & Everything we stand in need of for the Expedition
Which offier I could Not Refuse. I there fore intend to Start
in a few days from this place With two hundred & Fifty men
to Trey to Provent their hostaliteys on the inhabetents &
should I Meate With them if the[y] prove two hard for us it
is only to Retreate down Streeme But should their number
Note be more then two for one Nothing but death Shall yeald
the Surrender. I Recd your letter by John Duff & Should be
glad to Complied With your Request if the Bad nues had not
Compelled me to March with out loss of Time to the as-
sistance of the inhabitants of Kaho [w]ho have distinguish-
ed them Selves More like Vetrons then ondesiplened men and
are Redey to turn out to a Man to go Any Where the[y] are
Requested. I have sent orders for Every tool to be sent to

you But the[y] ant of Much Acount. I have no other Nuews to inform you of But what Mr. Libras [de Leyba's] letter informed you of I am your humble servt

(Signed) John Montgomery.

To Collo. G. R. Clark

Commander of the Virginia Forces in the Western Department.²⁸

Any one reading this letter of Col. Montgomery will be convinced that he was a game fellow, even though his spelling was in contradiction of Noah Webster.

STELLA M. DRUMM,
Librarian, Missouri Historical Society,
St. Louis.

²⁸ *Voorhis Coll.*

A FORGOTTEN HERO OF ROCK ISLAND.

By M. M. QUAIFFE.

Since the dawn of history men have fought their fellows in war. In time of war, passions burn at white heat, and reputations are made or blasted with a swiftness unknown to the piping times of peace. Consider the humble tanner's clerk of Galena, a failure in life at thirty-nine, at forty-two, master of the mightiest military machine the world had ever seen and, jointly with President Lincoln, the savior of the nation. More to my present point, however, are the instances, which abound in military annals, of men winning widespread renown by a single brilliant feat. Such was the deed of Horatius of ancient Rome, who defended the bridge across the Tiber. Coming to our own history, who has not heard of the feats of Ethan Allen and Sergeant Jasper in the Revolution, of Captain Hobson in 1898, or of Sergeant York in the World War?

But martial fame does not descend automatically upon all doers of heroic deeds. On the contrary, it is a moral certainty that the number of heroes in war whose deeds remain unsung far exceeds those upon whom the public gaze is centered. To gain renown the hero must have a competent reporter and the public mind must be attuned to the hero-making mood. In 1898 the country desperately longed for a hero, and Captain Hobson's much press-agented exploit won the praise of all his fellows, and the lips of the ladies as well. Another hero of the same war, Colonel Roosevelt, himself turned press agent, and of his exploit in this connection the genial Mr. Dooley discoursed thus to his friend Hennessy:

"I haven't time f'r to tell ye the wurruk Tiddy did in ar-hmin' an equippin' himself, how he fed himself, how he steadied himself in battles an' encouraged himself with a few well-chosen worruds whin the sky was darkest. Ye'll have to

take a squint into the book ye' erself to l'arn thim things."

"I won't do it," said Mr. Hennessy. "I think Tiddy Rosenfelt is all r-right an' if he wants to blow his horn lave him do it."

"True f'r ye," said Mr. Dooley "But if I was him I'd call th' book 'Alone in Cubia.' "

Leaving those whose fame is well established, I invite your attention to one of the unsung heroes, who more than a century ago made history along the then-remote frontier of the upper Mississippi. In order to tell his story one must sketch the course of the War of 1812 in this region. Although the American government had exercised a nominal control over the Northwest since the British evacuation of the western posts in 1796, over much of it, American authority in 1812 was extremely shadowy, while over much more it was wholly non-existent. There were small American garrisons at Mackinac and Chicago, but the actual line of American settlement had not advanced above St. Louis, save for a feeble extension westward along the lower course of the Missouri. Most of modern Illinois and Missouri, and all of Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin was then a wilderness, inhabited by tribes of Indians. Here and there throughout this savage population, white traders wandered or dwelt, intent on exchanging those articles of civilized manufacture which the red man prized for furs, the chief product of the wilderness. At Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, in somewhat notable contrast to the foregoing, were long-established settlements of French origin, a large proportion of whose denizens were allied by ties of marriage or of descent with the red men of the forest.

The chief American center in this region west of Lake Michigan was St. Louis. Here was the seat of government of Missouri Territory, and here the remotest firmly established outpost of American military power. Five hundred miles to the north, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River, lay Prairie du Chien, the natural commercial entrepôt of the upper-Mississippi region. Another five hundred miles to the

northeast lay Mackinac, alike the military and commercial center of the upper-lake region, while midway between Mackinac and Prairie du Chien was Green Bay, the sole remaining settlement in the western country. From Mackinac to Green Bay there was, of course, water transportation, while between the latter place and Prairie du Chien stretched the natural military and commercial highway afforded by the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, which at Portage flow less than a mile apart, and which, in time of flood, even mingle their waters together.

Although they had lived for a decade and a half under American rule, the people of Mackinac and Green Bay were almost solidly pro-British, while the few whose inclinations were otherwise were helpless in the face of British control of these places from the beginning of the war.¹ At Prairie du Chien the American influence was more pronounced, and the sympathies of the populace were correspondingly divided between the two warring powers. But the key to all the western country rested with the natives of the forest, who so outnumbered the forces the whites could bring to bear in this region that the control of it would inevitably go to the nation under whose banner they ranged themselves.

The capture of Mackinac in July, 1812, followed by the destruction of Chicago a month later, gave to the British an early advantage in the struggle which brought most of the red men to their side and gave them initial control of most of the region we are considering. The crux of the problem, both from British and American points of view, was the possession of Prairie du Chien. If the Americans held this post they would effectively dominate all the tribes of the upper Mississippi and therewith deprive Mackinac itself of its chief source of support. If the British held Prairie du Chien, this situation would be reversed; not merely would Mackinac and the upper Mississippi be secure, but from

¹ There is said to have been one loyal American at Green Bay prior to the war but he prudently fled in advance of actual hostilities.

Prairie du Chien the British could easily marshal the red men to press home the attack upon the American settlements of Missouri and Illinois, even as from Detroit, during the Revolution, they had directed them against the Kentucky-Virginia frontier.

The initiative in the struggle for the actual possession of Prairie du Chien was taken by the Americans. In the early summer of 1813, William Clark, younger brother of the brilliant George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary fame, and Governor of Missouri Territory, sent from St. Louis a force of 150 men, commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Perkins, to occupy Prairie du Chien. This force proceeded up the Mississippi to the appointed destination and there built a fortification which was named Fort Shelby, in honor of Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky. Within the fort, six cannon were mounted, while in the river adjoining lay the gunboat, *General Clark*, which had conveyed the garrison from St. Louis. The building of Fort Shelby marks the beginning of armed occupation of Prairie du Chien by a civilized government.

Clark's northward advance into the heart of the Indian country had been made at an opportune moment when the British were preoccupied with the campaign in the Detroit area. In the spring of 1814, however, Colonel McDouall, who commanded at Mackinac, determined to restore the British control of the upper Mississippi by ousting the Americans from Prairie du Chien. Since the outbreak of the war Robert Dickson, a shrewd and energetic Canadian trader, who had married a woman of the Sioux tribe, had been actively engaged in marshaling the warriors from west of Lake Michigan for service against the Americans along the Lake Erie battlefront. Opportunely, he had thus conducted to Mackinac some three hundred warriors belonging to the Sioux, Menominee, and Winnebago tribes. About half of these were retained at Mackinac to assist in defending the place against an anticipated American attack, while the remainder were assigned to the expedition that was organ-

izing for the reduction of *Prairie du Chien*. To accompany them, two companies of white volunteers were hastily enrolled from among the Canadian fur trade employees at Mackinac, and equipped with uniforms and arms from the garrison store. To these companies was given the imposing designation of "Michigan Fencibles." The Indians particularly begged that a cannon be supplied for the expedition, for they stood in peculiar awe of the big guns of the white men. A member of the Mackinac garrison at this time was Sergeant James Keating of the Royal Artillery Regiment, and to him Colonel McDouall assigned a single three-pound gun, with orders to accompany the expedition. To command the whole, he appointed Major William McKay, a brave and capable officer.

Here we may digress for a moment to make the acquaintance of our forgotten hero. No one of his contemporaries imagined that simple Artilleryman Keating was to prove himself the most important member of the expedition, and no one took the trouble to compile a record of his career for the edification of posterity. The details I have assembled are provokingly incomplete, yet they represent the results of much patient gleaning in documents now widely scattered. Like many another gallant soldier, he was a native of the Emerald Isle, having been born in Templeshort, County Wexford, in 1786. Of his family, as of his early life, we know practically nothing, although if one had access to local sources of information much might probably be disclosed. At eighteen years of age Keating enlisted in the Royal Artillery Regiment. Since this was the mid-period of the Napoleonic Wars, in which England fought almost continuously for upwards of two decades, it may safely be assumed that young Keating saw plenty of active service; but the only definite fact we have learned about him is that he was given a silver medal for service in Martinique. It would be interesting to know in what way he won it, but, having in view his later career, the bare fact that he did so is significant, for it suggests that the exploits we are about

to describe, were performed by one who, to some extent at least, had acquired the habit of distinguishing himself.

The little army of Major McKay, consisting of 95 Michigan Fencibles and 136 Indians, departed from Mackinac, June 28, 1814. Six days later it was at Green Bay, where another company, officially known as the Mississippi Volunteers, was enrolled from the settlers and fur-trade employees, bringing the white contingent of the army to 120 men. Both at Green Bay and at the Fox-Wisconsin Portage, the force was augmented by bands of warriors, until the redskin contingent of the army exceeded five hundred in number. Although at Mackinac the warriors had manifested utmost enthusiasm for the task of driving the "unprincipled Invaders" from their country, their conduct on the expedition was such that McKay, in reporting to his superior officer, described them as "perfectly useless."

For what transpired upon the arrival of the army at Prairie du Chien on July 17, we are chiefly indebted to the detailed report of McKay, written a few days afterward. He found Fort Shelby, defended by its six guns and a garrison of sixty or seventy men, "perfectly safe against Indians"; the gunboat lying in the river immediately opposite the fort he describes as a "floating blockhouse, so constructed that she can be rowed in any direction, the men on board being perfectly safe from small arms, while they can use their own to the greater advantage." This floating fortress, moreover, went remarkably fast, "particularly down the current," being propelled by 32 oars, and if McKay's statement can be credited, it mounted no less than 14 cannon.² Notwithstanding this disparity of resources, the British officer valiantly summoned Lieutenant Perkins to surrender unconditionally, or be prepared to defend himself "to the last man." The American reply was brief and pointed, electing the latter alternative. Thereupon Sergeant Keating's single gun was dragged forward to a point where it

² McKay did not capture the vessel, and his information on this point may have been inaccurate. It was a common falling of both British and American officers in the War of 1812 to overestimate greatly the strength of the forces opposed to them.

commanded the gunboat and a steady fire was opened upon it.

Why the Americans did not silence the audacious intruder is something of a mystery, particularly in view of McKay's statement that the gun was between two fires, exposed both to the cannon of the gunboat and those of the fort. Evidently there were men of daring resolution on the British side, while resolution was sadly lacking on the American. At the end of three hours' cannonading, in the course of which Sergeant Keating had fired 86 rounds at the *General Clark*, the gunboat cut her cable and moved down stream behind a sheltering island.³ Since the British could not follow the boat, next morning Keating's three-pounder was turned against the fort. Again we can only wonder why six guns sheltered within a fort could not withstand a single one in the open; either the quality of Sergeant Keating's gunnery must have been exceptionally high or that of his opponents exceptionally low. The bombardment continued until the evening of the nineteenth, when McKay, finding there were but six cannon balls remaining, advanced the gun to within 450 yards and prepared to fire the fort by discharging the few remaining balls into it red-hot. The first was being placed in the gun when the Americans ran up a white flag and signified their desire to surrender.

Thereupon Prairie du Chien passed into British possession, to be held by them until the end of the war. That the successful termination of the campaign was chiefly wrought by Artilleryman Keating is entirely clear. It is true the Indian contingent far outnumbered the American garrison, but McKay's testimony renders it perfectly clear that they were of no service to him in the conflict and contributed nothing to its successful outcome. The gunboat was put to flight and the garrison compelled to surrender by reason of the effect-

³ The enterprising editor of the *Missouri Gazette* published in his issue of July 30 an account of the battle which was obviously derived from some member of the expedition. According to this, the defenders of the boat were much harassed by musketry fire poured upon them by the Indians and British soldiers concealed behind trees at pistol-shot distance, to which the *General Clark* replied with incessant discharges of grapeshot. The same report, however, discloses that it was the effectiveness of Keating's cannon which induced the gun boat to withdraw from the contest.

ive work of Keating's three-pounder; and by the surrender all the vast region of the upper Mississippi passed under British control.

But the task of holding Prairie du Chien was even more difficult than that of taking it had been. McKay could expect no help from Mackinac, his Indian allies promptly scattered to their respective places of abode, and it seemed certain that the Americans would make an attempt to recover the ground they had lost. McKay's first thought was to retain his prisoners as hostages, to be sacrificed to the Indians in the event of an American attack. But the scantiness of his resources was such that he could neither feed the Americans at Prairie du Chien nor detach a guard to conduct them to Mackinac. A week after the surrender, therefore, he set them free and they departed down river to rejoin their countrymen, their withdrawal being rendered possible by the fact that practically all of the warriors had already abandoned McKay and departed to their homes.

The real defense of Fort McKay—as the British had renamed Fort Shelby—rested with the Sauk and Fox Indians at Rock Island. The rapids and islands which obstructed the river at this point rendered it easy to defend against a force ascending the stream, and the defenders were at hand in the person of the Sauk, who, under the influence of Black Hawk, were zealous partisans of the British cause. Early in July, Lieutenant John Campbell had been dispatched from St. Louis with a force of 120 regulars and militia in three keel boats to reinforce the garrison at Prairie du Chien. They proceeded without incident as far as the mouth of Rock River, where on July 19 (the very day Fort Shelby surrendered), one of the boats, while stranded in shoal water, was assailed by the Indians, who from a sheltered position on shore poured a vicious fire upon the boat. The two remaining keel boats which were in advance dropped down the river to the assistance of their companion in distress, with the result that after a somewhat extended engagement one of the boats took fire and was abandoned, while the other re-

treated down river, leaving the occupants of the stranded boat to their fate. In this extremity, the *General Clark*, retiring from its defeat at Prairie du Chien, opportunely hove in view, and rescuing the occupants of the keel boat, continued on to St. Louis. The American loss in this engagement was severe, amounting to 16 killed and 21 wounded, and the name of Lieutenant Campbell has ever since been attached to the island under whose lee his little army met disaster.

The news of Campbell's defeat provoked the Americans to a determined effort to chastise the savages at Rock Island, who were not merely serving as an effective outpost for the defense of Prairie du Chien but were conducting murderous forays against the settlements of Illinois and Missouri. In August, therefore, Major Zachary Taylor with 330 men in 8 gunboats set out for Rock Island. News of his expedition was conveyed in advance to the savages by certain traitorous French residents of St. Louis, and the red men, on learning of the impending blow, sent messengers in haste to Prairie du Chien for help, particularly requesting that artillery be sent down to their assistance. Captain Anderson, who was now in command at Fort McKay, responded to their appeal by dispatching Lieutenant Graham of the Indian Department with 30 men and 3 small cannon (2 of them swivels, which must evidently have been captured American guns) to Rock Island. As the sole regular artilleryman at Prairie du Chien, Sergeant Keating had immediate charge of the guns.

When Taylor's flotilla reached Rock Island, in addition to the handful of British, a force of savages variously estimated at one thousand to one thousand five hundred warriors was waiting to receive him. On September 5, while the fleet was anchored opposite Credit Island, Keating's guns opened fire on it. The reports of Taylor and Graham, the two opposing commanders, squarely disagree as to the reason for the ineffectiveness of the American reply. Taylor states that the British guns were located behind a knoll, which

“completely sheltered” them, while Graham describes them as on the open beach, entirely exposed to the fire of their opponents. From our present point of view the divergence of testimony is of no particular consequence, for if Taylor’s statement is correct it involves a tribute to Keating’s skill in placing his guns, while if Graham’s report is accurate, we must credit him with the ability to shoot it out in the open with an artillery force much stronger than his own. After a duel of an hour’s duration the boats withdrew down the river, and shortly tied up once more at the St. Louis levee. The American loss in the engagement was but trifling, but Taylor was convinced that his force was unequal to the task of destroying the Sauk town, while the British cannon rendered his position untenable. But for the latter element, the American onset would have been irresistible, for the natives, left to themselves, were entirely unable to oppose artillery. Both Taylor and Graham unite in the declaration that it was the British artillery which decided the contest,⁴ and this principally consisted of the brass three-pounder, commanded by the lone regular artilleryman, which had previously wrought the conquest of Fort Shelby.

In warfare the commander of an expedition is commonly credited with its success or blamed for its failure, as the case may be; only rarely is credit for success achieved awarded to a subordinate. Yet Lieutenant Graham, in reporting upon his Rock Island expedition, wrote: “It is to the skill of Serg’t Keating, on whom everything depended, that we owe our success.” Nor does it detract from our estimate of this success to know that the officer whose immensely superior force Keating drove from the field of action was destined to become one of the best-known commanders in American history.

At this point we may moralize for a moment upon the strangely differing capacities of men to capitalize their deeds

⁴ Captain James Callaway of Taylor’s command wrote a letter to his wife on the day following the battle, which has only recently been published. (*Missouri Historical Society Collections*, V, 69-71). It agrees with the reports of the two rival commanders in ascribing the American defeat to the effectiveness of Keating’s bombardment.

in the eyes of their fellows. Colonel Roosevelt captured the spotlight in the Spanish War, and was rewarded with the Presidency. Horatius defended the bridge under the gaze of all the city. His reward was immediate and ample; for

“——still his name sounds stirring
Unto the men of Rome,
As the trumpet-blast that cries to them
To charge the Volscian home;
And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old.”

Less ample was the recognition accorded Sergeant Keating. Although his immediate superiors were generous in their commendation of his work, its remarkable character seems to have escaped the attention of historians of the war. That one gun, worked by one artilleryman, should decide the fate of two battles and two campaigns is surely a feat unusual enough to be deserving of some renown. That it has not been accorded in more ample measure may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the British were preoccupied with events of larger magnitude which were occurring along the eastern war-front, together with the further one that the scene of Keating's exploits was so remote from Lower Canada that practically none of his countrymen ever heard of them.

Yet it is pleasant to record that substantial recognition on a limited scale early came to the brave gunner, the fruits of which he enjoyed to the end of his life. He was shortly commissioned a lieutenant, and in June, 1815, by order of Lieutenant General Drummond, he was appointed fort adjutant at St. Joseph in Lake Huron, in consideration of gallantry “particularly at the capture of Fort McKay, at the Prairie-des-Chiens on the Mississippi River, last campaign.” The British post at St. Joseph was soon removed to Drummond Island, where Adjutant Keating remained until 1828,

when, owing to the discovery that the place was within the American boundary, the garrison was removed to Penetanguishene, at the foot of Georgian Bay. Here Adjutant Keating occupied one of the first houses to be constructed on the site, and here he lived out the remaining twenty years of his life, dying in November, 1849. Of these years a local historian has written: "Mr. Keating always took a very active and interested part in the public affairs of the town and garrison, and was foremost in many enterprises connected with the welfare of the community. His official residence was the quaint old structure long known afterwards as the Chaplain's residence for the Ontario Reformatory for Boys, which he did much to renovate and make an ideal dwelling for his family, under the false impression that it would ultimately be a gift from the Crown and revert to his heirs. But in this he was disappointed, as officialdom is difficult to move and puzzling to comprehend. The family moved to Chatham, Ont., in 1856. The old bungalow, which would have made a fine show-place as a relic of garrison days, was accidentally burned in 1913, much to the regret of admirers of historic remains."

Thus passed the last tangible reminder of Artilleryman Keating, who a century earlier made exciting history along our Mississippi frontier. Although a foeman of the United States, he performed worthily the rôle to which fate assigned him, and his story is the common heritage of all who cherish a feeling of admiration for dauntless souls.

1780—THE REVOLUTION AT CRISIS IN THE WEST.

By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

The Hebrew people had a peculiarly effective way of indoctrinating their children in the religious and national traditions of their race. Again and again, by a ceremonial observance, by a cairn of stones, by a monument, they sought to provoke from youth a query that would give the opening for the lesson in history that they desired to teach. Our presence here this evening at this sesquicentennial of the westernmost battle of the Revolution, reminds us that at last we are learning the educational wisdom of the chosen people, learning that the surest way to imbue the rising generation with a sense of the greatness of the nation's past is to excite their curiosity to learn about it. The value of the lesson once we are able to instill it cannot be underestimated. A quickened sense that this country of the Illinois, in which we live, is the product of a fine historic past, is the best insurance for a reverent attitude toward its institutions. Believe that this western country as we see it today, like Topsy "just grewed," and it will seem merely an opportunity to gratify your acquisitive desires. Learn the story of how men wrought and sacrificed and fought in this land in bygone days that a more equal liberty might prevail in America, and unbridled selfishness will appear the sacrilege it really is.

For years we have been trying to emphasize the great historic past of this land of the Illinois. We have had to overthrow first in our own minds, then in the minds of others, the assumption tacitly instilled by the text books we studied in childhood that the American Revolution is the exclusive heirloom of the East. Again and again we have repeated the truisms that for a century and a half the upper Mississippi Valley was the theatre of the imperial rivalries

of France, England, Spain and the United States, till at length at the close of the War of 1812, the last-named power entered on full and undisputed possession of the prize. The late Professor Alvord unfolded for us the history of the British imperial projects in the Illinois from 1763 to 1774. He taught us that the Stamp Act, of which we learned in childhood as of a strange remote thing, had no other end than to finance British imperial ambitions in the West; that the Illinois bulked more important in the minds of British statesmen than half the old thirteen colonies; that the Quebec Act of 1774, was not merely one of the Intolerable Acts of our school texts, that provoked the faroff Revolution in the East, but a climax of British western policy that brought about a Western Revolution at our back doors. Even today it may strike some of you as new, that it would be perfectly possible to claim membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution on behalf of an ancestor, born in the Illinois country, who enlisted in an Illinois regiment and participated in battles on the soil of the state. Even today if one were to allude, referring to Revolutionary history, to the battle of St. Louis, many people might think it a joke comparable to those mythical combats so dear to the A. E. F., the battles of Tours and Bordeaux. That there were military operations, in this year of 1780, at St. Louis, at Cahokia, at Rock Island, we know. But to grasp their influence on the final outcome we may have to pause for a little reflection. Let us remember for a moment that practically the only successful American campaigns in 1780 were the campaign of King's Mountain and the campaign of the Mississippi Valley. And bearing that graphic outstanding fact in mind let us think a little of the situation of the Revolution in the year we are helping to commemorate tonight.

In 1780 it might well have seemed likely to a well informed observer that the British Empire was going to muddle through as it had done before and was to do again. Britain's policy centered around the squat and pertinacious figure of George III. George's life had one central theme,

—his determination that the great Whig territorial magnates should not appropriate the royal patronage and govern his kingdom with it, as their forbears had done in the reigns of his grandfather and his great-grandfather. To the contest with the Whig magnates he had been dedicated from childhood, and he waged it with general success throughout the portion of his reign in which he retained his reason. Quite often, to his not very clear understanding, it seemed that his natural enemies the Whig chieftains in their struggle to dominate him had merely enlisted as allies, first the revolting colonists, then the great Bourbon powers of France and Spain. But against them all George fought on doggedly. He had to govern England and fight his swarming enemies, through tools like Lord North, Hillsborough, Sandwich, Lord George Germaine, Thurlow and Wedderburn, all of whom were greedy and ignoble, and all of whom except the two last named were more or less incompetent.

Yet for two years back his military and naval forces had suffered no serious defeats. The great mass of the British nation was loyally supporting the war. A proposed ministerial coalition with the less embittered elements of the opposition had come to nothing; and a parliamentary election in the fall of 1780 had yielded what seemed a safe majority for Lord North's ministry. The prospects of Britain's hanging on till the Bourbon powers and America were tired of the war seemed excellent.

For the United States we remember 1780 was the nadir of the Revolution. That Revolution had been the work of a bold and determined minority intent on establishing a better order of things on the North American continent. Another and Tory minority had clung to the British crown and a much larger majority had swayed in indecision between the two extremes. Thanks to energy, ability, and organization, the revolutionary minority had seized the reins in 1775, and had declared independence in 1776. For two years, with surreptitious assistance from France and Spain in money and munitions, they made head against the full military power

of Great Britain. But the French alliance of 1778 and the open entrance of France in the war, by 1780 seemed to have been of negative value. They helped unite the masses of the British nation for war against the hereditary enemy; at the same time thousands upon thousands in America had sat quiet so long as the question at issue seemed one of the British constitution, had even acquiesced in the Declaration of Independence in the hope that it was a manœuvre for advantage and not an irredeemable step; now with the colonies in open alliance with the ancient foe of Britain they could not longer cherish delusions of an ultimate reconciliation between mother country and colonies; and when forced to take sides they chose the side of England. The French alliance, too, had an evil psychological effect, causing men to slacken their exertions in the hope that France would fight their battle. Hitherto French military and naval cooperation had borne no fruit. Exhausted financially by war, with trade blighted by the British blockade, with the Southern colonies, which had furnished a major share of valuable exports, in the enemy's hands, with men in Congress too weak for the emergency, the treason of Benedict Arnold seemed to pre-
sage a general return to the British allegiance.

Prospects were not cheering on the side of America's ally France. She had entered the Revolutionary War, partly in the hope of recovering the international prestige she had lost in 1763, partly in fear that if she stood aloof till Britain and her colonies made up their quarrel, the first fruit of reconciliation would be a joint English and American attack on the French West Indies. She had pledged the colonies their independence and for two years had put forth her efforts to achieve her various ends; but her efforts had had the most qualified success, and she was near a financial breakdown. In a few months the resignation of her famous finance minister Necker was to threaten a general collapse.

Spain, the other Bourbon power was in better case than France, but her being so promised little in advantage to the

Americans. Spain had not adopted the French fashion of enthusiasm for American independence. "The Spaniards," said Vergennes, "like little children are attracted only by shining objects." But the shining objects which attracted the Spanish into war with England were highly practical ones—the recovery of Gibraltar, Minorca, Florida and other possessions wrested from her by England in the 18th century. In 1780 she seemed in a fair way to achieve some at least of these ends. To the Americans she was distinctly hostile; she might use them as tools against Great Britain, but she hoped to see them broken, divided, bankrupt and unhappy, an example to her own vast colonial empire of the evil effects of insurrections against the mother country.

Spain as the possessor of New Orleans and the trans-Mississippi region acquires peculiar importance from the standpoint of the West. She was in the midst of her last great era of territorial expansion. In almost the same years she occupied the west bank of the Mississippi and the coast of California. As she framed her wishes for the fate of the West at the peace, she almost influenced her French ally to acquiesce in the doctrine that, whoever acquired the trans-Alleghany, the colonies should not. Her commandant at St. Louis remained on friendly terms with the Virginian George Rogers Clark; but under her prompting the French emissary to Congress urged the United States to refrain from any western conquests, leaving that area the exclusive prize of Spain. Considering the matter in that aspect, the importance of Clark's conquest of the country in 1778 becomes apparent. Without open scandal it was impossible for the Spaniards to expel him from it. But had Clark not taken Kaskaskia in 1778, there can be no doubt that the Spanish would have seized it in 1779, exactly as they seized the British posts in West Florida on the lower Mississippi, immediately on their entry into the war in that year.

Spanish ambitions in the old Northwest increased in importance as they coincided with the rivalries of landed and landless states in Congress, and with the clash of state claims

to the western country. We can remind ourselves briefly that eight states had claims more or less conflicting to portions of the region west of the Alleghanies; that five had none, and were jealous of the undue expansion of their neighbors, were even ready to see Spain or Great Britain have the territory northwest of the Ohio rather than have it go to aggrandize some one state like Virginia. French and Spanish emissaries intrigued with the delegates of states like Maryland which entertained such views. Furthermore, both for Kentucky and the country north of the Ohio there was the rivalry of Virginia, claiming the whole by her sea-to-sea charter and Clark's conquest, as against the great land companies which indirectly enlisted the congressional support of New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Such is the general political and diplomatic structure of 1780; let us now glance at the military situation. In North America Great Britain retained Canada and New York; under an essentially risky strategy, she was dividing her American armies, with only a tenuous control of the sea to protect the communications of the forces engaged in the conquest of the South. But unsound as the strategy was, it was being crowned with immediate success; Georgia and South Carolina were in British hands, North Carolina seemed about to fall. These were from the commercial point of view, the most desirable of the revolting colonies. Their loss had crippled American finance; and if Great Britain retained them from the wreck of her colonial empire, she could count the Revolution not a total loss. They had been the scene of two great triumphs in 1780, the capture of Charleston with General Lincoln and his army, and the rout of Gates at the battle of Camden. The defeat of Ferguson by the riflemen of the western waters at King's Mountain was the sole unpromising omen for Great Britain in the South.

In the West Indies, British and French fleets and armies had campaigned ever since 1778. The loss of several of the British smaller islands, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada,

was more than counterbalanced by the British capture of St. Lucia, the French island that was the key to the Windward Antilles. Adequately garrisoned by British commanders on the ground in defiance of the orders of the ministry, it was to contribute to the saving of the British empire in Rodney's victory of 1782.

In the region of the Mississippi things were less propitious. Ever since the British had realized that the Father of Waters was of but limited use to them so long as the Spaniards retained New Orleans and the control of its outlet, they had promised themselves the capture of the Crescent City whenever God should send them a war with Spain. When that blessing at last overtook them in 1779 they were too slow to take advantage of it. General Campbell, despatched to utilize the weak garrisons at Mobile and Pensacola against New Orleans when war should break out, was given tardy advices of the beginning of hostilities. Instead of taking New Orleans, he had to listen to news of the Spanish capture of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, the West Florida posts on the Mississippi. He could only hope for results for the ambitious campaign, projected in the upper Mississippi Valley for 1780. To the situation there we must now turn.

In 1778 George Rogers Clark with the authority of Virginia and his own native address had occupied the ungarrisoned British posts at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, and had received the enthusiastic French inhabitants as citizens of the Old Dominion. Early in 1779 he had broken up the counter attack of the British Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit by capturing him and his force at Vincennes. Failure of Virginian support had barred him in 1779 from consummating his triumph by the capture of Detroit. He had, however, by clever diplomacy established an ascendancy over both French and Indians. That ascendancy was, however, a most unstable one. With the fickle French it trembled as they became aware of the depreciation of the Virginia paper currency they had accepted at par; as

bills of exchange drawn for military supplies on the Virginia agent at New Orleans came back protested, as the newly established Virginia county government proved helpless to protect them against the unruly soldiers of Virginia, who seized needed provisions without payment.

With the Indians, Clark's ascendancy was partly the fruit of his own masterful personality, and of the Indian respect for so great a warrior. It was continually subject to reversal from the Indian's recurrent need for the white man's goods,—blankets, kettles, cloth, and what not. These articles, save for whisky, were not manufactured in America, and could be procured only from European sources. The British blockade and financial difficulties hampered the Americans from importing such commodities for Indian trade. General Frederick Haldimand, commanding for the British in Canada saw clearly that British control of the supply of Indian goods would ultimately outweigh the meteoric personality of Clark. His one aim was to make sure that no Indian goods should be carried where by any chance they might fall into American hands. That done, he waited for the economic needs of the Indian to draw him back to his British allegiance. And in the long run Haldimand was not to wait in vain.

Not content with waiting for economic laws to assert themselves, the British in 1780 were preparing to execute an elaborate plan of campaign against Spaniards and Virginians in the upper Mississippi Valley with the immediate purpose of conquering both the American and the Spanish Illinois. The root of the matter was to be found in Lord George Germaine's despatch to Haldimand of June 17, 1779. Written with definite knowledge of the outbreak of war with Spain it urged on Haldimand an enterprise against the Spanish in the upper Mississippi to coincide with General Campbell's expected attack on New Orleans. By the time the despatch had crossed the ocean and had been transmitted to distant posts at Detroit and Mackinac, it was of course too late to plan anything for 1779. But Sinclair and De Peyster, com-

manding for the British respectively at Mackinac and Detroit undertook with enthusiasm the execution of measures for 1780. De Peyster planned to despatch Captain Bird with a force, the nucleus of which was to be 50 regulars and a contingent of artillery, to the Ohio river by way of the Au Glaize and the Great Miami, while the Wabash Indians "amused" Clark at the Falls of the Ohio where Louisville stands today. Haldimand in general approved of the project, which was intended partly as a diversion to assist the far more ambitious campaign that Sinclair was preparing at Mackinac. With the assistance of interpreters and traders among the Sioux, the Winnebago, the Sac, the Foxes and other western and Northwestern tribes he projected two expeditions, with only irregular organizations of French traders as their nuclei. One was to proceed via the Fox-Wisconsin portage to the Mississippi, while the other was to descend Lake Michigan to the Chicago portage and the Illinois river. A certain trader by the name of Hesse, formerly an officer of the Royal Americans, was to command the whole expedition, which was destined to crush the Virginian and Spanish resistance at Cahokia and St. Louis and to garrison those places for the king, laying requisitions on the inhabitants of the villages for the support of the troops. Meanwhile the great Sioux chief Wabasha, with his braves uncorrupted by the white man, was to sweep down the Mississippi river to cooperate with Campbell against New Orleans. Sinclair, of course was blithely unaware of Galvez' capture of Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez, though by March of 1780 this was old news at St. Louis. Recognizing the difficulty of arranging a cipher for correspondence with Campbell, he hit on the bright idea of writing him in Erse, attaching a Scotch Highland private to the expedition to serve as decipherer.

Sinclair was much hurt at Haldimand's lack of enthusiasm for this far flung enterprise, regarding it as a reflection on his ability to execute if not to plan. Haldimand was, however, a sound and able officer and it was not surprising that he estimated the possibilities of the situation more conserva-

tively than Sinclair. He felt keenly the blow to British prestige among the Indians of the Ohio Valley by Clark's capture of Hamilton, whereas Sinclair protested that his undebauched Sioux warriors had scarcely heard of it. The absurdity of any concert of measures in a campaign between forces operating from Mackinac and Pensacola, bases so far apart that the better part of a year would be needed for a message to pass and repass was of course apparent. Even the synchronizing of movements between forces operating from Mackinac and Detroit was difficult in the face of an officer so capable of swift decision and movement as George Rogers Clark. The Indian, able wilderness warrior that he was, was not at his best in attacking fortifications defended by white men.

Still the situation had its advantages. The intricacy of the movement promised to bewilder the opponents as to the true point of attack. If secrecy as to preparations could be preserved the rapid current of the rivers down which the various expeditions would move, could give the opportunity of surprise attacks on unfortified settlements. Bird's expedition which in personnel and equipment promised the best might succeed in cutting off the Illinois settlements from Kentucky, when their fall would be only a question of time. There was an excellent prospect in one way or another of capturing Cahokia, Kaskaskia and St. Louis. However wild Sinclair's corollary campaign might be, with the Illinois country in British hands a surprise attack down the swiftly flowing Mississippi on Natchez or Baton Rouge would be a possibility that might help to divert Galvez' attention from Campbell's operations in West Florida. More immediately the hold of Virginia and through Virginia of the United States on the West would be definitely broken.

Both Clark and the Spaniards had advance warning of the expedition in reports of suspicious activity of British agents among the Indian tribes. De Leyba at St. Louis, in March began the construction of a block house and intrenchments to protect the hitherto unfortified town. Clark medi-

tated the disposal of his meager forces, charged we must remember with the defense of Kentucky as well as Illinois. He had to face the possibility that the Spaniards might allow the English to capture both the American Bottom and the Spanish Illinois in order to reconquer both for themselves. He was already under instructions from Governor Thomas Jefferson of Virginia to construct a post at the Iron Banks a little below the mouth of the Ohio. Governor Henry had had such a post in mind before the occupation of the Illinois villages was ever considered. To Clark the new post had the advantages of making desertions to the receptive Spanish bank less easy, and of checking any northward swell of Spanish conquests east of the Mississippi. At the Iron Banks or at the Falls of the Ohio Clark planned to hold his main force in readiness with a small outpost at Vincennes commanded by Dalton and a larger one at Cahokia under Colonel John Montgomery.

For the ensuing campaign on the Mississippi peculiarly enough our main sources of information are British. We have the one Spanish official account transmitted to Galvez of the Spanish defense. For happenings on the American side our sole narrative source is a justification of his conduct drawn up by Montgomery in 1783. There are bits of American corroborative evidence naturally; but aside from these our main source is the British military correspondence.

On May 2, 750 men, traders, servants and Indians proceeded down the Mississippi under command of Captain Hesse. So sure was Sinclair of success that he had designated the persons to command at Kaskaskia and St. Louis once these posts were captured. At the outset, luck seemed to be with the British. Their Menominee allies captured an armed trading boat with 12 men probably belonging to Charles Gratiot; at the lead mines, near the present site of Galena, seventeen Spaniards and Americans. Both captures included quantities of munitions and provisions of which the expedition already stood in much need. Langlade meanwhile with Indians and Canadians was to pass down the Lake to

Chicago, to make his attack by way of the Illinois River. Another party was detailed to watch the area between the Wabash and Illinois Rivers.

The news of the approach of the expedition preceded it, producing appeals to Clark for assistance both from the inhabitants of Cahokia and from the Spanish commandant. Actually, according to Montgomery, Clark arrived at Cahokia twenty-four hours before the onset. Montgomery's narrative, which we remember is our sole connected American source, would imply that, forewarned of Clark's presence the enemy made no serious attack at Cahokia; in that particular it is contradicted by the British report of killing an officer and three men, and capturing five prisoners there. Unless we assume that these men were waylaid outside of the village, their loss would indicate at least a sharp skirmish. However slight or serious the fighting at Cahokia, on May 26 the expedition attacked the Spanish fortification at St. Louis. Interestingly enough one St. Louis historian at least has argued that the attack of 1780 was a myth. His reasoning is unconsciously a beautiful demonstration of the fallacy of the historical argument from silence. Colonel Montgomery's narrative is our authority that a high wind prevented alarm signals from St. Louis being heard or responded to from Cahokia. The Spanish account, manifestly not intended to underestimate the services and achievements of the officers involved, says nothing of the unanswered signals. It recites that while the lieutenant Cartabona with 20 men took post in the commandant's house to protect the women and children, the Commandant De Leyba with the remainder of 29 soldiers and 281 irregulars undertook the defense against 300 regular troops and 900 savages, gloriously beating off a severe attack delivered at the north end of the town. Sinclair's account of the repulse was that the Winnebago had attacked boldly, losing a chief and three men; but that the Canadians were backward and the Sac, under the treacherous Calvé, interpreter of the British crown though he was, had behaved in such uncertain fashion, that the Winnebago did not dare push

on lest they find themselves between two fires. The Spanish account of Indian outrages against hapless settlers in the country nearby is impliedly borne out by English accounts. But it is impossible to reconcile British and Spanish accounts of casualties. Sinclair reported in all 43 scalps 34 prisoners black and white and about seventy killed. The number of prisoners indicated is about the summary of the previously reported captures near Galena and at Cahokia. The Spanish reported was 22 killed, 7 wounded and 70 prisoners in all.

Calvé, the interpreter, later protested against Sinclair's making him the scapegoat for the failure of the expedition; but it may well be doubted how enthusiastic the French Canadians were in the enterprise. After all, the typical Frenchman in that period is the one Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton encountered outside Vincennes in 1778 with two commissions in his pocket, one from the British Lieutenant Governor Abbott, and the other from the Virginian George Rogers Clark. Sinclair had believed he had won the devotion of the French traders by promising them the trade of the Missouri River in case of success, but even with such a lure they may well have hesitated at helping to put their fellow Frenchmen at St. Louis under the tomahawks of a horde of infuriated savages.

Once assured the attacking force was retreating, Clark was called away on June 4 by the near approach of Captain Bird's expedition, in a military sense the most formidable of all, to the Falls of the Ohio. One other British expedition had already proved abortive. Early in May the highly temperamental Pottawatomie had been turned toward Vincennes, when they encountered a Canadian trader, who asked them if they were going against their friends the French, 4000 strong at Vincennes. The great majority of the Pottawatomie implicitly believed the story and departed hastily. A small remnant went on to reconnoiter and discovered there were but 20 or 30 Virginians at Vincennes. Well might the British fulminate threats against the French at Post Vincennes who did more harm with their tongues than a Spanish

army with its swords. By June the Pottawatomie, reassured and reorganized, had been led back toward their goal, when they clashed with their hereditary foes, the Piankeshaw; the ensuing skirmish of course ended all hopes of any achievement against the Virginians.

Meanwhile on June 3, Bird's expedition was reported eight days' march from the Falls of the Ohio, expecting to reach it before Clark could return. Bird had with him about 400 Indians and could count on a total force of 600. The Indian respect for Clark, however, became increasingly apparent as they drew near a place where they might expect to encounter him. On June 11, Bird had to report that after two days' counselling the Indians had decided to give up an attack at the Falls where decisive strategic results might have been obtained, and to attack instead settlements up the Ohio on the Licking and on Limestone Creek; the posts made little or no resistance. To Bird's disgust the Indians insisted on adopting into their tribes the children of the hapless settlers. Early in August, having concealed his cannon and munitions at old Chillicothe, he was back at Detroit with 150 prisoners. Clark was close on his heels.

In March the harassed settlers of Boonesborough and Bryant's station had besought Clark to lead them in a raid on the Indian villages north of the Ohio. With a force of 1000 men he crossed the Ohio at the Licking near the present site of Cincinnati on August 1. At Piqua on the great Miami on August 8 he encountered a force of Shawnee, Mingo, Wyandot and Delaware warriors prepared to receive him. In an afternoon's hard fighting he inflicted on them a decisive defeat, and celebrated his triumph by destroying their villages and crops.

It remains to tell the story of the exploit which your celebration especially commemorates. After their defeat at St. Louis the invading forces retreated rapidly, scattering for want of provisions; part by the Mississippi, part between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan and part by the Chicago portage whence two vessels from Mackinac brought them off.

Under Clark's orders Montgomery with 350 men set out in pursuit, probably a day or two after Clark's departure on June 4. By Montgomery's account they apparently moved up the Illinois as far as the Lake of Peoria and thence to the Rock River, destroying the villages and crops of the Indians before they could rally from the retreating expedition for defense. It is possible that the raid penetrated even farther than Rock Island. Perhaps it can be connected with Sinclair's statement that 200 Illinois cavalry arrived at Chicago five days after his transports left; perhaps it is alluded to in the recollections of the trader Long, sent by Sinclair early in June to bring off furs from Prairie du Chien, who relates that the Americans came to attack them five days after they left.

In the raids of Montgomery and Clark ended American activities in the western campaign of 1780. An elaborately, widely organized attack on which the British had expended all their influence and surplus resources from either side of the Mississippi had culminated in raids on two or three inconsiderable Kentucky settlements. The Americans, thanks to Clark's dispositions and his ability in executing them had repelled the British attacks and had launched sharp and successful counter attacks on the British Indian allies, to impress forcibly on their minds that American settlements could not be raided with impunity. They had demonstrated that however slightly they garrisoned the region beyond the Ohio, they could repel any British attempt to reoccupy it. A British recovery of the region, a Spanish recapture of it from the British—either one of them would have clouded the clear title of conquest and continued possession which Virginia was finally to quit-claim to the Confederation.

Two remaining operations of 1780 in the region may be briefly mentioned, rather from the significance of the motives that prompted them than for their specific results. I refer of course to the futile expedition of La Balme against Detroit and the raid under the auspices of the Spanish commandant on St. Joseph.

The historian in all likelihood will have to surrender to the writer of imaginative fiction the attempt to solve the fascinating puzzle of La Balme. In a little group of papers whose presence in the Haldimand Collection indicates they were taken from the slain La Balme by his Indian conquerors is summarized the story of the man who had been an officer of the King of France, who had come to America to be inspector general of cavalry in Washington's army, and who had finally come west on a strange and as yet unexplained mission. Apparently his errand required him to provoke and to receive from the French inhabitants the bitterest complaints against their Virginia masters. Perhaps in this he acted as the emissary of the land companies that were anxious to break Virginia's hold on the western region. Perhaps his errand was the more orthodox one of helping to organize a Franco-American descent on Canada. But why he should raise under the French flag in the Illinois an absurdly insufficient expedition that perished under Indian tomahawks before it got even within striking distance of Detroit is an unsolved mystery story. A secret emissary of French ambitions in the western country, a secret emissary of the Vandalia, Illinois and Wabash land companies in which French agents had their financial interest, a secret emissary of Washington, or a self-appointed executive of a wild scheme all his own—the historian relinquishes the puzzle to the novelist.

Of the Spanish expedition against St. Joseph, recruited from Illinois Frenchmen, marching under Spanish auspices across the state of Illinois to take and hold for a day an ungarrisoned post, it is possible to speak more definitely; for whether or not in its inception it was intended to establish a Spanish claim east of the Mississippi, it was used by Spanish diplomats for that purpose in the negotiations for peace.

Indeed as we end our study of the West in this critical year of 1780 it appears to be in little the reflection of the problems and difficulties that beset the path of American independence. Here you find the Frenchman a dubious friend not to be too far trusted, the Spaniard an ostensible

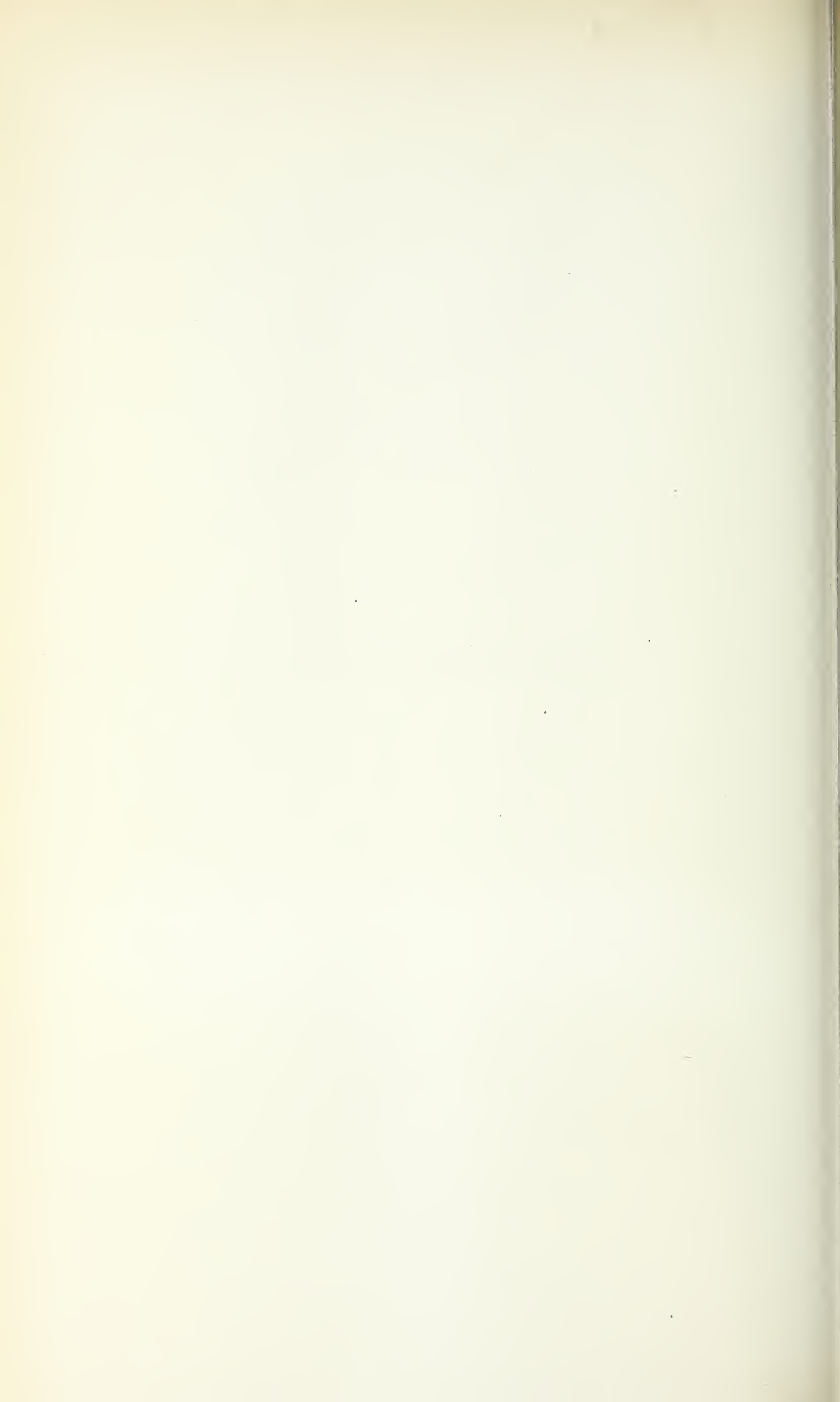
ally and potential enemy to be trusted still less. In the disaffection to Virginia rule of the elements in Kentucky from the other colonies, in the intrigues of the land companies in the West against the Virginia monopoly are mirrored forth the jealousies between state and state that beset the unhappy Congress. Virginia currency in seeking the lowest abyss of depreciation was ahead of the more famous Continental currency, in the complete collapse of public credit. The economic stagnation and distress of the East found its vivid counterpart in the West.

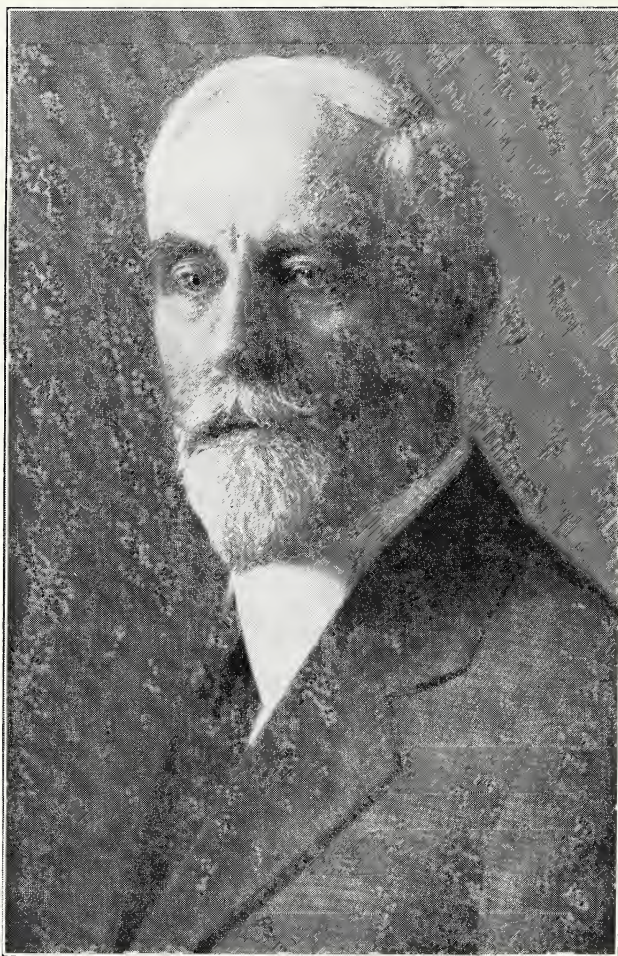
And yet in the face of all these difficulties the soldiers of Virginia in the western country had demonstrated to the British that for 1780 at least they must forego their expected triumph. Let us repeat once more that only in the West in 1780 did the Revolution achieve military success. In military operations it is impossible to get rid of the effects of success in one field on the situation in others. We remember that George Rogers Clark had reached out for the Illinois that he might the better defend Kentucky; we remember also that Clark considered Kentucky the buckler of the whole frontier against Indian raids,—and George Rogers Clark was no mean strategist. If in 1780 the defense of Illinois and Kentucky had collapsed, could the riflemen of the backwoods have passed over the mountains to break Ferguson at King's Mountain? Without King's Mountain, Greene could hardly have executed that marvelous campaign, in which he accepted defeat in every battle but one, and cleared the enemy from the Carolinas. Without Greene's campaign, Washington's masterpiece, involving the synchronization of three fleets 3,000 miles apart, and widely separated armies, could hardly have culminated in the triumph of Yorktown and the collapse of the First British Empire. We have, it is true, followed but one chain of causation out of many. But I hope it convinces us that the western campaign of 1780 was a measurable contribution to the final achievement.

“And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say

unto you, what mean ye by this service?" What shall we say to them? What after all is the lesson that we can draw for ourselves and for the next generation from a commemoration such as this? Shall we not tell them that in this country of the Illinois a hundred and fifty years ago there were as there are today many men who sought their own private interests and built their own private fortunes whom we willingly forget? Shall we not tell them that we retain the memory of a few only in proportion as they sacrificed their private ends and risked fortune and life in the hope that a new and better order of things should prevail on this continent? This western area of the Revolution is measured today in tens and scores of millions of population, millions the way for whose coming was smoothed by the men who strove that the ideals of the Revolution should there prevail in the days when its people were numbered by thousands. Beyond their wildest dreams has the work of their hands been established upon them.

NECROLOGY





Dr. William E. Barton.

WILLIAM ELEAZER BARTON.
1861-1930.

By PAUL M. ANGLE.

It is fitting that the people of Illinois should be especially moved by the passing, on December 7, 1930, of Dr. William E. Barton. Doctor Barton was born in Illinois, at Sublette in Lee County, on June 28, 1861. Although he was educated at Berea College and Oberlin Theological Seminary, and although his early pastorates were in Tennessee, Ohio and Boston, he reached the height of his reputation as a Congregational minister while serving at Oak Park. Retiring from this pastorate some years ago and removing to Massachusetts, Doctor Barton continued to spend much of his time in Illinois. He spoke frequently before the Illinois State Historical Society, and many of his contributions were first printed in its publications.

One naturally thinks of Doctor Barton as a Lincoln biographer, yet it was not until 1919 that his first Lincoln study, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln*, was published. Before that time, however, he had established a wide reputation as a writer of talent and versatility, having published numerous articles and volumes on subjects ranging from ecclesiastical history to adventure stories for boys. He was a regular contributor to several periodicals, and a lecturer of reputation.

Though not bearing fruit until a relatively late date, Doctor Barton's interest in the life of Lincoln was of long standing. One of his earliest recollections was of a day of sadness when the citizens of his boyhood home replaced with sombre draperies the gay bunting which a few days earlier, had announced the end of four years of war. The tragedy of Lincoln's death was thus seared into his mind. In the years which followed he patiently gathered facts, investi-

gated traditions and interviewed whomever he could find having first-hand knowledge of Lincoln's life and activities.

With years of patient investigation behind him, it was natural that when he set himself to the task, Doctor Barton should produce a rapid succession of worthy volumes. *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* was followed in 1921 by *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln*. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* appeared in 1925, *The Lineage of Lincoln* in 1929. Between these, the high marks of his work, appeared numerous brochures and several volumes of more restricted scope: *A Beautiful Blunder*, *The Women Lincoln Loved*, *The Great Good Man, Lincoln and Walt Whitman*, and *Lincoln at Gettysburg*. His last work, *The Lincoln of the Biographers*, was published in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1929.

As a seeker for new facts pertaining to Lincoln's life Doctor Barton was indefatigable. No trip was too long, no trouble too great if it seemed likely to result in new information. His books, and particularly his brochures, are evidence of this propensity. In the years which have elapsed since the publication of the Nicolay and Hay and Tarbell biographies, no one has approached Doctor Barton in the discovery of hitherto unknown material on Lincoln's life.

If, in the excitement engendered by the discovery of some forgotten aspect of Lincoln's life, Doctor Barton's enthusiasm now and then led him to overstatement, it may be said that to his credit stand a larger number of definitive works than result from the labors of most men. It is not likely that anything of importance will ever be added to his researches on Lincoln's paternity and religion. Most of the conclusions of his investigation of Lincoln's ancestry seem permanently established, while on the Gettysburg address he would seem to have said the final word. Biographers will continue to reinterpret Lincoln's life, but their work will be permanently lightened in those fields to which Doctor Barton turned his particular attention.

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